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An Investigation into the Nature of Translation in the News Room

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by Maarten Charles J. Franck

De pragmatiek van vertalen in de journalistiek:

een onderzoek naar de aard van vertalen binnen nieuwsredacties

door Maarten Charles J. Franck

For Charles Franck, Corneel Jaspar,

Frans De Kunst and Joanna Irène Van Vugt

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Preface and acknowledgements

Writing down that first sentence of a thesis is not easy. Writing down any first sentence is not easy. And neither should it be. It has taken me a while to get to this point, to write down these first few words. Interestingly though, they are not *really* the first few words I have written for this book, nor are they the last. Some words in this book were already written in March 2011 when we wrote the project outline. Six years ago, almost to the day. Many of the words in this book were written before 2016. None of them in 2016. Many of them in 2017.

It has been a bumpy though amazing ride. Much like life itself. Six years, from inception to finished product is a long time, a lifetime for some, the blink of an eye for others. A lot has happened to me and to those I hold dear in these years. I am now a married man, a house-owner, a prima-ballerina. That last one was a joke. Though it may sadden some, I will never be a prima-ballerina, nor have I ever had the ambition to become one. I have taken a few dance classes though, mainly to practice the opening dance of my wedding day, but that is about as good as it gets.

I have lost people and people almost lost me. We are not immortal, nor are our words. In the end, I am just glad to still be here and share the words in this book with you – whomever you may be.

I want to thank my wife, Heidi Vloeberghen, for being the most amazing person I have ever laid eyes on. She is the inspiration for most things I do in life. The good things, that is. The things that matter. If I were a poet I might have compared her to a Summer's day, but I am not, and I know she would not have liked such a comparison anyway. She loves Winter. Without her this book would not exist. Back in 2010 she pointed my attention to a vacancy at the Department of Translators and Interpreters where she herself had studied in Antwerp. I got the job and started working as a project assistant in the development of a semi-automated leaflet optimizer (ABOP/OptiPIL).

The ABOP and OptiPIL projects were run by Professor Dr. Leona Van Vaerenbergh, who became one of my supervisors. She introduced me to Professor Dr. Jef Verschueren who became my other supervisor. I am heavily indebted to both for all that they have done

for me. Not only academically speaking. When I was largely immobilized by illness they visited me and offered their support. I am pretty sure that doing so is not mentioned in the ‘supervisor job description’. They have become dear friends.

I also want to thank my colleagues at the *IPrA Research Center* and at the University of Antwerp, and especially Bram Vertommen, Petra Heyse, Sofie Van de Geuchte and Valerija Sinkeviciute who were there for most of the ride. They were often the first people to whom I turned when I wanted to test one of the ludicrous ideas that popped into my brain, and they were the first to acknowledge that they were indeed ludicrous. There are many more past and present colleagues at the university that deserve my thanks. I am not going to name them all here – mostly because I am scared to forget someone. They know who they are, and I will thank them in person whenever I get the chance.

I am grateful to the external members of my doctoral jury, Professor Dr. Geert Jacobs and Professor Dr. Michaël Opgenhaffen, not only for them wanting to be the external members of my doctoral jury, but also for how their past and present research and teachings have shaped my own thinking. Especially Geert’s work on ‘preformulation’ in press releases has been seminal for my own work, while Michaël’s classes, back when I was still a Master of Journalism student, were among the most pleasant and stimulating I have enjoyed during my formative years. I would also like to thank the members of my local doctoral committee, Professor Dr. Pol Cuveliers and Professor Dr. Hilde Van den Bulck for having taken time to read and comment on my work. Not only when it was a finished product, but well before that.

My friends and family, the people I love and who are always there for me, I should thank them far more often than I do. They mean the world to me. The people I have had to part with while I was working on my thesis, Joanna Irène Van Vugt and Frans De Kunst, they have been an inspiration. Far more than that, of course. The journalists who were kind enough to divulge the ins and outs of their work for my research, they have eased my own work significantly. They are good friends. Everybody at the University Clinic in Antwerp, and especially those working at department D0, they are heroes. They have given me time.

Abstract

This book explores the nature of translation in the newsroom from a linguistic pragmatic perspective. I have defined pragmatics as the study of communicative dynamics. Because of how it has been institutionalized, it is mainly a “general functional perspective on (any aspect of) language” (Verschueren 1999a, p. 11). Looking at translation from said perspective, means that it can be regarded as a form of interpretive language use which is always dependent of context. It is an instance of recontextualization, in which a source text (ST) is manipulated to become a target text (TT). It can be interlingual or intralingual, depending on whether translation is done between two different general languages or within one general language. And while a translation is never completely faithful or liberal, it is always situated on the cline of unremitting variability between these two extremes. Translation is also one of many tasks associated with the profession of journalism. The main commodity of this profession is information. The information journalists provide can be true, but it is not always possible to say whether it is or is not, because most often, it is the neutral rendition of what other people have said.

With these basic notions in mind I set out to answer four main questions: (i) Which variables influence the way journalists translate?; (ii) What formal shifts in meaning occur when journalists translate?; (iii) What functional shifts in meaning occur when journalists translate?; (iv) Are metamessages strengthened throughout subsequent translations? To answer these questions I examined translations made by journalists working for Belgium’s main national press agency (*Belga*), news sites (*www.demorgen.be*, *www.destandaard.be*, *www.hln.be* and *www.nieuwsblad.be*), and newspapers (*De Morgen*, *De Standaard*, *Het Laatste Nieuws* and *Het Nieuwsblad*). The only one of these media that did not exclusively translate into Dutch was press agency *Belga*, which also translates news into French. *Belga* also often fulfilled an intermediary role, translating international media reports (e.g. *Agence France*-Press, *Deutsche Presse Agentur*) into French and Dutch before they were picked up by Belgian media. It also provided original coverage which was often picked up by the different media.

To account for differences in topic I exemplified two distinct cases in this book: (i) translations of news reports on the 2011 elections in the DR Congo; (ii) translations of news reports on the run-up to the 2012 London Summer Olympics.

Samenvatting

Dit boek onderzoekt de aard van vertaling binnen nieuwsredacties vanuit taalpragmatisch perspectief. Daarbij definieerde ik pragmatiek als de studie van communicatieve dynamiek. Omwille van hoe pragmatiek is geïnstitutionaliseerd, wordt het vooral ingevuld als een “algemeen functioneel perspectief op (eender welk aspect van) taal” (Verschueren 1999a, blz. 11). Als we naar vertaling kijken vanuit dat perspectief kunnen we het omschrijven als een vorm van interpretatief taalgebruik die steeds afhankelijk is van context. Vertalen is hercontextualiseren, een brontekst manipuleren zodat het een doeltekst wordt. Vertalen kan interlinguaal of intralinguaal zijn; met andere woorden vertalen kan tussen twee verschillende talen of binnen eenzelfde taal. En hoewel een vertaling nooit helemaal trouw of vrij is, vind je ze altijd terug op het continuüm tussen deze twee uitersten. Vertaling is ook een van de vele taken die in verband kunnen worden gebracht met het journalistieke beroep. Het belangrijkste handelswaar van journalisten is informatie. Die informatie kan waar zijn, maar het is niet altijd mogelijk om te zeggen of ze al dan niet waar is, omdat journalisten vooral neutrale weergaves brengen van wat anderen hebben gezegd. Wat iemand zegt, is de grondstof van de journalist. Hij of zij kopieert, vertaalt of combineert verschillende verklaringen. Het eindproduct van dat hercontextualiseringsproces is de informatie die via het medium wordt aangeboden.

Met deze basisbegrippen in het achterhoofd heb ik vier hoofdvragen beantwoord: (i) Welke variabelen hebben een invloed op de manier waarop journalisten vertalen?; (ii) Welke formele betekenisverschuivingen treden op wanneer journalisten vertalen?; (iii) Welke functionele betekenisverschuivingen treden op wanneer journalisten vertalen?; (iv) Worden metaboodschappen versterkt in opeenvolgende vertalingen? Om deze vragen te beantwoorden onderzocht ik de vertalingen die journalisten maakten voor het (belangrijkste) Belgische persagentschap *Belga*, voor nieuwssites (*www.demorgen.be*, *www.destandaard.be*, *www.hln.be* en *www.nieuwsblad.be*), en voor kranten (*De Morgen*, *De Standaard*, *Het Laatste Nieuws* en *Het Nieuwsblad*). Alleen persagentschap *Belga* vertaalde ook naar andere talen dan het Nederlands, namelijk naar het Frans. Naast het beschikbaar maken van originele berichtgeving, had *Belga* ook vaak een bemiddelende functie omdat het berichten van internationale persagentschappen, zoals *Agence France-*

Presse en *Deutsche Presse Agentur*, naar het Frans en het Nederlands vertaalt zodat deze gemakkelijk kunnen worden overgenomen door diverse Belgische media.

Om rekening te houden met onderwerpsgebonden verschillen belicht ik twee uiteenlopende cases in dit boek: (i) vertaling van nieuwsberichten over de verkiezingen van 2011 in de DR Congo; (ii) vertalingen van nieuwsberichten over de aanloop naar de Olympische Spelen van 2012 in Londen.

Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction

This is a book on the relationship between translation and journalism. There are many like it, but this one is mine. Of course, there are more important traits which distinguish this book from other books on the subject. For one, it is written from a linguistic pragmatic perspective. Secondly, it discusses some very specific questions and hypotheses, specific media and article translations. It may also be the only one which slyly incorporates a slip of military creed in its introduction.

Us researchers also have a creed. We feel the need to explicate that what we are writing or that what we have written is completely new and that research into our particular field of interest has been scarce up until that point. We mostly relate this at the beginning of our articles, books and dissertations. I could have started this book in the same vein. I could have started by saying that research on the relationship between translation and journalism is still rare, but doing so would not have been more than a witticism. There are many books and articles out there that dig deeper into the subject as well, e.g. Abdel-Hafiz 2002; Bani 2006; Bassnet 2006; Bielsa 2007, 2005; Bielsa and Bassnet 2009; Conway 2005; Conway and Bassnett 2006; Darwish 2005; Davier 2012; Gambier 2006; Hursti 2001, Tsai 2012, 2006, 2005; van Doorslaer 2010, 2009; Vuorinen 1999; Wilke and Rosenberger 1994.

So why another book? Mostly because of the different perspective it offers on the relationship between translation and journalism: a linguistic pragmatic perspective, which is a “general functional perspective on (any aspect of) language” (Verschueren 1999a, p. 11). Looking at translation from said perspective, means that it can be regarded as a form of interpretive language use which is always dependent of context. Every translation is an instance of recontextualization, in which a source text (ST) is manipulated to become a target text (TT). It can be interlingual or intralingual, depending on whether translation is done between two different general languages or within one general language. As such, translation can also be regarded as one of many tasks associated with the profession of journalism. The nature of said specific task is exactly what we explore in the coming pages.

In section **2.1.** I discuss what I mean by this linguistic pragmatic perspective in far greater detail. In sections **2.2.** and **2.3.** I formulate working definitions respectively for translation and for journalism from said perspective. Clearly defining these three variables was a necessity. Without a paradigm one would be overwhelmed by the endless possibilities. Without a perspective hypotheses would remain hypotheses.

The hypotheses presented in this book are its other *raison d'être*. They were tried and tested, drawing on data collected from Belgian media (newspapers and news sites) with a Dutch speaking audience, Belgium's main national news agency *Belga*, and international media (news agencies and news sites). The hypotheses were all categorized so that their affirmation or negation would answer a more general research question:

1. **Which variables influence the way journalists translate?**
   1.1. Journalists translate differently depending on the medium they work for.
   1.2. Journalists translate differently depending on the medium they translate from.
   1.3. Journalists translate differently depending on the topic they write about.
   1.4. Journalists translate differently depending on the language they translate from/into.

2. **What formal shifts in meaning occur when journalists translate?**
   2.1. Journalists rearrange translation units.
   2.2. Journalists reduce the information in translation units.
   2.3. Journalists reinforce the information in translation units.
   2.4. Journalists replace translation units.

3. **What functional shifts in meaning occur when journalists translate?**
   3.1. Representations of people are affected.
   3.2. Representations of space are affected.
   3.3. Representations of time are affected.
   3.4. Representations of (personal) opinion are affected.

4. **Are metamessages strengthened throughout subsequent translations?**
   4.1. Topic-related metamessages are strengthened in subsequent news reports on the 2011 elections in the DR Congo.

4.2. Topic-related metamessages are strengthened in subsequent news reports on the run-up to the 2012 Olympics Games in London.
4.3. There are non-topic-related metamessages which are strengthened in subsequent news reports.

Some of these main research questions and hypotheses are straightforward enough. Others deserve more explication. More information about the media under study, the languages in which they produce their articles, and how the research corpora came to be, can be found in section **3.1.**, while sections **3.2.** and **3.3.** discuss how formal and functional shifts in meaning were defined and how they can be examined in a systematic way. It is important to note that 'shifts' do not equal 'mistakes'. They can be, of course, but shifts are more often a necessity or a deliberate choice, rather than a mistake. While every lexical choice, for instance, carries implications which derive from their being part of a lexical field, the structure of parallel lexical fields differs from language to language, meaning that such shifts are, in fact, inevitable.

Results are discussed in chapter 4. The general numbers presented in section **4.1.** portray what the main media under study wrote about (topics and sections), which sources they used (or at least attributed), and how many articles their journalists produced on a daily basis. Sections **4.2.** and **4.3.** then delve deeper into two distinct cases, respectively, one in which the translation of news reports on the 2011 elections in the DR Congo are analyzed, and one in which the translation of news reports on the run-up to the 2012 Olympics are analyzed.

To conclude I provide answers to the main research questions by affirming or negating the aforementioned hypotheses in chapter **5**. Note that I did not add the definite article 'the' to 'answers' in the previous sentence. However in depth the analyses presented in this book are, I do not presume to have the final say in the matter. Indeed my book will not be the last book on the relationship between translation and journalism. It may not even be my last book on the topic. The truth is still out there—

—which may be a good thing all in all, because as the late Sir Terry Pratchett (2004, p. 261) once wrote: “The presence of those seeking the truth is infinitely to be preferred to the presence of those who think they’ve found it”.

Chapter 2: Defining the main variables

2.1. What is pragmatics?

2.1.1. Introduction

Defining pragmatics could be quite easy. That is if we would simply state that pragmatics is the study of language use and leave it at that. Of course almost nobody ever leaves it at that. And neither will I. So although there could be a consensus in "the uncompromising acceptance of the definition of pragmatics as the study of language use" (Verschueren 1999a, p. 6), as opposed to the study of language in its own right or, put differently, "the linguistics of language resources" (Verschueren 1999a, p. 6), descriptions of pragmatics become highly dispersed beyond that common definition. And that is why asking what pragmatics is, "is a question whose answer is notoriously difficult to provide" (Huang 2007, p. 1), or in slightly different words, that is why "[p]ragmatics has been notoriously hard to define" (Ariel 2008, p. 1), that is why "a definition is […] by no means easy to provide" (Levinson 1983, p. 6).

First things first, when we consider pragmatics to be the study of language use, then we should make clear what language use is. Language use can be seen as "a cognitively, socially and culturally anchored form of behavior" (Verschueren 1999a, p. xi). Of course language use is not the only type of "cognitively, socially and culturally anchored form of behavior", but it is important to state that when we use language we do not do so in some context free vacuum. It can even be argued that an "utterance has no meaning except in the *context of situation*" (Malinowski 1923, p. 307; quoted in Senft 2005, p. 151 and in Verschueren 1999a, p. 75), with an utterance being "the use of a particular piece of language […] by a particular speaker on a particular occasion" (Huang 2007, p. 11). There are, indeed, many contextual factors influencing us and our language when using language, and the imperfect tool which is language, becomes even more imperfect when wielded, when in use. When I say 'imperfect' I do not mean that language when used does not work. Quite the contrary, (mostly) we are able to communicate with one another in an adequate manner. When I say 'imperfect' I mean that for language to work, it cannot be completely contained within a neat little box (let's call that box grammar; see *infra*). The reason why we are able to communicate is because we can think out of the box, because we can make choices, and when people use language they are continuously making choices, whether they are speaking themselves or interpreting what someone else is saying.

Verschueren introduced three hierarchical properties of language to explain how these choices are made, namely variability, negotiability and adaptability (1999a, p. 12, pp. 58-63; 2007, p. 72, p. 82). Variability is the range of choices language presents us with. When we want to tell something to someone, language provides us with multiple options. When someone tells us something, we can interpret what was said differently from how the speaker intended what (s)he said. Negotiability explains that we do not make these choices mechanically, but that we are guided by flexible principles and strategies in making our choices. When someone asks whether we liked a certain film and we found it to be okay, we can say just that, that we found it to be okay, or we can say we reasonably liked it, or that we did not dislike it. All these answers represent similar sentiments and would be correct. One could argue that the linguistic properties of these statements, make for us choosing one option over the others,[1] but when one agrees that an "utterance has no meaning except in the context of situation", one has to conclude that the meaning of none of these choices is absolutely fixed. But when choices are not instigated by fixed form-function relationships, how then are we still able to make choices? How is it possible that we successfully communicate, that we communicate in meaningful ways? This is where adaptability comes into play. Adaptability is the property of language which renders it possible for us to make negotiable choices out of the variable range of possibilities. Put differently, it is what enables us to adapt to the communicative situation we are in at any given time.

Language use, choice and context are at the heart of pragmatics, but researchers disagree about what pragmatics should actually study, about what falls within its scope and what falls outside of it. Of course I could answer the question 'what is pragmatics?' by saying that pragmatics is all of these views, but where is the fun in that?

[1] The second statement can be regarded to be the most positive because the lexical item 'liked' – even though it is modified by an adverb – is more positive than 'okay' and 'not dislike', and the last option can be considered to be the most negative due to the double negation.

2.1.2. The legacy of Charles Morris: the pragmatic perspective

Many conceptualizations of pragmatics refer to Charles Morris (see for example: Huang 2007; Levinson 1983; Niemeier 1987; Schneider 1989, 1987; Verschueren 1999a, 1995, 1985a), who in 1938 introduced the modern concept of pragmatics, which he defined as "the science of the relation of signs to their interpreters" (1938, p. 6) and which is part of his trichotomy of the semiotic. The other two parts of the trichotomy being syntax, in which "the formal relation of signs to one another" are studied, and semantics, which deals with "the relations of signs to the objects to which the signs are applicable".

Since Morris' introduction of pragmatics into this trichotomy of the semiotic, pragmatics as a term has seen narrow and broad interpretations. According to Huang (2007, p. 4) and Verschueren (1985a, p. 459), the broad use of the term was intended by Morris himself. In Morris' view pragmatics is not only a component of the semiotic as syntax and semantics are, but something that permeates every level of the semiotic. As he expressed it himself (1938, p. 5), and as he was quoted by Verschueren (1999a, p. 6):

> "Syntactical rules determine the sign relations between sign vehicles; semantical rules correlate sign vehicles with other objects; pragmatical rules state the conditions in the interpreters under which the sign vehicle is a sign. *Any rule when actually in use operates as a type of behavior, and in this sense there is a pragmatical component in all rules.*" (Italics in Verschueren 1999a)

After quoting Morris, Verschueren goes on to say that "[m]ore than half a century later, we could not have expressed this idea better". However, Verschueren's 'pragmatic perspective' does differ somewhat from Morris' view on pragmatics (see also Verschueren 1985a, p. 459). In fact it is both a narrower and a broader view at the same time.

For one, Morris' concept of pragmatics is not exclusively "a division of *linguistic* semiotics", but pertains to "sign systems in general" (Levinson 1983, p. 2; italics in original), while at certain points Verschueren explicitly defines pragmatics as the study of language use (2011, p. 33; 2008, p. 13-14; 2007, p. 72; 2000, p. 443; 1999a, p. 6; 1999b, p. 871) – as do many others (see for example: Coesemans 2012; Fawcett 1998; Fraser 2005; Hickey 1998; Kopytko 2007; Levinson 1983; Senft 2014; Zienkowski 2012) – and uses the terms 'pragmatics' and 'linguistic pragmatics' interchangeably – which also seems to be the general tendency within the field of (linguistic) pragmatics. So while many researchers do not necessarily claim that there cannot be a wider semiotic pragmatics, many do fail to explicitly acknowledge its existence. The question we can ask then is whether such a narrower view of pragmatics actually makes sense to begin with?

First of all, one could argue that the study of language use, *de facto*, incorporates the study of non-linguistic sign systems as well. As Verschueren says, another common definition for pragmatics is that it investigates "meaning in context**"** (2008, p. 13; 1999a, p. 8) – to which he adds however "that it is hard, if not impossible, to talk about meaning without taking into account context" (2008, p. 13). Although a definition which states that pragmatics investigates meaning in context can indeed not be used to distinguish pragmatics from semantics (which then would be the study of context-independent meaning, i.e. something which is impossible), Verschueren does indicate that "any study of language use must deal with linguistic structures as well as with aspects of context" (2008, p. 13). When looking at face-to-face interactions, that context would include non-verbal communication, like gesture, gaze and pointing (which are all examples of non-linguistic sign systems); meaning that they are as much an area of interest for pragmatics as the actual words spoken. When looking at multi-modal communication, that context would include other sign systems than the written or spoken word, such as pictures, music and graphs. However, because of pragmatics being explicitly defined as the study of language use, as the search for an answer to the following question: "What do people do when using language?" (Verschueren 1999a, p. xi), one could ask whether such non-verbal acts of communication would fall within the scope of pragmatics when they are used outside the realm of linguistic context. Would the study of 'music use' be regarded as pragmatic as the study of language use? Would the study of animal communication be regarded as pragmatic as the study of language use?

Secondly, when Verschueren talks about the institutionalization of pragmatics in his 1999b paper, he argues that defining "pragmatics as a *component* of a theory of language, on a par with syntax and semantics […] is an institutionalizing move, setting the beacons of a territory within which authority can be established" (1999b, p. 872). He then proposes to look at pragmatics as "a specific 'perspective' on language", but maybe he should have gone a step further by stating that keeping pragmatics within the realm of linguistics is also an institutionalizing move with its own set of constraints. In fact, in 1995 Verschueren defined pragmatics as “an interdisciplinary functional perspective on language and communication” (p. 128), which is much closer to Morris’ definition, than any of Verschueren’s later – post 1999 – definitions. Though Verschueren never intends to claim that a wider semiotic pragmatics would be impossible and keeps stressing the necessity of an interdisciplinary perspective in his later work, for instance in 2008 he defined pragmatics as “the interdisciplinary (cognitive, social, and cultural) science of language use” (p. 14), he does not talk of “language and communication” in his post 1999 work anymore, but simply of language or language use. Language (use) then is seen as a *sine qua non* for pragmatics, and it is in this sense that Verschueren’s definition is narrower than Charles Morris’s.

On the other hand – and on another level –, Verschueren’s view is also broader than Morris’ view:

> “Having said this, we must also observe that pragmatics is not only situated outside the contrast set to which phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics belong; neither does it fit into the set of interdisciplinary fields such as neurolinguistics, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics and anthropological linguistics.” (1999a, p. 7)

To Verschueren pragmatics then is a “general functional perspective on (any aspect of) language, i.e. […] an approach to language which takes into account the full complexity of its cognitive, social and cultural functioning” (Verschueren 1999a, p. 11), and most certainly not a single distinguishable component within a theory of grammar. Morris, however, considers pragmatics to be one of the three pivotal divisions of the semiotic – though he does admit that its influence cannot be limited to its own division.

Verschueren does not only distinguish pragmatics from Morris’ basic components of the semiotic; he also distinguishes it from several interdisciplinary fields (see above quote). This is a direct answer to Levinson’s criticism that a broad view of pragmatics “would include what is now known as psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, neurolinguistics and much besides” and that “[s]uch a scope is very much wider than the work that currently goes on under the rubric linguistic pragmatics” (1983, p. 2). However, a broad view of pragmatics does not necessarily entail that pragmatics would usurp the *raison d'être* of sociolinguistics, neurolinguistics and other such fields; only that:

> "actual research practice indeed shows a serious degree of thematic as well as methodological overlap. […] There is no reason to see this as a problem. […] The main function of linguistic pragmatics […] could be, then, to make sure that there is a point of convergence for the various interdisciplinary undertakings, a global picture against which the overall relevance of more specific efforts can be measured and from which the need for specific lines of investigation will emerge" (Verschueren 1999a, p. 7).

Apart from Verschueren's reply, it is also interesting to see that Levinson temporally anchored what he wrote in his 1983 book. When he wrote that "[s]uch a scope is very much wider than the work that *currently* goes on under the rubric linguistic pragmatics" (my italics) in 1983, he was right. Pragmatics *then* was mostly a theoretical enterprise stooling on a few basic notions originating from philosophy, namely deixis, implicature, presupposition and speech acts (see Verschueren 1985a, p. 461). A brief look at the literature *today* – for instance, a look at the schedule of presentations given at the last International Pragmatics Conference –, on the other hand, shows that a lot of research that goes under the rubric linguistic pragmatics uses "a broad variety of methodologies and interdisciplinary approaches depending on specific research questions and interests" (Senft 2014, p. 3; see also Coesemans 2012, pp. 21-23).

Indeed, pragmatics today does not only serve "'a kind of umbrella' function", as Jan-Ola Östman (1988, p. 28) put it for

> "'sociolinguistics […] and other (semi-) hyphenated areas of linguistics' but also for the other traditional subdisciplines of linguistics. As Mey (1994, p. 3268) wrote: 'The problems of pragmatics are not confined to the semantic, the syntactic or the phonological fields, exclusively. Pragmatics […] defines a cluster of related problems, rather than a strictly delimited area of research" (Senft 2014, p. 3).

2.1.3. A *need* for grammars: the component view of pragmatics

As opposed to the broad 'umbrella' or 'perspective' view of pragmatics sketched in section **2.1.2.**, Stephen C. Levinson indicates that he uses "[t]he relatively restricted sense of the term *pragmatics*" (1983, p. 5), though at first he does not clearly define what he means by it:

> "we embarked on this definitional enterprise with the warning that satisfactory definitions of academic fields are rarely available, and the purpose was simply to sketch the sorts of concerns, and the sorts of boundary issues, with which pragmaticists are implicitly concerned. As was suggested at the outset, if one really wants to know what a particular field is concerned with at any particular time, one must simply observe what practitioners do." (Levinson 1983, p. 32)

As Verschueren (1985a, p. 460) concludes: "Levinson's extremely careful weighing of the pros and cons of various definitions does not lead much further than the vague notion of pragmatics as the study of meaning in context (given substance only by ostensively defining it as the study of whatever phenomena *Pragmatics* discusses)", and it is not until Levinson remarks that there is a "*need* for a pragmatic component in an integrated theory of linguistic ability" that we see what he actually means by using the relatively restricted sense of the term pragmatics (Levinson 1983, p. 33; my italics); namely that pragmatics is there mainly to fulfil a particular *need* – which, of course, is a far less inclusive thought than his outline for pragmatics in the above quote.

One of Levinson's main arguments for pragmatics having to be a component in an integrated theory of linguistic ability, that pragmatics should not fall outside "the scope of grammatical description", is that it would otherwise mean that grammars would remain forever incomplete (Levinson 1983, p. 33): "So either grammars (models of competence) must make reference to pragmatic information, or they cannot include full lexical descriptions of a language."

This argument suggests that the question whether such full lexical description is necessary in the first place, does not seem to be a question at all, even though Levinson's wordings indicate that there is room for interpretation: "But *suppose* now we require that adequate grammatical descriptions include specifications of the meaning of every word in a language, and such a requirement has *normally* been *assumed*, then we find words whose meaning-specifications can only be given by reference to contexts of usage" (Levinson 1983, p. 33; my italics).

Another argument he makes lies within the logical ordering of the components within the grammar. To come to an integrated theory of linguistic competence, pragmatics must be part of that ordering because it cannot be said that all components of the grammar are autonomous with respect to pragmatics. Just like syntax is logically prior to phonology, "in that phonological description requires reference to syntactic categories, but not vice versa", pragmatics is, in some respects, logically prior to semantics (Levinson 1983, p. 34). Verschueren argues that "a consequence of this view is that any attempt at defining pragmatics should be primarily concerned with establishing its border with semantics" (1985a, p. 464). Indeed, the focus of Levinson's *Pragmatics* is on the interrelatedness of semantics and pragmatics, though Levinson admits that pragmatics is also interrelated with other linguistic fields: "a different textbook might have stressed the relationship between pragmatics and linguistic form" (1983, p. 372) and that "it is worth assembling a set of reminders to indicate how deep such relations may be" (1983, p. 372). Yan Huang, a former student of Levinson, further adds that:

> "pragmatics and syntax are interconnected in regulating anaphora and binding, though they are distinct levels and modes of linguistic explanation. The interface between pragmatics and syntax may in general be summarized in a Kantian apothegm: pragmatics without syntax is empty; syntax without pragmatics is blind." (Huang 2007, p. 271)[2]

The focus on the interrelatedness of pragmatics and semantics, however, remains, and has led some supporters of the component view to conclude that "*pragmatics = semantics + context*, as found in Simpson (1993, p. 120)" (Coesemans 2012, p.19). Levinson is not as extreme in his wordings as Simpson. He never goes as far as to say that "*pragmatics = semantics + context*", but his argumentation is not always as clear-cut either. On the one

[2] Huang's wordings remind us of those found in the works of Bronislaw Malinowski. Malinowski said that "linguistics without ethnography would fare as badly as ethnography without the light thrown in it by language" (Malinowski 1920, p. 78; quoted in Senft 2014, p. 104; see also Senft 2005, p. 149). Indeed, when looking at "*the meaningful functioning of language* in actual use" (Verschueren 1999a, p. 11; italics in original), the need for an interdisciplinary functional perspective on language, which not only looks at the interplay of pragmatics with linguistic fields, but also at the interplay with other fields of investigation, becomes quite apparent.

hand, he says that such a definition would be highly dependent of the semantic theory adopted (Levinson 1983, p. 12), and that this would mean that there is

> "some given, natural level of context-independent meaning" which "does not seem to be the case. For, if one accepts a truth-conditional semantics then one is forced to state truth conditions on sentences-in-context, or if one prefers (as Katz [1977] would) that semantics is concerned with aspects of meaning assigned by convention to linguistic forms, then one includes context-dependent aspects of meaning within semantics" (Levinson 1983, p. 20).

On the other hand, he also states that these necessary context-dependent aspects of meaning within semantics are there because pragmatics is logically prior to semantics: "contextual specifications are a necessary input to a semantic component, and thus pragmatics is (at least in this respect) prior to semantics" (Levinson 1983, p. 34). Such statements raise questions about how the component view delimits pragmatics from semantics, and it can be argued that Levinson's definitional problems (quoted at the beginning of 2.1.3.) stem from the failure to draw any meaningful boundary between pragmatics and semantics (see also Jaszczolt 2002, p.1 and Maillat 2005, p. 55). As Yan Huang says:

> "The general conclusion that can be reached seems to be that semantics and pragmatics constitute two distinct domains of inquiry, but they are inextricably intertwined in such a manner that the boundary between them is not easy to draw in a neat and systematic way." (2007, p. 242)

That pragmatics is in some ways prior to linguistic fields like semantics and syntax does not have to mean that they are part of the same order though. To quote Mey (1994, p. 3268) once more: "[t]he problems of pragmatics are not confined to the semantic, the syntactic or the phonological fields, exclusively". This is because a pragmatic area of research "can be situated at any level of linguistic structure" (Verschueren 1999a, p. 2). Levinson does, at times, seem to agree that pragmatics is of a different kind than semantics and syntax: "insofar as pragmatics is concerned with context, it can be claimed that by definition pragmatics is not part of competence", i.e. not a part of grammars; with grammars being models of competence, and competence being the "knowledge of a language idealized away from (especially) irregularity or error and variation; to [which], Katz [1977] influentially added idealization away from context" (Levinson 1983, p. 34). But, when Levinson says that "it can be claimed" that pragmatics is not part of competence, he is actually saying that it should be; that it *needs* to be part of the grammar. In distinguishing pragmatics from sociolinguistics Levinson says that "sociolinguistics is not a component or level of a grammar in the way that syntax, semantics, phonology and, quite plausibly, pragmatics are" (Levinson 1983, p. 29). Indeed, what Verschueren (1985a, p. 468) said about Leech's (1983) opposition between grammar and pragmatics also holds up for Levinson's opposition as well: "the component view of Anglo-American pragmatics seems to involve, both for Leech and for Levinson, an attempt to keep pragmatics as 'grammatical' as possible."

The consequence of pragmatics being "treated as a core component of a theory of language, on a par with phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics" (Huang 2007, p. 4) is that, according to Verschueren (1999a, pp. 1-6), in the component view pragmatics is given its own unit of analysis, just like phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics have their own unit of analysis, i.e. study their own, specific, structural language resource. The pragmatic perspective, on the other hand, posits that no such unit can be attributed to pragmatics. It is "a general functional perspective" on any aspect of language, meaning that "the linguistic phenomena to be studied […] can be situated at any level of linguistic structure". The failure of the Anglo-American school of pragmatics – to which Huang and Levinson belong – to describe a boundary between semantics and pragmatics then is explained by them trying to make pragmatics become something which it is not. It is like trying to explain what an apple is by saying how it is different from an orange, or rather, trying to explain what a tree is by only referring to the fruit it bears. By attributing to pragmatics certain language resources to study, pragmatics is mangled. The reason why? Because of an apparent *need* to complete grammars (see *supra*).

Then what are the language resources pragmaticists should study? According to Huang, "context, real-world knowledge, and inference" are some of the pragmatic factors we need to analyze in order to understand certain linguistic phenomena (2007, p. 6). By focusing on a few central topics of inquiry, namely implicature, presupposition, speech acts and deixis the Anglo-American school of pragmatics tries to delimit the scope of pragmatics in a "relatively coherent, systematic and principled way" (Huang 2007, p. xi).

Huang also states that although the way the Anglo-American school approaches pragmatics might be less close to Morris' conception of pragmatics, it is "conceptually more elegant and methodologically more sound" than the European Continental school to which Verschueren belongs. Huang's main argument for this statement is that he considers the perspective view on pragmatics to be too broad, repeating Levinson's criticism that it would encompass "much that goes under the rubric of sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, and discourse analysis" (Huang 2007, p. xi) – regardless of Verschueren's rebuttal as cited above and the fact that Levinson's temporally anchored criticism about the scope of pragmatics within the Continental European tradition being "very much wider than the work that currently goes on under the rubric linguistic pragmatics", has become obsolete (1983, p. 2).

After his statement about conceptual elegance, Huang goes after Morris' definition of pragmatics (which he found in Verschueren 1999a) as "the relation of signs to their interpreters" (Morris 1938, p. 6) and his explication that

> "since most, if not all, signs have as their interpreters living organisms, it is a sufficiently accurate characterization of pragmatics to say that it deals with the biotic aspects of semiosis, that is, with all the psychological, biological, and sociological phenomena which occur in the functioning of signs" (Morris 1938, p. 30; quoted in Huang 2007, pp. 4-5; also found in Verschueren 1999a, p. 6 and Verschueren 1985a, p. 459).

Huang retorts that he does not see how one can come to a clear research agenda for pragmatics with such a definition, maintaining that "[t]o say that 'everything is pragmatics' amounts to saying that 'nothing is pragmatics' and that 'the study of 'everything' is hardly a viable academic enterprise" (Huang 2007, p. 5).

Of course, such witticisms can hardly be regarded as 'viable academic' arguments themselves. Studying the way in which living organisms communicate meaning by the use of signs should hardly be regarded as the study of everything, and taking into account psychological, biological, and sociological phenomena helps us in furthering our understanding of what it means to use language rather than that it hinders us in that endeavor. For how else would one understand how living organisms are able to attribute meaning? Indeed, if we would not have been biologically apt to point at things, the study of deixis would not be where it is today. And Levinson's own hypothesis of there being a 'human interaction engine' behind human communication, or should we say *before* language, would not have been possible without ethological considerations:

> "from an ethological point of view, humans have a distinctive, pan-specific pattern of interaction with conspecifics, marked by (1) intensity and duration, (2) specific structural properties, and (3) those properties separable from the language with which it is normally conducted" (Levinson 2006, p. 42; quoted in Senft 2014, p. 99)

It should suffice to say that psychological, biological, and sociological phenomena are at the foundation of any communicative behavior, and it should not be regarded as odd or 'unpragmatic' to look at how they affect communication in an encompassing theory of pragmatics.[3]

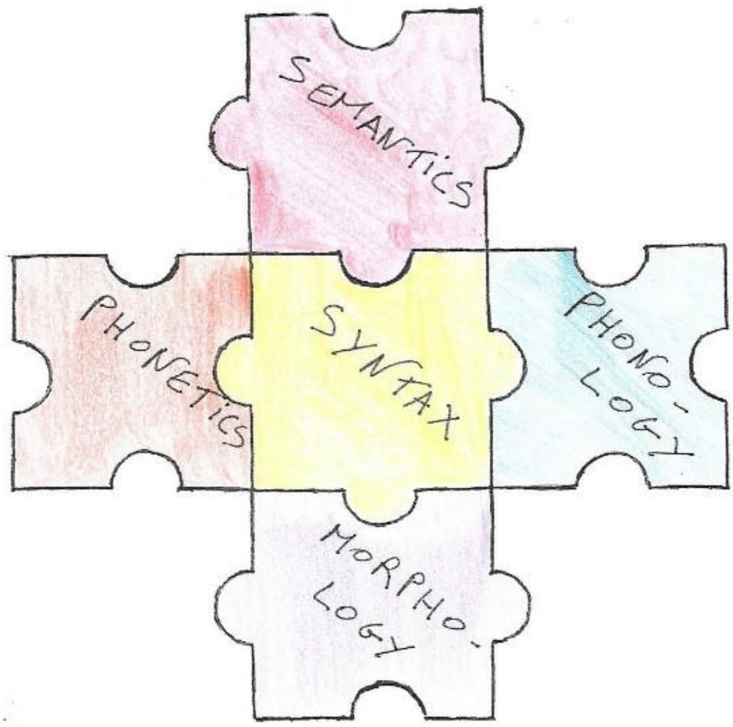
2.1.4. Component or perspective: a puzzling dilemma

In section **2.1.1.** I said that for language to work, it cannot be completely contained within a neat little box and I called that box grammar. I also said that the reason why we are able to communicate is because we can think out of the box. Of course the box is necessary. For one, how else would we be able to think outside of it, if there were no box?

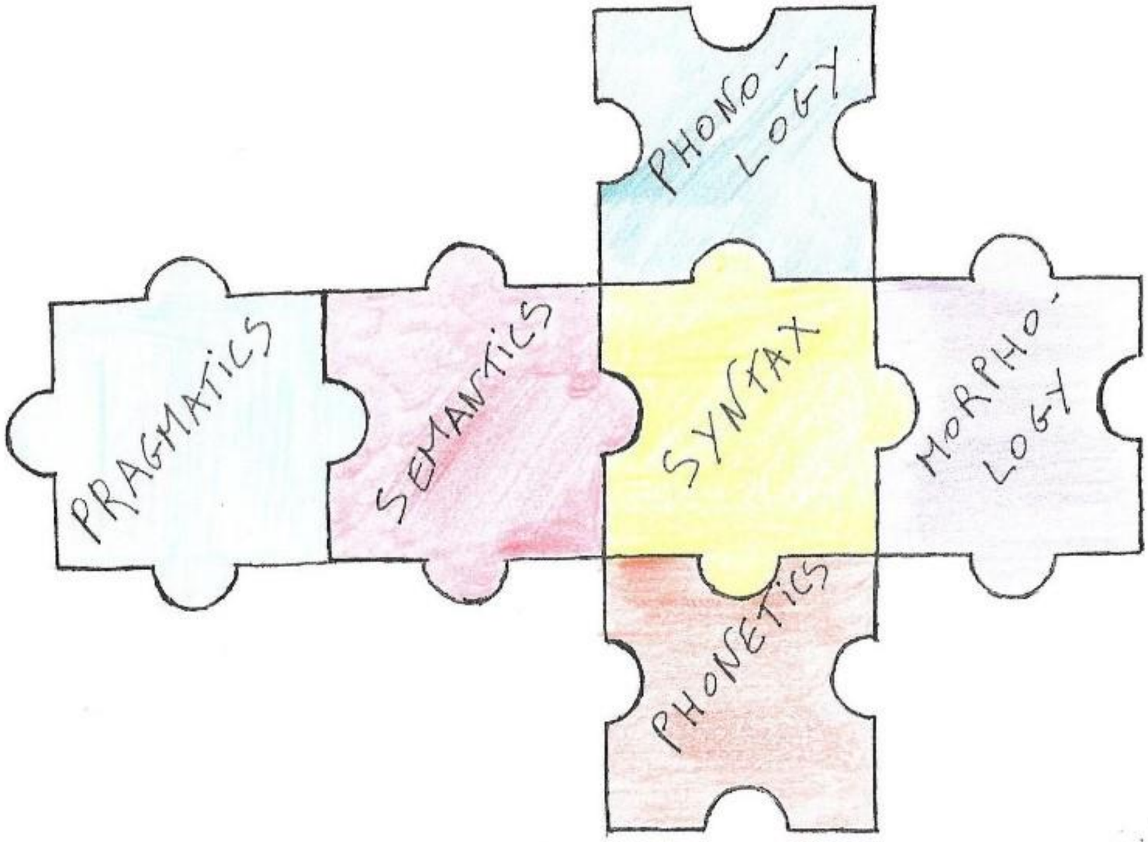
In this section I want to go a step further with this metaphor by considering this box to be made up of puzzle pieces. According to Levinson and other supporters of the component view pragmatics, then, should be treated as if it were such a puzzle piece:

[3] Senft (2014) for instance explores the relationship between these three (as well as other) phenomena and pragmatics. In chapter 2 he focuses on pragmatics and psychology. In chapter 3 he explores the "biological foundations of communicative behavior" (p.79). In chapter 5 he deals with the interplay between pragmatics and sociology.

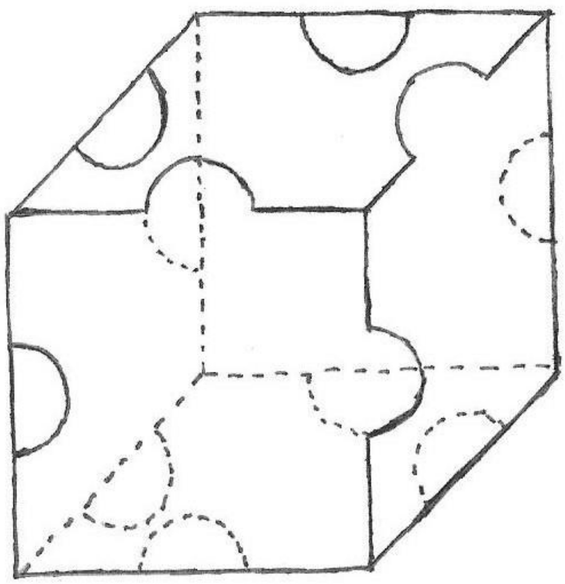
Pragmatics is not just any puzzle piece, mind you; it is the final piece needed to complete the existing grammatical puzzle, which looks somewhat like this:



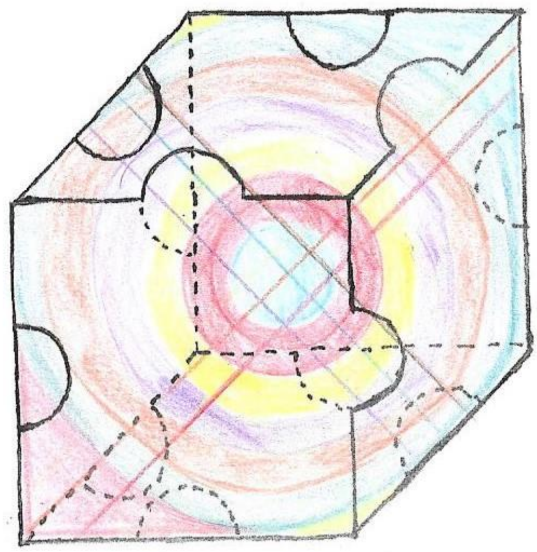
Levinson's main argument for pragmatics having to be part of the grammar, is that it is logically prior to semantics. That is why pragmatics should be seen as the first puzzle piece in the set, and that it should share its main border with semantics:



Of course, like any other puzzle piece, pragmatics does not have one side. It has multiple sides, and as such it is also connected to the other pieces, e.g. morphology and phonetics, though this connection is less visible than the pragmatics-semantics connection, and can only be seen when looking at the puzzle as a three-dimensional cube, or… box:

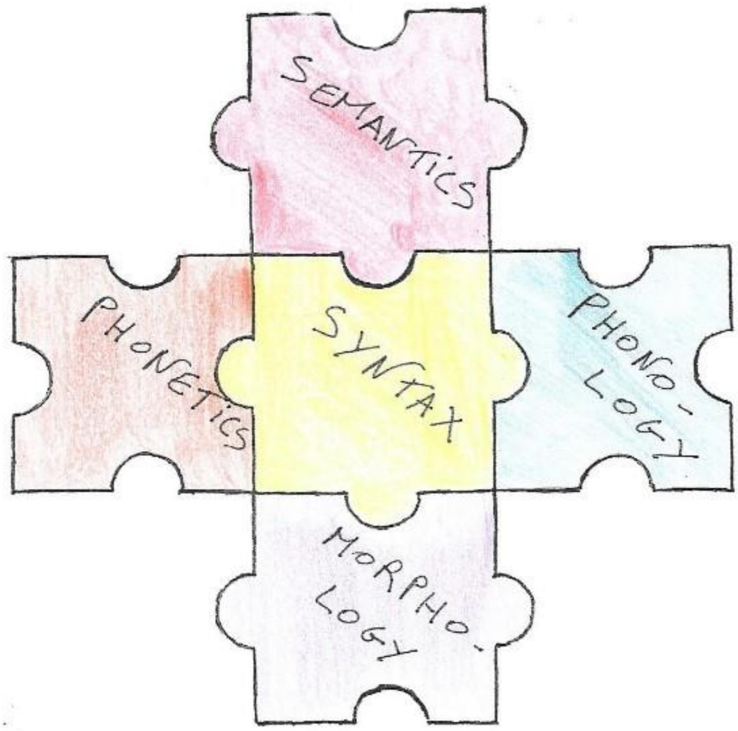


Also, as you may have noticed, the puzzle pieces for this particular box have rounded tabs and blanks, making it so that when pieces are interlocked it is not always easy to say where one piece ends and the other begins. Because it is logically prior to semantics, pragmatics has a rounded tab which interlocks with a semantic blank. This interlock should explain why it is difficult to separate semantics and pragmatics from one another (in some regards). The other sides of the pragmatic puzzle piece also have tabs, which symbolize pragmatics' interrelatedness with other fields. At first sight the pragmatic puzzle piece does not seem to interlock with the syntactic puzzle piece, but that is only so when one considers the borders between the puzzle pieces to be absolute. They are not. The interrelatedness of the linguistic fields is not limited to the two-dimensional plane, to the actual puzzle pieces interlocking. Because the box is a three-dimensional shape, there are many more connections to be found between the linguistic fields inside the box. In other words: the box is not empty.

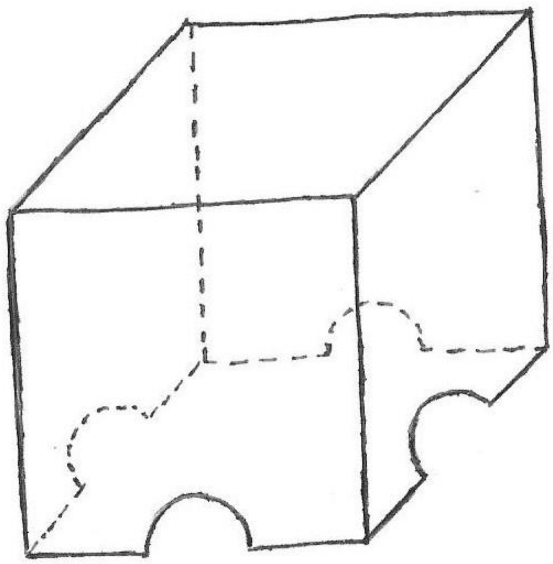


Lastly, because every tab has a corresponding blank, the grammatical puzzle becomes a hermetically closed-off environment, a box with no ins and outs. Nothing can be added to the box and nothing can be taken away from it. Indeed, as such it can be argued that the scope of the discipline is delimited "in a relatively coherent, systematic, and principled way" (Huang 2007, p. 5).

If we were to apply the same metaphor to the pragmatic perspective, then we would hear that pragmatics is not a puzzle piece at all, but a different perspective on how the original puzzle should be interpreted. Because language only gets meaning when in use, the grammatical puzzle would not make much sense when looking at it as a two-dimensional representation:

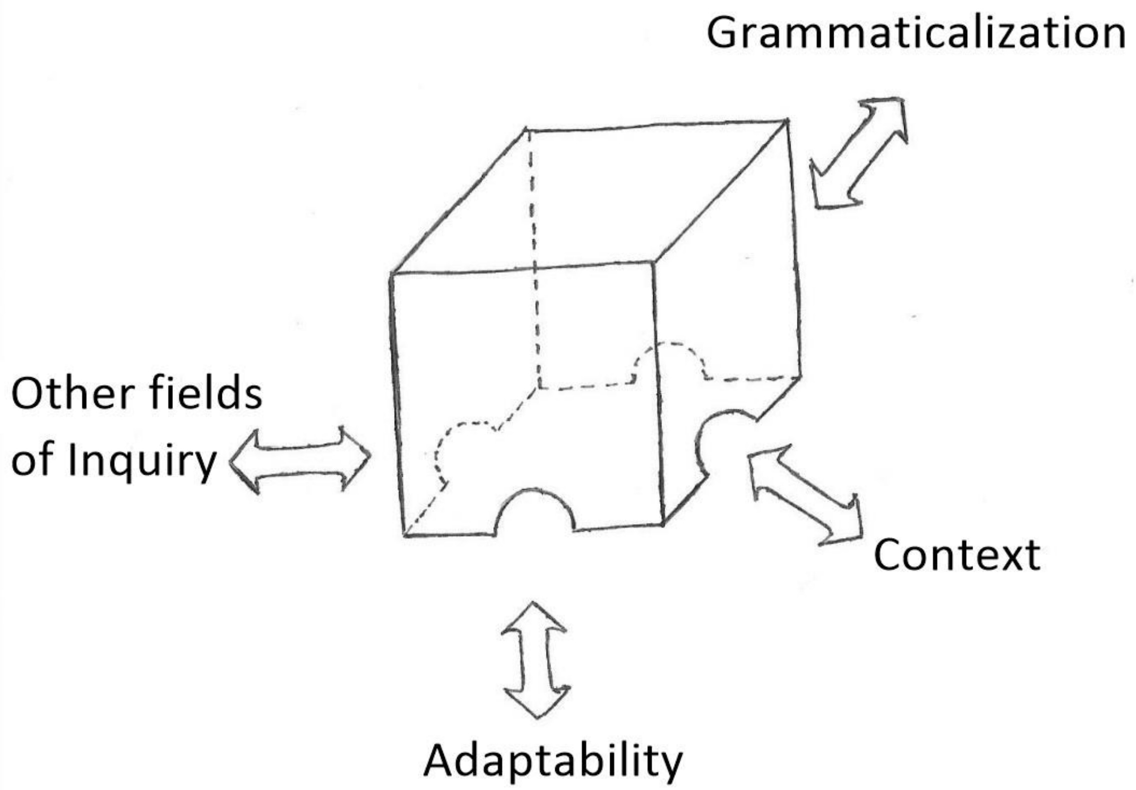


The puzzle only becomes meaningful when the perspective is changed to three dimensions, without giving priority to any of the linguistic fields:



The pragmatic perspective does not look at the five original pieces of the grammar as an incomplete set. The five pieces of the grammar do not need an extra piece to turn it into a closed-off box. The grammatical puzzle is complete when one accepts that it is governed by dynamism, i.e. that it will never be entirely complete (also see Paul Hopper's 1987 'emergent grammar'). The completed puzzle should be looked at as if it were an open house, a house with open doors on each side.

The open house then can be seen as not only serving as a point of convergence "for the interdisciplinary fields of investigation and as a latch between those and the components of the linguistics of language resources" (Verschueren 1999a, p. 11); it is also open to take into account any contextual factor necessary for making language use meaningful. Furthermore, the open doors symbolize both the variable, negotiable and adaptable nature of language, which engenders choice, and the ever-changing nature of language itself (and as a consequence the grammar). The process of grammaticalization which can be described as "a transition from a pragmatic, extralinguistic tendency to a grammatical, often obligatory rule" (Ariel 2001, p. 56) is a good case in point. Some may argue that "[f]rom a diachronic viewpoint, languages seem to change from being more pragmatic to more syntactic; from a synchronic perspective, different languages may simply be at different stages of this evolution" (Huang 2007, p. 271), but such a view implies that grammaticalization is a one-way enterprise. It is not. For example, some new words may become part of the lexicon, while others are deleted, or are given a new meaning. There is no teleological component to pragmatics. One does not start at A to get to B. Pragmatics is there to provide you with the tools to communicate whether you are at A or B or C. The open doors do not only allow for pragmatics to become frozen within grammar (to use Brown and Levinson's 1987 metaphor), but also for grammar to defrost and become pragmatics again. Indeed, "the notion of grammar is intrinsically unstable and indeterminate, relative to the observer, to those involved in the speech situation, and to the particular set of phenomena focused upon" (Hopper 1987, p. 155). The arrows going in and out of grammar always point in both ways:



Now, the astute reader may have noticed that I prefer the pragmatic perspective or umbrella view over the component view. I believe that both views have their merits, but that only one is tenable as a general theory of pragmatics. When Levinson argues that pragmatics *needs* to be part of grammar for otherwise grammars would remain forever incomplete, he is thinking of his own needs, not those of the grammar itself. When one realizes that grammar is dynamic, and is constantly under influence of external factors, one quickly sees that it will never be complete, nor should it be. But what then with pragmatics being logically prior to semantics? Well, to use the puzzle metaphor once more, you always see the puzzle piece in hand before you place it with the other pieces. When pragmatics is a perspective and looks at (the interplay of) every possible linguistic resource, sometimes using these linguistic resources in new (and ungrammatical) ways, it is also logically prior to the linguistic resources themselves. Now, before I provide an answer to the question 'What is pragmatics' I would like to address three more issues arising from looking at pragmatics as a component of grammar that were not discussed in the previous parts.

First, apart from his arguments against a pragmatic perspective (counter argued in section **2.1.3.**), Huang also explains why he prefers Levinson's theory of pragmatics over other theoretical considerations within the Anglo-American tradition. The main argument: Occam's razor, to which he refers on many occasions throughout his *Pragmatics* (see Huang 2014, p. 9, p. 44, p. 103, p. 250, p. 293, p. 333 and p. 378; Huang 2007, p. 7, p. 37 and p. 282). Occam's razor is a problem solving principle which dictates that assumptions are not to be multiplied beyond necessity when formulating a hypothesis, though Huang defines it more briefly as dictating "that *entities* are not to be multiplied beyond necessity" (2007, p. 7, my italics). Indeed, Levinson's theoretical claims do not proliferate as much as the other theories Huang cites in comparison. But were we to use Occam's razor for our own 'puzzling dilemma', we would have to conclude that the perspective view is preferable, because it allows for the puzzle to be solved with five pieces instead of six.

Secondly, while it is certainly praiseworthy to try and delimit pragmatics in a "relatively coherent, systematic and principled way" as I quoted Huang in section **2.1.3**.; it has also been proven to be impossible to not expand the scope of research. While Huang described the central topics of inquiry for pragmatics to be "implicature, presupposition, speech acts, and deixis" in his 2007 *Pragmatics* (Huang 2007, p. 5), he added a 'new' core concept, namely reference, to his 2014 edition, promising that "with the addition of reference, the range of classic topics that should be dealt with in this book is complete" (Huang 2014, p. xiv). While the range of 'classic topics' may, indeed, have been dealt with in Huang's 2014 book (though one can also argue that 'conversation' should be regarded as a classic topic in its own right), nothing indicates that the range of possible (new) topics for pragmatics will ever be exhausted.

Lastly, the central topics of enquiry formulated by Levinson and Huang, among others, cannot be entirely confined to some pragmatic component. So while deixis and presupposition had long been associated exclusively with semantics, this problem also becomes clear when looking at the notion of implicature, which according to Moeschler

(2012, p. 408) “from a historical point of view’ can ‘be considered as the core concept of pragmatics”.[4]

Implicature is Grice’s (1975) term for describing a type of implicit meaning which is generated or engendered when a speaker means something by what (s)he says, but does not actually say it. Grice hypothesized that for people to understand what the speaker means, but does not say, there has to be a co-operative principle guiding the interaction, unless when these implicit meanings have been conventionalized in particular lexical items or linguistic constructions. The principle goes as follows:

> “Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose and direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged” (Grice 1975, p. 45).

To fulfil the cooperative principle, the speaker must follow nine communicative maxims, grouped in four categories, namely those of Quantity, Quality, Relation and Manner (Grice 1975, pp. 45-46). Conversational implicatures then are inferences which are generated or engendered by the speaker deliberately flouting the communicative maxims while the co-operative principle remains intact (Zienkowski 2012, p. 158; Huang 2007, pp. 279-280). Whether a conversational implicature works out or not also relies on the conventional meaning of the words uttered, the linguistic structure, the context and background knowledge (Coesemans 2012, p. 17; Bertuccelli Papi 2009, pp. 141, 151-152; Moeschler 2012, p. 420; Verschueren 1999a, p. 30). When a conversational implicature is inferable without reference to a specific context we speak of a generalized conversational implicature; when a conversational implicature is inferable only in a specific context we speak of a particularized conversational implicature.

Apart from conversational implicatures, Grice also established a category of conventional implicatures. They are considered to be more semantic than pragmatic and are not governed by the co-operative principle and the communicative maxims, but arise “because of the conventional features attached to particular lexical items and/or linguistic constructions” (Huang 2007, p. 279).

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[4] Moeschler also emphasizes that “pragmatics cannot be reduced to the implicature debate” and that a “general theory of language in use must address a multitude of issues” (2012, p. 408).

The existence of three types of implicature (particularized conversational implicature, generalized conversational implicature and conventional implicature) led Jaszczolt (2002, pp. 225-226) and Huang (2007, pp. 214-222) to observe that, although implicature is generally regarded to be a core concept of pragmatics, it is better to speak of a “semantics-pragmatics continuum whose borderline is difficult to mark” (Huang 2007, p. 214).

2.1.5. An answer

What is pragmatics? Pragmatics is the study of communicative dynamics.[5] As such it is not limited to the division of linguistic semiotics, but can handle topics within a theory of sign systems in general. It is not limited to the study of language use, though in practice it usually is because of its institutionalization within the realm of linguistics. Language use is a “cognitively, socially and culturally anchored form of behavior” (Verschueren 1999a, p. xi) which allows for the manipulation of language resources by the virtue of choice. As a result language resources are dynamic themselves – though changes here are often more gradual than within the context of situation. The dynamism of grammars is proven by the process of grammaticalization, which allows for pragmatics to become frozen, or grammar to defrost when required by the communicative situation.[6] Thus, within linguistics, pragmatics should not be seen as a part of grammar, but a “general functional perspective on (any aspect of) language” (Verschueren 1999a, p. 11).

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[5] “Communicative dynamics” is a term which I have appropriated from Verschueren (1995, p. 138).
[6] To use (and expand) Brown and Levinson’s 1987 metaphor of ‘frozen pragmatics’ once again.

2.2. What is Translation?

2.2.1. Introduction

Questions about the most common of terms tend to be the hardest to answer. Answering the question about what translation is, would not seem to pose any problem at first glance. Ask anybody, or here, any researcher, and they would be able to give you some sort of answer. One such answer would be the following:

> "What is generally understood as translation involves the rendering of a source language (SL) text into the target language (TL) so as to ensure that (1) the surface meaning of the two will be approximately similar (2) the structures of the SL will be preserved as closely as possible but not so closely that the TL structures will be seriously distorted." (Bassnett 2002, p. 11)

Another one would be:

> "translation [is] a discipline which has to concern itself with how meaning is generated within and between various groups of people in various cultural settings." (Baker 1997, p. 4)

And even:

> "there is no reason to assume that […] there is a non-arbitrary point that would separate translations from non-translations." (Gutt 1998, p. 47)

These answers all approach the question of what translation is in their own way. The first answer focusses on the linguistic / textual aspects of translation. The second one approaches it as an interpersonal exchange. Both answers do not necessarily exclude one another, but they do show that different foci, different points of view, influence the type of answer one may expect; that there is, indeed, not one single answer to what might have seemed to be a simple question. The third answer could be regarded as theoretical, or even existential. Do we really have to distinguish translation from other types of language use?

2.2.2. Lexical profusion and semantic overlap: House, Nord and Gutt

In Translation Studies the noun 'translation' is more often than not preceded by an adjective, indicating what kind of translation one is dealing with, and adding to the disperse usages of the term. There are many examples to be found, ranging from the olden days division between literal and free translation, already mentioned by Cicero (first century BC) and St. Jerome (fourth century AD) (see, for example: Munday 2001, p. 19); to field based divisions like literary, legal and technical translation; and linguistic theoretical divisions as between direct and oblique (Vinay and Darbelnet 2000, 1973, 1958), semantic and communicative (Newmark 1988, 1982, 1977), overt and covert (House 1997, 1977), primary and secondary (Diller and Kornelius 1978), documentary and instrumental (Nord 2005, 1988), indirect and direct (Gutt 2000, 1991), and resistant and fluent translation (Venuti 1995).

Note that already in this small enumeration of collocational adjectives there is some lexical overlap. Vinay and Darbelnet, as well as Gutt use the term 'direct translation'. The concepts behind that term, however, differ extensively. Vinay and Darbelnet's direct translation is almost synonymous with literal translation, which they also describe as word-for-word translation. However, for them, direct translation also includes two other practices: borrowing (transferring an SL word directly to the TL to fill a semantic gap in the TL) and calque ("a special kind of borrowing" (Vinay and Darbelnet 2000, p. 85) in which an SL expression or structure is literally transferred to the TL text). Gutt's direct translation aims at "complete interpretive resemblance" (2000, p. 173), emphasizing that it are "not the actual linguistic properties of the source language utterance [that matter], but rather the 'communicative clues' they provide[…] to the intended interpretation" (2000, p. 170). The reader must believe that the translation she or he is reading will lead her or him to interpret the text in the same way the source text (ST) reader did, regardless of any formal or linguistic differences between the two. Vinay and Darbelnet's direct translation does not per se lead the target text (TT) reader to the same interpretation as the ST reader. When one would directly translate (as defined by Vinay and Darbelnet) the Dutch proverb 'het regent pijpenstelen' into English, one would get something in the line of 'it's raining pipe stems' (calque). When one would directly translate the same Dutch proverb as defined by Gutt, one might get 'it's raining cats and dogs'. A caveat which must be made, however, is that although one could directly translate the Dutch proverb to 'it's raining pipe stems' according to Vinay and Darbelnet, this does not mean that the authors think this is an acceptable translation in most cases. I will return to this point in section **2.2.3.**.

Far more than this one instance of lexical overlap, there is semantic overlap between the linguistic theoretical divisions. As an example, let us take a closer look at two sets of oppositions: Juliane House's (1977) covert and overt translation, and Christiane Nord's (1988) documentary and instrumental translation.

In his review of Shuttleworth and Cowie's 1997 *Dictionary of Translation Studies*, Andrew Chesterman writes the following:

> "Because it is a collection of terms rather than topics, there is a fair amount of semantic overlap (e.g. between *Covert* and *Instrumental Translation*)." (1999, p. 173; quoted in Van Vaerenbergh 2007, p. 242)

As Chesterman is correct to point out, both House's opposition of covert and overt translation and Nord's opposition of instrumental and documentary translation show some remarkable overlap. First off, Nord's documentary and House's overt translation are both somewhat similar to quotation, in that they reproduce (certain aspects of) the ST, but are embedded in a new TL specific context. House (1997, p. 112) calls it a form of "language mention". Nord (2005, p. 80) states that TT readers are "conscious of "observing" a communicative situation of which they are not part." Both authors indicate that in this type of translation, the focus is on keeping ST morphological, lexical and syntactic structures, textual aspects, and register characteristics. According to House this is necessary at all levels. Nord indicates that it is more probable that while focusing on certain aspects, others get neglected. The translation of a novel can be seen as a clear example of this kind of translation, in which it is also clearly indicated that one is dealing with a translated work.

Instrumental translation and covert translation on the other hand are most definitely forms of "language use" (House 1997, p. 112) and convey "a message directly from the ST author to the TT receiver." (Nord 2005, p. 80). Linguistic resemblances are of little importance. What matters is that the original message gets across, not that the TT reader realizes that he is dealing with a translated text. Actually, the TT reader is not even necessarily aware that he is reading a translation, because the TTs "are received as if they were in fact originals." (House 1997, p. 114) A patient information leaflet for a medicine dispersed throughout the European Union which is translated into 22 (or more) different languages is an example of this type of translation. It does not matter that 21 of these leaflets are translations and one is not. It is important that all readers (independent of their tongue) receive the same information and know how to act appropriately on it.

There are, of course, differences, but they are limited mainly to the role of text function in translation, which House defines as "the application or use which the text has in the particular context of a situation" (1997, p. 36). For House, the function of a target text depends on what type of text the source text is. ST function should be kept when translating. According to Nord, TT functions – because a TT can have multiple functions – completely depend on the purpose (or *skopos*) of the TT, not the ST (Nord 2005, p. 80. See also Van Vaerenbergh 2007, p. 242-244. *Skopos* theory was developed by Reiß and Vermeer 1984). Another difference between the two theories is that Nord's instrumental translation is, overall, a broader concept than House's covert translation (see *infra*).

House and Nord's theories are not the only ones that show remarkable overlap. When comparing their theories to that of Gutt, similarities become immediately obvious once again. House herself even says that her concept of overt translation, which among others focusses on keeping ST morphological, lexical and syntactic structures, and Gutt's concept of direct translation, which aims at complete interpretive resemblance, are rough equivalents (House 1997, p. 113). Indeed, both Gutt and House compare their respective concepts to (direct) quotation. But, unlike House, Gutt does not see direct translation as a form of language mention. He makes it very clear that direct translation is a form of interpretive (language) use, that áll translation is a form of interpretive language use.

> "[D]irect quotation is possible without a proper understanding of the intended interpretation of the original. […] Direct translation, however, presupposes an understanding of the original." (Gutt 2000, p. 173)

> "Furthermore, the claim that translation generally falls under interpretive use is significant in that it offers an explanation for one of the most basic demands standardly made in the literature on translation – that is, that a thorough understanding of the original text is a necessary precondition for making a good translation." (Gutt 2000, p. 173)

In a revised edition (1997) of her 1977 work House replies to Gutt’s above critique in the following manner:

> “In presenting this analysis of the relationship between *overt* translation and psychologically and socially conceived notions of context (frame, discourse world and register), I basically agree with Gutt's (1991, p. 165) statement that direct translation (the term he uses as a rough equivalent for *overt* translation) should be processed with respect to the original context.” (House, 1997, p. 112-113)

From the examples in House’s book (1997) we can learn that she does indeed understand overt translation as being SL context dependent. However, it is not very clear how she adds up the ideas of an overt translation being an instance of language mention as well as being SL context dependent. Furthermore, at one point she also calls overt translation a “variation” on literal translation (p. 111), which as a matter of fact would entail it to be independent of SL context once again. Especially when literal translation is used synonymously with word-for-word translation, as done by Vinay and Darbelnet (2000, p. 86. See *supra*).

Of course, literal translation is not always used as a synonym for word-for-word translation, as we can see in Delisle et al. (2003, p. 79. See also Delisle et al. 1999). Here, both translation strategies are said to respect formal characteristics. But while word-for-word translation has to respect SL word order, literal translation does not. This is also the way in which Newmark looks at literal translation (1988, p. 68-69), though he sometimes uses word-for-word and literal translation interchangeably as well, for instance when stating that “in communicative as in semantic translation, provided that equivalent effect is secured, the literal word-for-word translation is not only the best, it is the only valid method of translation” (1982, p. 39). Berman defines literal translation differently:

> “Here “literal” means: attached to the letter (of works). Labor on the letter in translation is more originary than restitution of meaning. It is through this labor that translation, on the one hand, restores the particular signifying process of works (which is more than their meaning) and, on the other hand, transforms the translating language.” (Berman 2000, p. 297)

If House meant what Berman meant by "literal", we would be able to see the similarities. However, as Munday also indicates, "Berman's term is markedly different and more specific compared to the conventional use of literal translation" (2001, p. 151).

Gutt's critique of House does not stop at House's conceptualization of overt translation and her calling it a form of language mention. In fact, he dedicates a complete chapter (2000, chapter 3) to House's second translation type, namely covert translation, in which linguistic resemblances are of lesser importance and getting the message and function across is prime. Gutt even claims that it does not exist; "translation cannot be covert" (p. 215). His main critique of the concept is that he does not agree with House's assertion that covert translations should desirably show functional equivalence to their respective STs (Gutt 2000, p. 51; House 1997, p. 69), a critique we can also find in Nord's book, as mentioned before, but which she only mentions in a footnote (Nord 2005, p. 80).

Apart from this difference the concepts of covert and indirect translation seem to be rather similar, as was also the case with overt and direct translation, especially when considering that Gutt does not take into account House's differentiation between covert translation and covert version (Van Vaerenbergh 2007, p. 243) and her conceptualization of an overt version. A covert version is an inadequate translation – and therefore no translation at all – resulting from an unjustified application of a cultural filter (House 1997, p. 73, pp. 114-115), which in its own respect can be defined as the allowances a translator makes for underlying cultural differences between source and target text readers (p. 70). An overt version is "produced whenever a special function is overtly added to a TT" (p. 73), for instance when a literary classic is adapted for younger readers.

Though Gutt and Nord both criticize House's notion of functional equivalence, their critiques are not inspired by the same idea. As we have already mentioned, Nord claims TT functions are determined by their purpose (*skopos*) for the target audience and do not have to equate to the ST function(s) (Nord 2005, p. 80). This, however, does not mean that one can do whatever one wants with a source text when translating. The translator need not only be loyal to the TT receiver, but also to the ST sender. She defines loyalty as a moral responsibility and, therefore, distinguishes it from fidelity (see section **2.2.3.**) which is a technical relationship between two texts (Nord 2005, pp. 32-33). This definition, however, entails that in Nord's dictum the example in the above paragraph (literary classic adapted for young readers) *can* be seen as an instance of (instrumental) translation if it remains loyal to the ST sender as well as the target audience. One is not loyal to actual text, but to people: authors and receivers.

Gutt is rather wary of the idea of purpose dependence and *skopos* found in Nord's work. He even says the introduction of the idea to be "unfortunate" (2000, p. 218). He sees text functions as variables too (p. 55), but emphasizes that translation "is crucially dependent on the existence and content of the original works; their whole point is to represent those original works, and their success depends on the degree to which they achieve this" (p. 58). Key for him is interpretive resemblance. ST meaning is to be preserved, otherwise we cannot speak of translation.

To conclude, we can state that although these three theories look at translation from a different perspective (e.g. House's functional equivalence; Nord's idea of purpose; Gutt's idea of interpretive resemblance), they do show strong similarities in that they look at two types of translation that oppose each other. Moreover these oppositions seem to be variations on the same split. What this split exactly is, we will come to see in the next section.

2.2.3. From literal vs. free to faithful vs. liberal

Not only the concepts of overt, documentary and direct translation, and covert, instrumental and indirect translation are variations on the same split and are more or less interchangeable, but also the other linguistic theoretical divisions we have mentioned before seem to discuss the same division, e.g. Diller and Kornelius' primary and secondary, Newmark's semantic and communicative, and Venuti's resistant and fluent. I have not included Vinay and Darbelnet's direct and oblique translation in this list; the reason for which will become apparent later on in this section.

Most authors seem to be aware of the similarities between their theories and those of their colleagues as well. House says that her distinction between overt and covert translation as well as related but not identical distinctions, are "variations on the century old theme of literal vs free translation" (House 1997, p. 111). I have already indicated that House's association of overt with literal is not completely correct and we will see why later on in this section as well. Nord is more careful in her wordings when taking a similar stance: "Here again we find the two translation theories which have split translation scholars into two camps since the days of Cicero: *the supporters of liberty and the adherents of fidelity*." (2005, p. 80; italics not in original) Her statement is not entirely correct either, because the two camps she is referring to are different from the two camps in the days of Cicero (see *infra* once more).

Some might interpret that what Nord says is basically the same thing as what House says, but they would be wrong. Fidelity (or, being faithful) is definitely not the same as literalness. As Nord herself indicates it could even be argued that "word-for-word translations and literal translations (cf. Wilss, 1982, 87f.) or philological translations (in the terminology of Reiss, 1985) *are not accepted as translations* in the strict sense of the word because they "too faithfully" reproduce certain features of the original" (2005, p. 26; italics not in original). A TT can be faithful to a ST on different levels, intratextually (content and form) as well as extratextual (situation and function). Overt translation, documentary translation and Gutt's direct translation are therefore rather variations of what can be called faithful translations; covert translation, instrumental translation and Gutt's indirect translation can be seen as variations on the notion of liberal translation, in which meaning transposition is key and formal similarities are of little importance (for more on the concept of liberal translation, see *infra*).

Nord makes an interesting point by arguing that literal translations *are not accepted as translations*. It is interesting, because it can be seen as indicatory for a move that has taken place in the history of translation thinking, a move away from the idea of literalness in favor of faithfulness. As Gutt indicates:

> "If one were to ask what people think a translation should achieve, a very common answer would probably be that it should communicate the meaning of the original accurately and clearly to the readers of the translation. This has not always been so – thus certain philological traditions have tended to stress the preservation of stylistic and other linguistic characteristics of the original." (2000, p. 69)

So when House sees her two opposing types of translation as variations on literal and free translation, she is still thinking of translation in the old paradigm, not in the new one, the one she is actually advocating, the one in which there is no more room for literal translation.

Instead of criticizing her for not taking into account the SL context – which she does – someone should have just told her to change her glasses (as is the common metaphor for a paradigm shift) and look at what she is actually saying: that literal translation is long dead.

Such a statement probably would have made Russian novelist Vladimir Nabokov quite cross; Nabokov who in a 1955 paper (which was republished in 2000) stated the following:

> “A schoolboy’s boner is less of a mockery in regard to the ancient masterpiece than its commercial interpretation or poetization. “Rhyme” rhymes with “crime,” when Homer or *Hamlet* are rhymed. The term “free translation” smacks of knavery and tyranny. It is when the translator sets out to render the “spirit”—not the textual sense—that he begins to traduce his author. The clumsiest literal translation is a thousand times more useful than the prettiest paraphrase.” (2000, p. 71)

But currently even the most stout defenders of literal translation seem to acknowledge that literalness cannot take precedence over meaning. Even for instance Newmark (one of those stout defenders) who states that “literal translation is correct and must not be avoided, …” adds the following condition, “… if it secures referential and pragmatic equivalence to the original.” (1988, p. 68-69) Although Nabokov’s words might therefore not be as relevant today as they were sixty years ago, they remain fun to quote anyhow. They also provide me with a nice transition to another example of the move away from literalness I have been referring to, and in which Nabokov’s contemporaries Vinay and Darbelnet played a key role.

I have already mentioned the difference between Vinay and Darbelnet’s direct translation and Gutt’s direct translation, which show lexical overlap, but are far from semantic equals. Gutt distinguishes between direct and indirect translation. But this differentiation does not take literal translation in the sense of Vinay and Darbelnet (or Nabokov for that matter) into account. To Gutt “instances of descriptive use across language boundaries” and “instances of interpretive use not involving two languages” are not even to be called translation (2000, p. 128). Translation, to him, is always language that is (interpretively) in use.

At first sight Vinay and Darbelnet’s 1958 *Stylistique comparée du français et de l’anglais* is therefore a prime example of the old paradigm; as Munday mentions, the opposition between direct and oblique translation Vinay and Darbelnet posit, harks back to the literal versus free division (2001, p. 56). And indeed it does. But we have to look at their theory from a more nuanced perspective. Because while Vinay and Darbelnet do permit for literal translation, they also state that literal translation is impossible, even unacceptable, when it "gives another meaning, has no meaning, is structurally impossible, does not have a corresponding expression within the metalinguistic experience of the TL, or has a corresponding expression, but not within the same register" (Vinay and Darbelnet 2000, p. 87. Also see Vinay and Darbelnet 1973, p. 49), which are, all in all, a lot of exceptions. Literal translation for them often leads to unwarranted, unnatural translation; an idea which struck them while driving from New York to Montréal, the account of which they wrote down in the preface of their 1958 work, and was translated from French to English by Anthony Pym in the following manner:

> "We soon reach the Canadian border, where the language of our forefathers is music to our ears. The Canadian highway is built on the same principles as the American one, except that its signs are bilingual. After SLOW, written on the road-surface in enormous letters, comes LENTEMENT, which takes up the entire width of the highway. What an unwieldy adverb! A pity French never made an adverb just using the adjective LENT…. But come to think of it, is LENTEMENT really the equivalent of SLOW? We begin to have doubts, as one always does when shifting from one language to another, when our SLIPPERY WHEN WET reappears around a bend, followed by the French GLISSANT SI HUMIDE. Whoa!, as the Lone Ranger would say, let's pause a while on this SOFT SHOULDER, thankfully caressed by no translation, and meditate on the SI, this "if", more slippery itself than an acre of ice. No monolingual speaker of French would ever have come straight out with the phrase, nor would they have sprayed paint all over the road for the sake of a long adverb ending in –MENT. Here we reach a key point, a sort of turning lock between two languages. But of course – *parbleu!* – instead of LENTEMENT [adverb, as in English] it should have been RALENTIR [verb in the infinitive, as in France]!" (Vinay and Darbelnet 1958, p. 19; 1973, p. 19; Pym's translation: 2007, p. 279)[7]

[7] Original French version (Vinay and Darbelnet, 1973: 19): 'et c'est bientôt la frontière canadienne, où l'idiome de nos pères frappe agréablement nos Oreilles. Une pause rapide à la douane et nous repartons. L'autoroute canadienne est bâtie sur le même principe que celle que nous venons de quitter, à cela près que la signalisation est bilingue. Après SLOW, trace en énormes lettres blanches sur la chaussée, vient LENTEMENT, qui prend toute la

As the example shows, Vinay and Darbelnet, unlike Nabokov, are far from being advocates of literal translation. What they sum up as oblique translation (the combination of transposition, modulation, equivalence and adaptation strategies) is also not automatically an alternative for literal translation. It is, in fact, a necessary addition (1973, pp. 49-54). This idea can be seen as somewhat revolutionary for the time. Especially because, as I see it, they did not really mingle in the then roaring battle for literal or free translation. They provided a solution for it by stating that one simply cannot translate without making some concessions, without applying all strategies linked to direct or oblique translation at one time or other. Though they do not go as far as combining literal and oblique translation into one single term (or maybe they do under the common denominator translation), this combined concept can be seen as the probable origin for its later alternatives, as there are: Gutt's direct translation, faithful, overt, documentary, primary, semantic translation, etcetera. So what do Vinay and Darbelnet say of indirect, covert and instrumental translation in their book?

Not that much. Free translation, as it is referred to today, does not seem to equal free translation back then, or any type of translation for that matter. This is why I have been using the term liberal translation instead of free translation as opposing faithful translation. So while Vinay and Darbelnet's work was of key importance in closing the age-old discussion over literal and free translation, it opened up a new struggle – as peace so often does – between, in Nord's words, *the supporters of liberty and the adherents of fidelity*. A struggle which is not entirely fought between the same boundaries as before, which has left the field of literal translation scorched, gaining terrain behind the lines of free translation. This battle still rages on. Figure 1 visualizes this idea of a (historically grown) translation cline.

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largeur de la route. Quel adverbe encombrant ! Il est vraiment dommage que le français n'ait pas pratiqué d'hypostase sur l'adjectif LENT… Mais au fait, LENTEMENT, est- il vraiment l'équivalent de SLOW ? Nous commençions à en douter, comme on doute toujours dès que l'on manie deux langues l'une après l'autre, lorsque notre SLIPPERY WHEN WET reparut au tournant de la route, suivi cette fois d'un écriteau français GLISSANT SI HUMIDE. Woâ ! comme dirait Séraphin, arrêtons-nous ici sur cette *soft shoulder* qu'heureusement aucune traduction ne déflore, et méditons sur ce "si", plus glissant à lui seul qu'un arpent de verglas. Il est bien évident que jamais un Français monolingue n'eût composé spontanément cette phrase, de même qu'il n'eût point barré la route avec un adverbe en –MENT. Nous touchons ici à une point névralgique, à une sorte de plaque tournante entre deux langues ; au lieu de LENTEMENT, il fallait mettre RALENTIR, parbleu !'

	WORD FOR WORD	
	LITERAL ⟷ FREE	
Vinay & Darbelnet	DIRECT	OBLIQUE
	FAITHFUL ⟷ LIBERAL	
House, Juliane	OVERT	COVERT
Gutt, Ernst-August	DIRECT	INDIRECT
Nord, Christiane	DOCUMENTARY	INSTRUMENTAL

Figure 1: Visual representation of the translation cline

2.2.4. An old new unified account of translation

We have seen so far that there are many collocational adjectives used with the noun 'translation'. Many of these terms, however, show semantic similarities and can in some way or other be seen as variations on the olden days division of literal and free translation, or the nowadays division of faithful and liberal translation. I have argued that literal and free (in the sense of oblique) translation are dead and that faithful translation has usurped their place, uniting both concepts into one. Next to it we have come to know the concept of liberal (or covert/instrumental/indirect) translation, which is a much broader interpretation than what free translation used to be, and what translation overall might have been when Vinay and Darbelnet's *Stylistique comparée* was first published. The death of literal translation also has one very important entailment; it means that, for the time, Gutt is right when saying that all translation is a form of interpretive (language) use.

Let us now take a look at a more extensive, chronological list of possible answers to our initial question (what is translation?):

(1) "Translation is a mode. To comprehend it as mode one must go back to the original, for that contains the law governing the translation: its translatability." (Benjamin 2000 [1923], p. 16)

(2) “Translation may be defined as follows: the replacement of textual material in one language (Source Language, SL) by equivalent material in another language (Target Language, TL).” (Catford 1965, p. 20)

(3) “translators should know both the source and the receptor languages, should be familiar with the subject matter, and should have some facility of expression in the receptor language. Beyond these basic requirements there is little agreement on what constitutes legitimate translating” (Nida 1974, p. 47)

(4) “the raison d’être of any translation […] undeniably lies in the existence of an original text, and the need to present that text “in other words”.” (House 1997 [1977], p. 6)

(5) “[Translation] creat[es] a new act of communication out of a previously existing one[. T]ranslators are inevitably acting under the pressure of their own social conditioning while at the same time trying to assist in the negotiation of meaning between the producer of the source-language text (ST) and the reader of the target-language text (TT), both of whom exist within their own, different social frameworks.” (Hatim and Mason 1990, p. 1)

(6) “translation is readily seen as investing the foreign-language text with a domestic significance […] Translation never communicates in an untroubled fashion because the translator negotiates the linguistic and cultural differences of the foreign text by reducing them and supplying another set of differences, basically domestic, drawn from the receiving language and culture to enable the foreign to be received there. The foreign text, then, is not so much communicated as inscribed with domestic intelligibilities and interests.” (Venuti 2000, p. 468)

These six answers mostly stem from different decades (House and Nida’s answers, both from the seventies, being the exceptions). I do not pretend them to be indicative for *all* answers from their respective periods of time, but they do exemplify rather well the evolution in translation thinking I have been talking about. First, a move from Benjamin and

Catford's stress on formal (literal) source text dependency (especially with Benjamin), toward Nida and House's broad, that is, elementary definitions of translation in which formal equivalence is no longer key. Secondly, from these elementary definitions toward Hatim and Mason's, and Venuti's clarifications which still talk of source text dependence, but in which the newly created communication context is, at the least, equally important.

It needs no further argument then that any answer to the question 'what is translation?' is therefore historically and context bound. In fact, as Söll summarizes, "the history of translation theory [itself can] be thought of as a discussion of the polysemy of the word 'translation'" (1968, p. 161, cited in Gutt 1998, p. 47). Some may therefore argue that translation is only an empty signifier, that the term has acquired so many (diverging) meanings over the years that it could mean anything and nothing at the same time (for more on empty signifiers, see Laclau 1994, p. 36).

But if history has thought us one thing, it is that we do not always need to look at it as if it were a straight line. Things often tend to be cyclical, like fashion, or even circular… like the debate about the concept of translation:

> "over the centuries, scholars have tried time and again to define or settle what translation is, only to find that every new proposal has been doomed to be found inadequate or simply wrong by some school of critics." (Gutt 1998, p. 47)
>
> "not only has no generally accepted notion of translation emerged, but it seems difficult, in principle, to define the domain of this investigation in non-circular terms." (Gutt 1998, p. 48)

As we have seen in the introductory section (**2.2.1.**), Gutt is rather skeptical of the term translation itself. He questions whether we should assume that there is a point which separates translations from non-translations at all. It is a valid question, and though it may be hard to point out the exact separating point, the answer remains that translations can and should be separated from non-translations.

That there is a point of contact between translation and non-translation is, however, true and relevant. Verschueren (2007, p. 71) indicates "that there is a continuum between translation and other forms of language use" and that "this continuum (or the point of contact) can be talked about in terms of contextualization and recontextualization". This continuum does not mean that the one cannot be distinguished from the other. One can see the similarities between apples and oranges (they are both fruit), but one cannot compare them in such a way that there is no need to distinguish them from one another.

Translation is different from non-translation in that it is dependent of actual, written or audio-visual text. When an author is writing a novel he might be inspired or be thinking of all the texts he has heard (of) or read before, he might be doing this consciously or unconsciously, but he is different from the translator in that he has the intention of creating something new, something of which he can call himself author. He might be writing a sequel, or use characters he or somebody else has created, but he intends to make a text which has not been made before. A translator, who while translating may also be thinking of all the texts he has heard (of) or read before, has a different intention. He intends to reuse actual text and does this in such a way that he would be a hypocrite or a plagiarizer to call himself the author of it; he intends to recontextualize it into a new communicative situation.

Let me exemplify the difference once more: When someone writes a manual for a new toaster and is looking at the toaster itself while noting down the way it ticks, tacks and toasts bread, he is the author of the manual; he might even be thinking of manuals he has read or even written before, but he is not reusing the actual written or audio-visual text. When someone writes a manual for that same toaster and bases it largely on the manual he or someone else has written for the old type of toaster, while of course still keeping in mind all the other texts he has seen, heard (of) or read before, he is a translator; he is recontextualizing the old text, reusing it. He might be adding some new information to the manual at some point or other, but the fact that he is adding (or omitting) information, is also indicatory for his intention to recontextualize the old text.

Some may have noticed that I have kept the idea of translation being something that happens between two different languages from my exemplification. This I did, because it is not per se the case. Roman Jakobson already made a distinction between intralingual, interlingual and intersemiotic translation in 1959 (p. 232) and it is a distinction which many authors still seem to accept today (Munday 2001, p. 4-5; Bassnett 2002, p. 22). Translation is not per se something that happens between two different languages. It is the interpretation of text and the recontextualization of it. It is also a graded notion; it incorporates all the types of translation discussed so far. Some translators may focus on functional equivalence, creating for example overt and covert translations, while others may find it more important to keep in mind the actual purpose of the TT for the target audience (instrumental translations). There never was (or is) just one set of two opposing possibilities to choose from. Variability is legion and any professional translator should be able to adapt and make negotiable choices from this variable range of possibilities. (For more information on the concepts of variability, negotiability and adaptability, see Verschueren 2007, p. 72, p. 82; Verschueren 1999a, p. 12, pp. 55-63; or see section **2.1.1.**. For a clear example of intralingual translations in a journalistic setting, see Franck 2014; also added to the back of this book, pages 333-365.)

2.2.5. An answer

What is translation? Translation is a form of interpretive language use and is therefore always dependent of context, SL context as well as TL context. It is an instance of recontextualization, in which a ST is manipulated to become a TT. It is also an intervention in both SL and TL cultures. Translation is never easy and is never about complete (mathematical) equivalence. It is about making decisions. It is never completely faithful or liberal either. It is a cline, a scale of unremitting variability between these two extremes.

2.3. What is journalism?

2.3.1. Introduction

While playing a game of pool in a bar with Henry, a friend of mine who at the moment had just started to work for the sports news site of the Belgian newspaper *Het Nieuwsblad* (called *www.sportwereld.be*), I asked him whether I should call him a web editor or a journalist. Henry looked at me with a grin on his face and said: 'journalist, of course'. So I asked him what his main activities were at the news desk and whether he wrote for the newspaper as well. Henry said that he mostly remained at the news desk and mainly worked for the website, but also that his pieces were sporadically taken over by the newspaper. So I asked him: 'Then are you not a web editor?' He answered me with that same grin and returned to the game.

We played that game of pool in the Summer of 2012, and although I can no longer remember who won the game in the end, I still remember the questions I asked Henry, his gaze and his verbal responses – the fact that I wrote down the previous paragraph not much after the event, helps in that respect. And although it was not initially my intention to use Henry's answers for this book, they did get me to think about what it actually means to be a journalist, what it actually means to do journalism, and why being called a web editor for instance is not enough.

Much more than pragmatics and translation, journalism as a profession is defined by perceptions – something which we will discuss in greater detail in the coming sections. Looking at journalism and, more specifically, the role of translation in journalism from a pragmatic perspective means that being aware of these perceptions is essential when investigating specific instances of journalists' language use. This is why I have not *only* looked at definitions for journalism found in academic books and journals for this section, as I did in sections **2.1.** and **2.2.** for pragmatics and translation respectively, but have also asked journalists working for the three main media under study in this book (newspapers, news sites and press agencies) during a round table discussion how *they* would define journalism, and whether or not they considered certain linguistic practices discussed in academia, like translation, to be essential to their profession or not. I also presented these questions to MA students in linguistics at the University of Antwerp to get an outsider's view on the subject.

2.3.2. The trade of dealing in news and answers as stories

What is journalism and what do journalists do to be called journalists? Ethnographers and other academics have been writing down their answers to this particular question for many years now. Some of the more important accounts from the 1970s and 1980s are the ones by Fishman (1980), Gans (1979) and Tuchman (1978, 1973). But although there may be some historical continuities in the trade of journalism, we cannot simply turn to these accounts for a definite answer to that same question today. Journalism as a profession has evolved over the years and over the ages. It had to. Every era has seen the rise and fall in popularity of particular media and modalities, as well as changes in the exertion of power over these media. For the profession to remain relevant it has successfully adapted to all of these changing circumstances. We no longer turn to singing merchants for our daily news fix. Nor do governments still forbid newspapers to report on inland events as was the case for the larger part of the ancien régime in many Western-European countries?[8] (Franck 2009a)

That is why today academics working in such diverse fields as communication and journalism studies, linguistics, and translation studies (Boyer 2010; Coesemans 2012; Davier 2012; Franck 2014, 2012, 2009b; Jacobs 2011; Joye 2009; Sleurs 2010; Van Hout et al. 2011; Vertommen et al. 2012) are still trying to formulate an answer to that same question, mostly focusing on different aspects of what has become a very fragmented profession. Indeed, unlike its etymological meaning would indicate (journalism being derived from the Anglo-French *jurnal*, i.e. a day), only a limited number of journalists and media (mostly newspapers) report on a day-to-day basis. Magazines are published weekly, monthly or only sporadically. News sites are updated constantly. Nonetheless, today, we consider a substantial number of people working for magazines and news sites to be journalists as well. The common ground between these different media (apart from the obvious fact that they are all media) is the content they create and deliver. Of course it is that exact same content which distinguishes them from one another as well (for now that is).[9] For example, both *The New York Times* and *Newsweek* may cover the same news, but they could report on it from different angles.

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[8] Of course, governments still regulate what journalists can and cannot write by means of media and libel laws.

[9] It could also be argued that the current trend of growing synergism between media companies/concerns is creating a situation in which it could be argued that media platforms differ less and less in the content they offer. Differences then would only remain in the details and in hów the content is presented. Indeed, now more than ever, "the medium has become the message" (McLuhan 1964).

But what content is it that journalists create? Before I try to give an answer to that question I would like to start by sharing with you one definition for journalism which is already out there. According to Barbie Zelizer and Stuart Allan journalism is

> "the broad range of activities associated with newsmaking. Referenced in the 1700s in France by Denis Diderot as the 'work of a society of scholars', the word 'journalism' was later applied to the printed reportage of current events. In contemporary usage, it refers to the organized and public collection, processing and distribution of news and current affairs material. Implied has been a sense of the evolving crafts, routines, skills and conventions employed in newswork, spanning the occupational roles of editors, reporters, correspondents and photographers, among others. These have varied over time, but, as Adam (1993) noted, they fundamentally involve judgment, reporting, language, narration and analysis. Alongside these impulses, references to journalism are associated with a slew of secondary notions, none of which can be applied across the board of all that constitutes journalism but which nonetheless are regularly invoked as both actual description ('what journalism is') and subjunctive aspiration ('what journalism could be'). These include an intersection with modernity, by which journalism is seen as a decidedly modern phenomenon that aligns itself with post-Enlightenment notions that one can observe and know the world; with an association to politics, shaped either as an impartial and objective arbiter that acts for the public good or in advocacy for a narrow slice of politics as in partisan practice; and with notions of truthtelling, by which journalism is expected to be reliable and honest broker of information about the world." (Zelizer and Allan 2010, pp. 62-63)

Apart from touching on the discussion about the relationship between journalism and truth (which we will mostly keep for section **2.3.3.**) and adding some historical notes, Zelizer and Allan correctly incorporate the idea of journalism being a "broad range of activities" into their definition – something which is essential to defining any kind of profession for that matter. Journalists are not one-trick ponies. There are a plethora of practices related to the profession that differ depending on the medium the journalist works for, what sources (s)he uses, when and where (s)he is, etcetera. When it comes to what these activities actually are, Zelizer and Allan's definition becomes vaguer. Judgment, reporting, language, narration and analysis? These impulses in themselves cannot define journalism, because they apply to any type of research. Yes, also a PhD student has to make judgments, has to report, analyze and is dealing with language and narration. According to the definition then, the only thing keeping me from calling myself a journalist would be that I am not partaking in the "organized and public collection, processing and distribution of news and current affairs material".

But is it so that all journalists are making news? Are they always partaking in activities that can be associated with newsmaking? Are they always dealing with current affairs material? The quick answer is: No, they are not. Of course there are journalists out there who are writing news reports, who are making news. For example, when talking about journalism, and especially about what journalists have to aspire to, it is never long before the feats of Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward are mentioned: "armed with nothing more than their pens and their notebooks – [they brought] down the most powerful man in the world, because he was corrupt" (Davies 2009, p. 2). Bernstein and Woodward were two reporters working for the Washington Post. The man they brought down was none other than former US president Richard Nixon. What Bernstein and Woodward brought to light is now known as the Watergate Scandal, the events related to which forced Nixon to resign from the presidential office on August 9th 1974, almost exactly two years after Bernstein and Woodward's first big report on the case ('Bug Suspect Got Campaign Funds', *The Washington Post*, August 1st 1972). So not only did Bernstein and Woodward write articles about the political world, but because of their research they actually brought to light some truth about that same political world. A truth which they turned into news stories and which had a major impact on said (political) world. A truth they could only have brought to light by making a moral judgment, by not remaining neutral and simply copying the words of people as such (see section **2.3.3.** for more on the relationship between journalism and truth).

The news story is, however, not the only story journalists tell, and the news report is not the only genre journalists use to tell their (true) stories. When Robert Frost interviewed Richard Nixon in 1977, Nixon was no longer president of the US and the Watergate Scandal was no longer news, could hardly still be called current affairs, had become recent history. So why then did Frost want to interview Nixon? Because Frost and his coworkers felt there were questions left unresolved, stones left unturned – and also because Frost no longer had his own talk show and wanted to do something else, but that is a different matter entirely.

Also Nixon felt the need to tell his side of the story once more, this time for an audience larger than the one he had reached with his memoirs. In advance Frost could have only hoped for Nixon to confess to his crimes during the interviews – something which Nixon had never done explicitly before. And of course when Nixon did confess during one of the interviews, the confession quickly became news. But even without that confession the interviews would have been aired. They would have had a right to exist. Because the confession (the news) was never a given for the story that was to be told. It was always uncertain whether Richard Nixon would or would not confess up until the point that he did confess.

News is not an integral part of the interview as a genre. It is a side-effect. Something that may or may not show up. News can also be the instigator of an interview, the reason why a journalist asks questions to an interviewee. By then the news is already known and what the journalist then mostly wants is a reaction to said news. So why do we consider the interview an important (though not exclusively) journalistic genre? Because we do not only turn to journalists for news. We also turn to them for answers. Answers to questions we may not even know we previously had, about people whom we may have never heard of or cared for, just as much as about people we do know and care for, or even questions about products we never knew we would need. That is why reviews and critiques are also considered journalistic genres. Because we want an answer to the question whether a certain play, a certain restaurant, movie or videogame is worth our time.

When I asked eighteen MA students how they would define journalism, half of them limited journalistic practices to tasks related to covering news. However, the other half of the students also ascribed other tasks to journalists, mostly focusing on the concept of ‘information’ rather than on news and current affairs. Indeed, we do not want any simple yes- or no-answers from journalists. We turn to them for information that is neatly packaged in a (true) story. An interview has a clear beginning and a clear end. A review often has a catchy punchline. A column is often not more (or less) than a very short story. News and answers simply are not enough. We want to be entertained. And what is more entertaining than a well written story?

It could even be argued that today newspaper and magazine writers focus less and less on the news itself, on ‘newsmaking’, and more and more on stories and answers. Because their media can simply not compete with the World Wide Web when it comes to bringing the news in (what is now considered) a timely fashion. Indeed, while we might have considered yesterday’s news (as still found in current day newspapers) to be actual news in the pre-smart phone and tablet era, today yesterday’s news has already become old news for many of us, and who knows, maybe tomorrow we may not even consider yesterday’s news to be news at all. The permanent influx of news found on the World Wide Web is challenging traditional media. Not that all newspapers will disappear in any thinkable near future. But they will have to adapt to this new news situation – which some have, of course, already been doing.

News itself today is not enough, so it would be equally unwise for modern media to limit journalists’ tasks to the act of newsmaking, however broad the range of activities involved in that process is. In the seventeenth century it was enough for a newspaper to write about natural disasters and the political situation abroad, because it was mostly traders who were reading newspapers who wanted to know whether it was safe for them to take their business to a certain place or not. This type of news was no longer enough in the age of Enlightenment when people came together to talk about current affairs in salons. So newspapers adapted, and libels became all the rage because they provided people with the latest gossip about royals and other people of stature. Today most people expect even more from the media. Newspapers and magazines have become commodities which people do not consult because they need to, but because they want to. And what they want from the journalists working for these media is information; information that tells them about the world out there (news), information about how to dress, what to buy, how to live (answers). Do they want this information to be true? Yes, but since the truth itself can be quite harsh sometimes, most of all they want it to be bubble wrapped in a neat little story.

2.3.3. The truth is out there, or is it not?

> 'The heaven-born mission of journalism is to disseminate truth – to eradicate error – to educate, refine and elevate the tone of public morals and manners, and make all men more gentle, more virtuous, more charitable, and in all ways better, and holier and happier' (Twain 1996 [ca. 1871], p. 9)

Loftier words could probably not be uttered about the practice of journalism as the ones in the above quote from Mark Twain's Journalism in Tennessee. In his little satirical sketch Twain describes how he got a berth at a (fictional) newspaper called the Morning Glory and Johnson County War-Whoop as associate editor and had to write an editorial on the 'Spirit of the Tennessee Press'. When he handed in his manuscript, the chief editor of said newspaper was not completely pleased with what Twain had written. He made some radical changes to Twain's manuscript and the lofty words in the above quote stem from that altered manuscript. The editor in chief of the Morning Glory and Johnson County War-Whoop does, however, go on in quite a different fashion, less loftily, when talking about the chief editor of the competing Morning Howl:

> '– and yet this black-hearted villain, this hell-spawned miscreant, prostitutes his great office persistently to the dissemination of falsehood, calumny, vituperation and degrading vulgarity. His paper is notoriously unfit to take into the people's homes, and ought to be banished to the gambling hells and brothels where the mass of reeking pollution which does duty as its editor, lives and moves, and has his being.' (Twain 1996 [ca. 1871], p. 9)

Journalism is one of those professions (or crafts, according to some)[10] that tend to be idealized in certain contexts, while being demonized in others. One common metaphor for journalists is that they are the 'watchdogs' of democracy. They have also been called 'missionaries'. Another one is that they supposedly are 'bloodhounds', or 'lapdogs' or even 'vultures', scavengers that feast on the misery of others (Wasserman 2012; Rughani 2010; Zelizer & Allan, 2010; Whitten-Woodring 2009; Köcher 1986).

[10] For more on the debate whether journalism is a profession or a craft, see: Witschge and Nygren 2009, pp. 39-41; Tumber and Prentoulis 2005. Or about it having evolved from craft to profession, see: Hallin and Mancini 2004, pp. 254-261.

We always have expectations when we hear somebody works in a certain profession. Even when somebody would tell you (s)he is a proactive delivery analyst and you would not have a single clue about what such a person actually does, you would still expect them to be working at a desk and being paid a certain wage from the sound of it. For journalists particularly we have high expectations. Not in the least because we have come to know journalists through their representations in films (State of Play by Matthew Michael Carnahan, Tony Gilroy and Billy Ray (2009), Good Night, and Good Luck by George Clooney and Grant Heslov (2005)), plays (Frost/Nixon by Peter Morgan) and novels (The Rum Diary by Hunter S. Thompson (2004) [1998]), whether they be fictional or based on true events. From these representations we have come to learn that – apart from being good at dodging bullets – journalists have an insatiable hunger for the truth and will do (almost) anything to get to the bottom of things. But are these representations correct? And, furthermore, should we really expect from journalists and media that they *can* always tell us the truth?

"Whoever thinks or writes about the news media must address the issue of objectivity or impartiality" (Verschueren 1985b, p. 1). I have already touched upon the relationship between journalism and truth in the previous paragraphs. It is also a widespread topic among media studies academics (Davies 2009; Fernandez 2010; Goldstein 2007; Kovach and Rosentiel 2001; Murphy et al. 2006; Newton 1999; Sanctorum and Thevissen 2009; Schudson and Anderson 2009). Walter Lippmann once said that "media are overcharged with the task of presenting a true picture of the 'world outside'" (1922, p. 132), but the consensus among scholars and journalists themselves is that journalists are, indeed, supposed to adhere to the truth. As Davies points out, "[i]f the primary purpose of journalism is to tell the truth, then it follows that the primary function of journalists must be to check and to reject whatever is not true" (2009, p. 51). Or as Zelizer and Allan say: "[Truth is o]ne of the principles of good journalism" (2010, p. 162).

Not only academics and journalists consider truth an important aspect of journalism. Also ten out of eighteen MA students who were asked how they would define journalism in their own words, explicitly made claims about journalists having to report the truth. Not only that; journalists also have to be truthful, unbiased and objective in their reporting. One student defined journalism in the following manner:

> "Journalism is an occupation. People who are journalists report, write or broadcast the news for newspapers, radio or television. This news should be (but often isn't) true and unbiased, and is meant to inform the general public of current events."

Interestingly, the student in question – as well as other students – does not believe that journalists always tell the truth in their reporting although she thinks it is imperative that they should, and that they should do so while remaining unbiased. In fact by using the adverb 'often' the student asserts that a lot of news is untrue, and with that claim she echoes an idea that can be found in many (academic or other) media critiques: that media, and journalists *are* biased, and therefore often fail to tell the truth; and that this is especially a problem in this day and age. To quote American journalists Bill Kovach and Tom Rosentiel: "the need for truth is greater, not less, in the new century, for the likelihood of untruth has become so much more prevalent" (2001, p. 48). But as Davies indicates, we must not exaggerate what is happening today. "There never was some kind of golden age when all journalists were free to tell the truth. They have always had to work against the clock and they have always been the targets of attempts to interfere in their stories" (2009, p. 95).

Furthermore, truth itself is a concept that has been historically shaped. For instance, up until the beginning of the eighteenth century morals were often considered more important than fact in the experience of what was true or untrue in the Southern Netherlands. When criminals were to be hanged, market singers would gather people around them to sing to them songs about how these criminals had been seduced by the devil, about how they had given in to sin, and that the reason they had been caught was because of divine intervention. Today we would not consider a story in which God and the devil play a major role to be true. However, these stories were considered to be true back then, and market singers even stressed the true nature of these songs explicitly in the text; stating (mostly near the beginning) that what they were going to sing was true and should be an example for those who would want to do wrong (Franck 2009a, p. 19).

To say that morals no longer have a role in how we experience truth today and that now we only rely on facts would be a lie. "Given the fundamental subjectivity of all social events, the notion of 'pure' objectivity, the idea that reporters should be able to present straightforward facts – and only those facts – died as soon as it was born" (Verschueren

1985b, p. 2). Indeed, truth (in its non-essentialist form) is a social construction which is mostly created discursively. When Bernstein and Woodward went after Nixon they did so because they found out he was corrupt (see section **2.3.2.** for more detail). If they had not considered corruption to be wrong, and did not have the law to back them up, they would not have brought this to light as truth. They made a judgment. They chose not to remain neutral and relate what was handed to them, but decided to dig for information which was not readily available.

So when we ask journalists to always write 'true and neutral' news, do we not expect the impossible from them? I think we do. If we want journalists to get to the bottom of things, they will have to leave the comfort zone which is neutrality and make judgments. "Most of journalists' work is about perceptions, conclusions and judgements: to see reality; to infer from it to developments and relationships; and to evaluate reality" (Donsbach 2004, p. 136). Of course we would not want journalists to be naïve and make judgments lightly, nor would we want them to make judgments for political, religious or economic reasons. As Harold Evans, editor of *The Sunday Times* between 1967 and 1981 wrote in his autobiography *Good Times, Bad Times*:

> "The effort to get to the bottom of things, which is the aspiration of the vertical school of journalism cannot be indiscriminate. Judgements have to be made about what is important; they are moral judgements." (1983, location 7966)

A moral compass is necessary for bringing to light events and practices that go against what we believe to be right or humane. Of course, not all news comes forth from such morally laden topics. Writing that a certain movie will be released at a certain point in time could be regarded as a provisional fact. It is something which will most likely happen, something with a high probability of becoming true. But even in case this event does not come to pass, for instance because of postponement or cancelation, journalists who wrote that untruth would probably not get the same treatment they would have gotten when writing something untrue about a morally more laden topic. Journalists would probably just put a report out there about the postponed release or the cancellation of the film. And that would be the end of that. Journalists cannot always be right. They cannot always write the truth, because in reality journalists are working more often with accounts of events than that they are there to experience actual occurrences: “most news is not what has happened, but what someone says has happened” (Sigal 1973, p. 69) and “[n]ews is what people say more than what people do” (Bell 1991, p. 53). Of course, the ground rule for dealing with this kind of second hand information is that journalists should double check their sources, e.g. consult multiple sources, and if this is not possible they should at least be able to trust the sources they use. What we often get because of this ground rule are stories which are neutral, which relate what someone has said, but of which it is impossible to assess whether they are true or untrue.

What I mean by that can best be explained by another example. When a journalist needs to write a piece on a manifestation that has already taken place and (s)he wants to find out how many people participated, (s)he will most likely contact the police and probably the organizers as well. The police might say there were in the vicinity of 500 participants. The organizers might say there were more than 1000 people participating. So what does (s)he do now? How does (s)he figure out who gave her (him) a correct estimate? S(h)e could try to figure out how many people were actually participating by looking at photos of the event, but that might be quite hard (nigh impossible) to do. Therefore (s)he makes a decision. S(h)e could decide to quote only one of the two sources, but if (s)he does that and does not know who is right and who is wrong, that would make her (him) biased. So (s)he chooses not to choose by quoting both sources, and as such (s)he remains neutral. So then, what about the truth? When dealing with sources in a neutral manner truth becomes a probability in the best cases and a possibility in the worst. Is that a bad thing? Not necessarily. Not when dealing with topics that would not automatically go against some moral truth. By delivering the information that is at hand, journalists do what they can do for that particular story. Maybe they could have found out the actual number of people who participated by putting more time and effort in their search, but maybe not, and that could mean they would not have had the time to really dig into another story. Resources have to be allocated, and sometimes that means the truth needs to be put aside in favor of neutrality, a decision which in itself is a moral judgment as well, and which one should, once again, not make lightly.

When we trade the truth for uncertainty, we leave the vertical school of journalism and set foot in what Evans has called the horizontal school of journalism, which

> "waits on events. Speeches, reports and ceremonials occur and they are rendered into words in print along a straight assembly-line. Scandal and injustice go unremarked unless someone else discovers them." (1983, location 7961)

Evans is not a fan of the horizontal school of journalism, because it supposedly turns journalism into the mind-numbing practice of repeating what anybody else has already said. Davies agrees, and calls it 'churnalism'. But I do not believe that to be true entirely. In an ideal world, journalists will have been students at both schools. They will know when it is necessary to dig and when it is necessary to leave be. In that same ideal world they would get the opportunity to actually *make* that call, to make that judgment. Furthermore, it should be noted that even when following this horizontal school of journalism *solus*, decisions would have to be made. For instance, what speeches, reports and ceremonials will be rendered into print? Or even in the hypothetical situation that all stories are turned into print, decisions would still have to be made: about which story is reported on first, about how long stories should be, etcetera. No matter how you turn it, judgments have to be made, even when opting for a neutral representation of source material. And, yes, it is important that also these decisions are made in a conscientious manner.

As has been stated previously, there are many representations of journalists and their work to be found, describing journalists as 'watchdogs', 'lapdogs' or any other type of animal. They have been given those names mostly because of their relationship with truth. When they tell the truth they are considered good dogs. When they do not tell the truth they are bad dogs. But, the fact of the matter is that journalists are humans, and they act like humans as well. Yes, they make mistakes, but they are also trying to do their job in the best way they can as much as the rest of us. A baker who wants to make a healthy bread for his customers will have to trust his suppliers. The baker chooses what (s)he thinks are the best quality ingredients, but (s)he cannot always control whether the flour, water and yeast (s)he gets are as healthy as the suppliers advertise them to be. Also (s)he will most likely not only offer healthy types of bread to the customers, but also (less healthy) puff pastries, éclairs and donuts because those are the things people really want to eat (you know it is true). The same holds up for journalists. A journalist who wants to tell the truth to her (his) readers – and this is essential: (s)he needs to want to tell the truth – searches for the best sources, makes decisions about what (s)he believes to be true, but nonetheless remains dependent on her (his) sources and whether they tell the truth or not. Also (s)he will not only offer these in depth true stories, but also neutral ones in which (s)he does not look for the actual truth, but gives representations of what people have said. These stories are often less morally laden. Should (s)he check whether these sources tell the truth? Of course. Is (s)he always able to do so? No. And sometimes that means a journalist misplaces her or her trust. Just like the baker does.

Just to be clear: I am not advocating to completely relativize what journalists do and do not do. Deciding to pursue truth is a moral decision. Deciding not to pursue truth is a moral decision as well. Such decisions should not be made lightly. When Davies says "honesty is the defining value of journalism" (2009, p. 22), he sees it as a synonym for telling the truth. It is not. But honesty should, indeed, be considered a defining value for journalism, because we would not want dishonest people to make the kind of moral judgments described above, nor do we want them to be naïve. So should we not criticize the media or bring to light their failures? Of course we should. Honest mistakes can occur, but they remain mistakes. Media have an important influence on our worldview, and their distortions do deserve scrutiny. We have to ask questions about whether the corporate setting under which journalism currently resides is not harming the trade. We have to discuss the relationship between journalism and truth, between journalism and neutrality. But we also have to make sure we do not start imposing any grand theories about what the media do and do not do without knowing what goes on inside the newsroom itself, without knowing what journalists actually do and do not do. Therefore the following section will give detailed accounts of some of the practices journalists partake in themselves.

2.3.4. A plethora of practices

As has been mentioned before, journalism is not limited to a single practice. There are a plethora of practices related to the profession that differ depending on the medium the journalist works for, what sources (s)he uses, when and where (s)he is, etcetera. To get more of an insight into what journalists do and do not do I organized a round table discussion in the Summer of 2014. Two years had passed since Henry and I played that particular game of pool mentioned in the introduction. In that time Henry had become chief editor of *www.sportwereld.be*. He was my first invitee. The other invitees were Victor, a correspondent for Belgium's national press agency *Belga*, and Caleb, an inland reporter for the Belgian newspaper *De Standaard*. The reason I asked Henry, Victor and Caleb was because of their diverse backgrounds within the field of journalism, and because each of them represents one of the three media I am focusing on in this book. Henry works for a news site, Victor for a press agency, and Caleb for a newspaper. I also asked the three of them specifically because I knew they would be willing to take part in the focus group. The fact that the four of us studied journalism together and had remained in close contact helped significantly, of course.

Another caveat which should be made is that the journalistic practices discussed by the round table participants mostly involved general aspects of text production, e.g. copying, translating, writing. There are many other practices, e.g. general research, going to press conferences, conducting interviews, attending editorial meetings, which were only mentioned briefly during the discussion or not at all. This is somewhat related to the focal point of this book and the questions I asked or statements I made to guide the conversation, of course, but not exclusively. Even when asked how they would define journalism in general or what they considered to be essential to journalism, the participants' focus remained on general aspects of text production. Some of the other practices are discussed in the addendum (pages 333-365). I do not elaborate on them here as it would take us too far from what I want to describe in this book (translation in journalism) and what I want to answer in this section (what is journalism?).

2.3.4.1. To copy and paste the news or to write the news: is it really a question?

Henry, as said before, works for the news site *www.sportwereld.be*. When I asked him what he actually does for the news site, he jokingly told me that he looks at what Belgium's national press agency *Belga* writes about sports and then presses Crtl+c, Crtl+v. In other words, that would mean he just copies and pastes what others have written and that he does not do any 'actual work' himself. Now, although Henry quickly followed up his remark by denying what he just said ('No. No.'), his initial response does reveal some underlying realization of (if not frustration with) the reality that a not so favorable view has been developed on what online news is supposedly all about, and about what journalism in general has become; that, as Nick Davies has argued, there is “a simple perception that media stories are produced by corrupt and cynical journalistic puppets who just couldn’t care less whether they tell the truth and simply dance to the tune of whoever is pulling their string.” (2009, p.13)

Later Henry confessed that copying news from other media is indeed part of his job. ‘I have to copy *Belga* reports. Do I find it irritating? Yes. Because when I am doing that, I cannot write myself.’ Writing is very important to Henry. ‘What makes someone a journalist is not that he simply writes, but that the writing is *good*. When I’m simply copying reports, I do not feel like a journalist. At the most I am putting “journalistic elements” into a text.’ Interestingly Victor, who is a local correspondent for press agency *Belga*, agrees with Henry’s stance on writing, saying that ‘when you are just copying, you are not a journalist. To make you feel a journalist, you need to write.’ Also Caleb, an inland reporter for newspaper *De Standaard*, agrees, saying that ‘you have to create’. When he adds that for online journalists changing the title and searching a photo to go with the article is an example of how they can be creative, Henry counters by stating: ‘that might be being creative, but it is not journalism. When you do only that and do not write, you are not a journalist.’

The stress of all three journalists on writing is not surprising. When I asked eighteen MA students in linguistics at the University of Antwerp how they would define journalism in a survey, all of them stated that journalists write. It does not matter which medium they work for – whether TV, radio, newspaper or news site – as a journalist, there will be a point in time when you will have to write down your story. It is something that is essential to the job.

It is also interesting that both Henry and Victor used the verb ‘to feel’ in their accounts; indicating that at least for them there is a difference between what a journalist does and what they feel a journalist is supposed to do; that there are certain tasks that journalists do, but that do not make them journalists per se, whereas there are other tasks or practices that – though one may do them less often – do make you (feel) a journalist. So while, according to my interviewees, copy-pasting is one instance of what a journalist sometimes has to do, and when working for an online medium has to do ever so often, it is not that which makes one a journalist. 'Sometimes I have doubts about whether I am a journalist when I start describing my tasks,' Henry said. 'But it is the amalgamation of the things I do during a day which convince me that I am one. Of course there are days when I am mostly just copying news reports from *Belga*, but such a day I would consider a day of doing administrative work.' He is not wrong. When a baker is doing her (his) paperwork in the evening (s)he is still a baker, when a miller is transporting flour to said baker, (s)he is still a miller. We all have to do (administrative) tasks at our job that we consider to be non-essential, but which are necessary nonetheless, and this holds up for journalists as well.

Tamara Witschge and Gunnar Nygren even speak of an "administrative news culture [which] is dominating newsrooms—with journalists sitting behind their desks recycling or regurgitating PR and wire material (also dubbed "churnalism"[11])" (2009, p. 38). Tom Van Hout, however, nuances this idea of journalists simply regurgitating PR material:

> "the claim that newspaper journalists no longer *generate* but merely *process* news from press releases and news agency feeds, vis-à-vis the actual news production practices of print journalists. I will argue that upon closer inspection, the work these 'news processors' do is not so radically different from what many hold journalism to be or where it may be going" (2010, p.6).

Van Hout comes to this conclusion after having closely followed journalists at the Belgian daily newspaper *De Standaard* – the same newspaper Caleb works for –, tracing among other things how a press release is turned into a news report and what the journalist in question actually does with that press release (and the other source material at hand). It is not all doom and gloom in the newsroom. It is not all copy pasting. So while Henry describes some of his tasks to be administrative tasks, he does not go so far as to say that all of his work is administration, or that there is something that could be called an 'administrative news culture' dominating his office.

[11] Davies (2009, p. 59) describes 'churnalism' as: "journalists failing to perform the simple basic functions of their profession; quite unable to tell their readers the truth about what is happening on their patch. This is journalists who are no longer out gathering news but who are reduced instead to passive processors of whatever material comes their way, churning out stories, whether real or PR artifice, important or trivial, true or false."

'It is not that we do not write,' Henry said. 'Even when we are copying, we often try to do something different with the *Belga* reports we use. We try to make them more fun—'

'I may hope so,' Victor interjected with a smirk.

'— by, for instance, bringing to the fore a different quote.'

Victor's interjection might seem an odd one to make for one who deems good writing to be of prime importance for journalists, but it is easily explained by looking at the expectations regarding the medium he writes for. Western press agencies, like *Associated Press*, *Agence France-Presse*, *Reuters* and *Belga* as well, are known for delivering neutral news. Neutral news, as opposed to true news (see section **2.3.3.**), but they are also neutral in their news style, "which represents a kind of standard form of language (cf. Vehmas-Lehto 1989)" (Hursti 2001), "which is kept simple and clear. Conciseness is emphasised in order to maximise informative content. Sentences and paragraphs must be short and economical, the use of active rather than passive verbs is preferred and the presence of adjectives limited. These stylistic rules are also ideally suited to the traditional agency values of objectivity and neutrality, an expression of the fact that news is a marketable commodity to be sold to a whole range of different media" (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009, p. 69; Bielsa 2007, pp. 147-148).

Apart from agency copy having to cater to a whole range of different media, Victor gives another reason for their neutral style of writing: 'time is a big issue. If I want to make these texts my own, I need time. Time which I do not always have. Sometimes the news needs to be produced really fast.' By stating that he would write differently when given the time, less neutral and more in his own style, Victor once again touched the recurring theme of creativity in writing that showed up during the entirety of the round table discussion. Being able to write in your own style, to be creative with language seems to be a *sine qua non* for someone to feel like (s)he is a journalist. However, as we learn from both Henry's and Victor's accounts, this kind of creativity sometimes (if not most of the time) becomes impossible because of the pressure of an ever present permanent deadline (the news needs to be put on the wire or on the World Wide Web as fast as possible) and because of other medium/client expectations.

Caleb's situation is somewhat different. Working for a newspaper means he is not confronted with the constant pressure of a permanent deadline, but with the pressure of a daily one.

> 'On a normal day I am at the office around 10 a.m. and I start looking for news using my "feelers". You know where the news can be found: online, the regional pages of newspapers, etcetera. But I also keep my eyes and ears open while going to work, or when driving through somewhere outside of working hours. At 10.30 a.m. there is a meeting of the chief editors, so you make sure to suggest a piece before that time. After the meeting you get assigned a story; mostly the one you pitched and you start to do your research. […] Normally you write that one piece and go home around 8 p.m..'

Having to write one larger story per day is quite different from what Henry and Victor are often pushed to do: to put out as much news as possible and to do so as fast as possible. It could even be argued that Caleb, as a newspaper writer, is not necessarily making the news anymore when writing his one story per day.[12] As he said, the news he uses can often already be found 'online' or in 'the regional pages of newspapers'. Instead he and other newspaper writers today use the news to write their stories. Indeed, *their* stories. Because while Caleb started writing for the newspaper in a dry, business-like fashion, he was quickly asked to alter that. 'After a while, my editor-in-chief pointed out to me that my style was somewhat dry. He told me I was allowed to write in my own style. In fact, he wanted me to develop my own style. So that's what I did.'

Interestingly, while Victor lamented his not always being able to write in his own style because of time issues, it was actually pointed out to Caleb that he could and should write in his own style. Not writing in the newspaper's style, mind you – which according to Caleb does not exist – but in his own ('There is a style guide, but nobody uses it. We write in our own style' and 'I always try to put a bit of myself in my articles. Otherwise they [the chief editors] would be disappointed').

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[12] For more on the discussion about newspapers focusing less and less on news and more on other (background) information, see section **2.3.2.**.

On the other hand, newspaper writers would probably have decidedly less to be creative with, to write about, without the news being made readily available to them by press agencies or even news sites. Also, newspaper writers do not always get to write their one big story per day. ‘Shorter stories are written by the person who has the late shift,’ Caleb explained. ‘You have to work the late shift about once a week and what you need to do is, basically, to see where there is still room left on the pages [around the big stories] and fill those holes up with the most important news of that day.’

Where does that news come from?

‘I exclusively use Belga reports to fill up the blanks during my late shift,’ Caleb answered.

Does that involve some copying and pasting?

‘Yes.’

2.3.4.2. Translating the news

Just like copying and pasting, translating is not seen by journalists as a defining practice for the profession. Often it is not deemed to be part of journalistic activities at all. Journalists supposedly do not translate, they write:

> “Journalists who compose the articles and stories you actually read often have language skills, but they do not think of themselves as translators. They would be offended if you said that’s what they are – even if some news stories you can read in the London press, for example, are very close indeed to what you read in yesterday’s *Le Monde*. Journalists think of their jobs as turning plain information into arresting, entertaining or readable prose suited to the culture, interests and knowledge of the people who read them – and that’s more than what most people think translation is. The pecking order is reflected in pay and conditions of service the world over: *journalist* outranks *translator* everywhere.” (Bellos 2012, p. 252)

Indeed journalists themselves often argue that they do “not actually ‘translate’ foreign news material, but *produc[e]* news stories ‘based on foreign news’” (Vuorinen 1999, p. 63, italics added). That this is not some isolated sentiment, became immediately clear during the round table discussion when I asked my interviewees if they felt translation was a journalistic task.

‘No,’ was Caleb’s direct answer to that question. ‘I only have to translate about twice a year. When *Le Soir* [a Belgian newspaper for a French speaking audience], which we have a partnership with, has a big scoop, we translate their article, but that’s about it.’ For Victor there is a ‘difference between reading a foreign language article, using it, and translating an article’ and Henry agreed, saying that translating is not what they generally do. ‘We rewrite, make the articles our own. Sometimes we literally take over a quote, so that is translation, but we always try to enrich the article itself.’

After these remarks about translation not being essential to the journalistic profession, the discussion quickly turned to how writing *is* essential to the profession (as discussed previously). It was interesting to see Bellos’ and Vuorinen’s conclusions exactly echoed by my three interviewees: no we do not really translate, we write, and sometimes our writings are based on foreign language material. But as can also be read in Bellos’ quote, journalists come to this conclusion because they (and other people) generally do not hold translation in high regard. Translation is not seen as a creative process, but as the simple act of literally substituting one code for another, in which content remains the same across language barriers.

However, as discussed in section **2.2.**, translation *is* more than just switching one code for another. It is an act of interpretative language use, an act of recontextualization. When I confronted my interviewees with this different definition of translation, they changed their answers somewhat. ‘Then of course we translate,’ Victor said. ‘In practice translation is a journalistic task, because they are not going to hire translators to support us, but I still do not feel is essential to journalism.’ Henry confirmed, ‘journalists translate, but it is not a journalistic task.’

So as was the case with copying and pasting, it is something which journalists do – ‘one more than the other,’ as Victor added –, but which apparently does not define journalism and journalists, because it does not make them ‘feel’ journalists. But are these feelings justified? I do not think they are. I believe translation to be at the very heart of journalism, because as Kress (1983) indicated (and as has been stated previously), the world usually presents itself to journalists not as a ‘physical’ event, but as an event that has already been reported and interpreted by others. Put differently, what we read in newspapers or what we read online is often a journalist’s interpretation of what others have said about certain events. In this sense the journalist becomes a mediator between experts (or witnesses) and non-experts (a general audience): (s)he becomes a ‘translator’ of news. Indeed, in every instance when it is a journalist’s purpose to relate what was said by one particular source, he automatically becomes a translator, because he is putting into words what was already put into words previously.

2.3.4.3. You shall not pass

Not everything can be news. Nonetheless, with the rise of the World Wide Web, there definitely is a lot more news for people to be aware of than ever before. ‘You can do a whole lot with online,’ Henry said. ‘We are not limited in the number of words we can use.’ Printed media like newspapers and magazines have always had to deal with a limited number of pages per edition; broadcast media, like television and radio news, with a limited amount of airtime. News sites do not seem to be limited as such. They are limited of course, in that all of a news site’s content is stored on servers and when those servers would be full, there would be no more room for extra words, though such a situation is highly unlikely since words do not take up a whole lot of bytes and these types of servers can usually store multiple terabytes of content. Another limitation of news sites is not in the amount of content they can store, but in the amount of content they can transmit at any given time. Just like there can only be as many newspapers bought as have been printed, there is a limited number of people who can access a news site at the same time. Indeed, bandwidth is not limitless – something which can easily be proven by a simple DDoS (Distributed Denial of Service) attack, i.e. artificially high levels of traffic designed to disrupt connectivity – but it would take a remarkably high number of actual people to make a news site’s traffic come to a hold. In fact, news sites are designed to accommodate as many visitors as possible, since every connection, every page hit, generates advertising money. So, for online news, storage and traffic limitations hardly play a role in deciding what can and what cannot be news.

'When I am working alone and I see a Dutch sports related *Belga* report showing up in our system, I use it. It does not matter whether it is a report about a popular sport or a less popular sport. Some of my colleagues might decide otherwise. They sometimes decide not to release a report on a sport like badminton for instance,' Henry said, proving that while it would certainly be possible to copy and paste (or translate) all press agency reports, journalists sometimes decide not to report on some things as well. So even when materiality is no longer (felt like) a limitation, decisions are made about what becomes news and what does not become news.

The agency of deciding what becomes news and does not become news, attributed to the journalist, has been described as 'gatekeeping' (Shoemaker 1991; Whitney and Becker 1982; White 1950). Shoemaker, Vos and Reese, however, describe gatekeeping in the following manner:

> "Journalists are bombarded with information from the Internet, newspapers, television and radio news, news magazines, and their sources. Their job of selecting and shaping the small amount of information that becomes news would be impossible without gatekeeping. It is the process of selecting, writing, editing, positioning, scheduling, repeating and otherwise massaging information to become news." (2009, p. 73)

Their description of gatekeeping is more broad. It incorporates not only the selection process, but also other processes, like writing and editing. As such it becomes a synonym for almost the entire newsmaking process – although doing research and checking one's sources are left out.

However, while for instance the act of writing, was considered to be essential to journalism by all eighteen questioned MA students, 'selecting' news was only explicitly considered to be essential to the profession by four students. Nonetheless, even when defined more narrowly, it would be hard to image 'gatekeeping' not having an essential role in the newsmaking process; especially at those moments when journalists are no longer writing their own pieces, but are copying and pasting what is already out there:

> "it may seem as if the journalists' newsmaking role is limited to selecting newsworthy stories from the mass of prefabrications that is offered to them. Apparently, the only thing journalists have to do is recycle, simply repeat what was talked about before. In other words, they are no more than 'gatekeepers' (Shoemaker 1991)." (Jacobs 1999, pp. 38-39)

Jacobs, of course, talks about the very specific situation in which journalists turn 'preformulated' press releases into newspaper news,[13] but the same could be argued for news site and newspaper journalists who are copying agency reports, or agency journalists who are copying press releases.

On the other hand, it are not always the journalists themselves who decide what becomes news and what does not become news. 'Sometimes I have to take over press releases from PR companies without having been able to contact any other sources,' Victor said. 'Even in those cases where I really wanted to check something out, but nobody was available at the time, it happens that the head office tells me to write down the story anyhow.' At another point in time Victor talked about him getting his daily agenda during the evening, in which it is indicated which press conferences and other events he will have to attend the following day. 'I can put some things on the agenda myself, but in the end it is the head office which decides whether I get to go somewhere or not.'

Victor is, of course, not the only journalist who does not always get to decide what to report on himself. When discussing with Henry their specific audiences, Caleb argued that he thinks his newspaper does not really have a specific audience. Henry did not agree, stating that 'certain *fait divers* would never make it into *De Standaard*.' To which Caleb replied that that might be true, but that he does not get to make those decisions himself, indicating that when it comes to deciding what becomes news and what not, he does not have the final call. Furthermore, although most of his proposals for articles are accepted by his chief editors, about 20% of his proposals get shot down as well.

Henry's case is somewhat different, in that he does not only write, copy or translate news reports, but he is also chief editor of the news site. This entails that he does not only

[13] By stating that press releases are 'preformulated', Jacobs means "not just that, in some general sense, press releases meet the journalists' and the newspaper readers' requirements, but that the way press releases are formulated actually anticipates the way news reports are formulated." (Jacobs 1999, p.75)

have anybody telling him a certain story has to be brought or another one cannot be brought ('in general we are expected to bring all major news, but there is nobody actually checking up on us'), but that he also has an influence on the position an article takes on the website. 'I choose what becomes the main article for *Sportwereld.be*. For *Nieuwsblad.be* that decision is made by someone else, but when I feel some of my articles are not posted high enough on the site [the higher to the top, the more chance there is for an article to be read], I will try to defend why I think they should be posted higher.'

To make his decisions on whether something becomes news or not, Henry does not necessarily let himself be guided by such vague sentiments as 'news values' (for more on news values, see: Coesemans 2012, pp. 89-103; Galtung and Ruge 1965). Of course he needs to think about the image of the news site: 'I know that if I'd put up a photo special of one or other WAG every day, we'd generate a lot of hits, but we do want to be taken seriously. Also, we are very careful with rumors found in British tabloids, because we know them to be unreliable.' But in general he relies on tracking software. 'The difference between us and newspapers is that we know what people read and what they *want* to read. At any given time I can see how many people are reading an article or have read an article, where they are from, and how they came to read an article on the news site, via Twitter or Facebook for instance.'

2.3.5. An answer

What is journalism? Journalism is a trade, a profession, for which the main commodity is information. Information which mostly takes on the form of news and answers. The information journalists provide can be true, but it is not always possible to say whether it is or is not, because most often, it is the neutral rendition of what other people have said. What someone said is a journalist's raw material, and (s)he can copy, translate or turn it into something entirely new by combining it with other statements (i.e. writing) so it becomes the information her/his medium will provide to its audience. However, it is not necessary for journalists to be neutral when doing so. When it is deemed necessary to pursue the truth, (moral) judgments have to be made. For that it is imperative that journalists would be honest, and that they are not naïve when dealing with source materials, especially since they have the power to decide which sources to use and what information their medium will provide – though, of course, they are not the only ones making these decisions.

Chapter 3: Towards a methodology

3.1. Selecting and creating the research corpora

Hypothesis 1.1., detailed in Chapter 1, states that a journalist would work, translate and write differently depending on the medium (s)he is working, translating and writing for; a hypothesis which seems straightforward enough and which (some of) my journalist interviewees in section **2.3.** concur with. However, according to Claire Tsai (2006, p. 59) researchers have often neglected that the nature of 'press translation' depends on the medium for which one translates: "translation of international news reports usually falls under the category of 'news translation' as such, regardless of salient differences between print news, online news and broadcast news."

To assess this hypothesis and my other hypotheses I decided to look at what happened to source text material when it was turned into print news and/or online news by Belgian journalists with a Dutch speaking audience in November and December 2011. For online news I investigated those news articles which explicitly refer to a source text or multiple source texts. Source attribution is common practice when writing for the web, e.g. 953 of the 1,377 articles (69.21%) stemming from news site *www.hln.be* which are part of the corpus refer at least to one source text, mostly already in the byline. The newspapers in our corpus, however, do not often explicitly refer to source texts (though most of them do sometimes), and I therefore had to follow a different strategy for gathering source text material, starting from the sources themselves (see section **3.1.2.**). I did not research broadcast news for the simple reason that it generally presents its reports significantly differently from its written counterparts. For one, the presence of a news anchor makes for a dynamic structure which is mostly absent from written coverage (be that on paper or online).

Source texts generally pertain to the following three categories: press releases, news wire articles and articles published earlier by other media. While (corporate) press releases are almost never explicitly mentioned in news reports, other media reports as well as wire reports are (occasionally) mentioned. I therefore decided to focus on the latter two types of source texts. For more on (corporate) press releases and how they are used by journalists see e.g. Jacobs 1999 and Van Hout 2010.

Two larger corpora were created. Corpus 1 consists of target texts, i.e. newspaper and news site articles. Corpus 2 consists of source texts, i.e. the foreign and domestic language news wire articles and other media reports on which these newspaper and news site articles are based. I will discuss the creation of both corpora and the collection of metadata for the articles in these corpora separately in sections **3.1.2.** and **3.1.3.** respectively, but first I will discuss some more general thoughts on news sites, newspapers and 'The State of the News Media'.

3.1.1. News sites, newspapers and *The State of the News Media*

Voices have been heralding the end of print news for over a decade (Gingold 2012; Jarvis 2008; Gioia 2003). This mostly has to do with the "digital revolution [which] has paved the way for new forms of journalism" (Van Hout 2010, p. 3). Online news is considered one of those new forms of journalism. Another is citizen journalism. It is important to note that the Internet through which online news is published is not one single medium. Online news is published by different media, for instance on news sites and news blogs or via social media like *Facebook*, *Twitter* or even on *YouTube*. The Internet has been called "the grand medium of media" (Levinson 2004, p. 5), but I would argue that the Internet is never the medium. It is an "infrastructure" (Doge 2008, p. 106; Kleinrock 2003, p. 3; Stoll 1995, p. 55). It creates opportunities to utilize different modalities in ways that were not possible before, it allows for new media to be created (see also: Opgenhaffen 2011; Deuze 2004). It is more well than estuary. And while news sites have become the go-to medium for news consumption since 2013 according to an online survey (having become more popular than televised news by that time), the media which show the most explosive growth for news consumption today are social media (Newman et al. 2016, p. 9; also see Opgenhaffen and Scheerlinck 2014 for more on social media and journalism).

> "Across our entire sample, half (51%) say they use social media as a source of news each week. Around one in ten (12%) say it is their main source. Facebook is by far the most important network for finding, reading/watching, and sharing news" (Newman et al. 2016, p. 8).

The importance of Facebook as a news source has especially grown since it launched its 'Instant Articles' feature mid-2015, which allows for the publication of full featured articles within Facebook's walled environment.

> "Social media are significantly more important for women (who are also less likely to go directly to a news website or app) and for the young. More than a quarter of 18–24s say social media (28%) are their main source of news – more than television (24%) for the first time" (Newman et al. 2016, p. 8).

Of course these percentages and generalizations should be taken with a grain of salt. As already stated, the survey was conducted online, and as such underrepresents the habits of people who are not online, or who go online less frequently. Also, with the survey being accessible in 26 countries (mostly in the northern hemisphere) and a sample size of about 2,000 people per country, results are more indicative than significant.

What the survey does show is that the Internet is not a singular platform and allows for many different forms of news consumption. It also shows that even while the possible gateways to news have become more varied, the actual news we consume online is still largely produced by the traditional media outlets.

> "Although aggregators and social media are important gateways to news, most of the content consumed still comes from newspaper groups, broadcasters, or digital born brands that have invested in original content. Across all of our 26 countries over two-thirds of our sample (69%) access a newspaper brand online each week, with almost as many (62%) accessing the online service of a broadcasting outlet." (Newman et al. 2016, p. 27)

News itself is published first and foremost via media outlet's own platforms. Back in 2011 (when I started my research and whence my study sample stems), the news site as a platform still had the largest growth of any news medium in the US according to a report by the Nielsen Media research, the Audit Bureau of Circulation and Arbitron, which was taken up by the *PEW*, *Project for Excellence in Journalism* in its 2012 yearly report on *The State of the News Media*.[14] According to that report, the monthly unique audience in the US to the

[14] These yearly reports can be found at www.stateofthemedia.org (Nielsen Media research, the Audit Bureau of Circulation and Arbitron 2012).

top news sites was up 17% year over year in 2011, which is a similar growth as was seen in 2010 year over year.

On the other hand of the spectrum we find the newspaper, which of all media sectors suffered the most in 2011. The report recaps in the following manner:

> "Weekday circulation fell about 4% and Sundays fell 1% for the six-month period ending September 30. Those declines were about on a par with 2010, but only about half what they were in 2009. Newspapers' digital audiences are growing. Newspaper websites are popular and total audience reach is staying steady." (Nielsen Media research, the Audit Bureau of Circulation and Arbitron 2012)

Although circulation was down 4% in 2011 year over year in the US, the total audience reach was staying steady. That is key in what the report states. It is also key that these are numbers for the US. In 2006 worldwide circulation of newspapers still went up by 1.9%. This had to do with growing numbers for non-Western regions, like India (Tandon 2007). In Belgium non-freesheet newspapers reached more than 4.7 million readers in 2011; that is, on the average day 51% of all Belgians older than 12 read a newspaper (Musschoot and Lombaerts 2012, p. 63). Readership however differs from numbers sold. So while some Belgian newspapers could still report on rises in total readership going from 2015 into 2016 (e.g. *De Morgen* (+2.7%)), all Belgian newspapers sold fewer copies in 2016 than the year before (Picone 2016, p.56). To counter dwindling numbers, newspaper publishers have been looking at different ways of cutting production costs (e.g. synergizing of media, mergers, job cuts) and are constantly looking for new channels of distribution. Especially the latter is easier said than done. So while in 2012 the digital versions of the four main Dutch language Belgian non-freesheet daily newspapers were continuously in the top 20 of apps with the highest revenue in Apple's Belgian App Store for iPad,[15] by 2017 only one Belgian newspaper was still in the top 150 of apps with the highest revenue in Apple's Belgian App Store for iPad.[16]

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[15] As an example, on February 26th 2012, *Het Laatste Nieuws* was the fourth highest grossing app on the App Store; *De Standaard* was eight; *De Morgen* was 12th; and *Het Nieuwsblad* was 18th.

[16] As an example, on January 31st 2017, *Het Laatste Nieuws* was the 13th highest grossing app on the App Store. The only other newspapers in the top 150 were the British newspaper *The Times of London* (133th) and the French newspaper *Le Monde* (136th).

So why still look at newspapers when they may be becoming less relevant as a news medium? Because, first of all, they are still here and they may well be for years to come. The newspaper as a medium has come a long way since its inception in the seventeenth century. Back then newspapers were not much more than single page broadsheets which were mostly filled with news about foreign politics. In the Southern Netherlands (approximately present-day Belgium), for instance, newspapers were not even allowed to cover domestic news (excluding the occasional 100th birthday of one person or another) (Franck 2009a). Today there are newspapers which have made (hyper)local news their main stay, as well as newspapers dedicated to very specific topics, like sports news (e.g. the Italian *Gazetta dello Sport*) or business and economic news (*Financial Times*).

Secondly, I wanted to compare how journalists working for different media translate source texts, which means that I do consider news sites and newspapers to be different media – notwithstanding the fact that they are often exploited by the same company, share brand names and have some obvious similarities when it comes to the use of modalities (e.g. the use of text and pictures). News sites liaised to traditional newspapers have also been called 'digital newspapers', and were as such distinguished from other news sites (e.g. Opgenhaffen 2011). This distinction may be somewhat difficult to maintain today because the content one sees on sites liaised to newspapers now is not all that different from the content one sees on sites liaised to other media brands, but does differ considerably from the content found in printed newspapers. Furthermore, today one can also read digital format copies of printed newspapers online (e.g. accessed through an app). I would therefore reserve the term 'digital newspaper' for these digital format copies. Not for news sites liaised to newspapers.

Indeed, news sites have come a long way since 2006. Based on exploratory data for that year Opgenhaffen concluded that:

> Online news producers are not yet inclined to take full advantage of online platforms and [~~that~~] the use of online features varies among the online submedia, some being innovative and others rather traditional (2011).

News sites and newspapers have both evolved considerably since then – something Opgenhaffen et al. (2013, p. 127) also subscribe, an evolution which I argue has made them more and more distinct from one another. The way in which they treat source texts is one of those distinctions, as we will come to see. The fact that media companies today have largely separate and independently working editorial rooms for web and newspaper further proves that point.

3.1.2. Corpus 1: news site and newspaper articles

Originally I was planning to focus on certain news sections. Because I was looking at news translation it seemed self-evident to focus on news that was published in the foreign news section of news sites and newspapers. While trying to come to a working definition for translation it became less and less obvious to only take news published in this section into account. In section **2.2.4.** I defined translation as a process of recontextualization that can be both interlingual and intralingual. Since many domestic news articles are based on source text material as well, I would be leaving out a vast amount of interesting research material. Also, not every newspaper's foreign news section is as big as that of the other. For instance, while the edition of Tuesday November 15th 2011 of the newspaper *De Standaard* had reserved 4 pages for its foreign news section, its sister-newspaper *Het Nieuwsblad* only had reserved 1 page for that section in its same day edition. This does not mean that there was no foreign news to be found in other sections of that edition of *Het Nieuwsblad*, however. Outside of the specific foreign news section, foreign news also could be found in the general news section, the sports section, the economics section and its leisure section (which mostly focuses on news related to popular culture).

Also, as Yves Gambier (2006, p. 9) points out, there has been a bias in news translation studies toward the foreign news section and more specifically, towards (translated) political news. From my data collection it already became apparent early on that, yes, political news stories in the foreign news section often refer to wired news stories, but other news, for instance about sports or economics, often refers to source text material as well. Looking beyond the foreign news sections therefore seems to be a must for approaching three other hypotheses formulated in Chapter 1: hypothesis 1.2., a journalist does not only work, translate and write differently depending on the medium (s)he is working, translating and writing *for*, but also depending on the medium (s)he is working, translating and writing *from*; hypothesis 1.3., what section/topic (s)he is working, translating and writing for; and hypothesis 1.4., what language (s)he is working, translating and writing from/into.

To test these hypotheses, while keeping data collection manageable, I decided to collect data for all sections found in four newspapers and on four news sites. I also chose to work with a sample and collect data for one constructed week only.

3.1.2.1. Which news sites and newspapers?

I chose to study the following newspapers and news sites:

Newspapers:

- *De Morgen*
- *De Standaard*
- *Het Nieuwsblad*
- *Het Laatste Nieuws*

News sites:

- *www.demorgen.be*
- *www.standaard.be*
- *www.nieuwsblad.be*
- *www.hln.be*

A keen observer may notice the correspondence in name between these newspapers and news sites. Indeed, the four newspapers and news sites are liaised to each order in the order in which they appear. Newspaper *De Morgen*, for instance, is liaised to news site *www.demorgen.be*, and *Het Laatste Nieuws* is liaised to *www.hln.be* – the acronym 'hln' is not only used to refer to the news site, but is also commonly used for referring to the newspaper.

These four newspapers and these four news sites are published by the two major media groups in the Belgian (and also Dutch) media world. *De Morgen*, *Het Laatste Nieuws* and their respective websites are published by *De Persgroep NV*, *De Standaard*, *Het Nieuwsblad* and their respective websites by *Corelio NV*, which in 2014 had merged with media group *Concentra Media Groep NV* to become *Mediahuis NV*. I chose these newspapers and news sites because of their mutual differences and congruencies and their positions in Belgium's Dutch language media landscape.

Het Laatste Nieuws and *Het Nieuwsblad* are commonly referred to as popular press newspapers. According to Manssens and Walgrave (1998, p. 31; see also Walgrave and De

Swert 2002), the newspaper *Het Laatste Nieuws* caters to the "lowest end of the market". It is "the most popular daily among popular dailies".[17] It is also the daily newspaper with the highest circulation in Belgium. In the fourth quarter of 2011 it had a mean circulation of 334,061 copies per edition (CIM 2012).[18] *Het Nieuwsblad* is usually regarded as "situated on the frontier between the middle end and the low end of the market" (Manssens and Walgrave 1998, p. 31; see also Walgrave and De Swert 2002).[19] It is the second largest daily newspaper. For the same period as *Het Laatste Nieuws* it had a mean circulation of 296,623 copies per edition. *De Morgen* and *De Standaard* are commonly referred to as quality press newspapers. *De Standaard* has the largest circulation of the two with 107,603 copies per edition for the fourth quarter of 2011 on average. *De Morgen* is the smaller of the two with a mean circulation of 67,652 copies per edition for the same period in time.[20] These four newspapers are the main non-freesheet general daily newspapers which are published in all of Belgium's Dutch speaking provinces and were chiefly chosen therefore as objects of study.

Other important newspapers are *De Tijd*, which is a daily newspaper with a mainly economic orientation. It is also published by *De Persgroep NV* and had a mean circulation of 37,952 copies per edition for the fourth quarter of 2011. *Gazet van Antwerpen* and *Het Belang van Limburg* are the largest daily regional newspapers (with national dispersion). They are both published by the *Concentra Media Groep NV* (today also part of *Mediahuis NV)* and have mean circulations of 113,955 copies per edition and 109,863 copies per edition respectively for the same period as the other newspapers. *Metro*, *De Streekkrant* (which was renamed *Deze Week* on January 18th 2017) and *De Zondag* are examples of freesheet newspapers. There are two versions of the daily freesheet newspaper *Metro*, a Dutch one and a French one. Both versions are made independently. The Dutch version is part of the *Concentra Media Groep NV* as well and is published via *Mass Transit Media*, which is a joint venture *Concentra* has with *SA Rossel* (mainly active in French speaking Belgium). The Dutch version of *Metro* had a circulation of 133,213 copies per edition for the fourth quarter of

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[17] My translation. Original Dutch expressions used by Manssens and Walgrave: "onderkant van de markt" and "de meest populaire onder de populaire dagbladen" respectively.

[18] All figures in the following two paragraphs were taken from the website www.cim.be. CIM is an independent media institute funded by different media partners. Although newer data are available, I chose to incorporate the numbers for the period under study in my sample (see *infra*).

[19] My translation. Original Dutch expression used by Manssens and Walgrave: "gesitueerd op de grens van de middenmarkt en de onderkant van de markt".

[20] Disclaimer: though I have referred to the common distinction between 'popular press' and 'quality press' in this paragraph, it is not a distinction which I believe is viable. I do not consider 'popular' and 'quality' to be antecedents, nor do they exclude one another. Something which I make clear in greater detail in section **4.1.**.

2011. *De Streekkrant* (now *Deze Week*) and *De Zondag* have multiple regional versions and are published approximately on a weekly basis. They are part of the *Concentra Media Groep NV* as well and have mean circulations of 2,224,883 and 589,886 copies per edition respectively for the same period in time. These weekly newspapers achieve higher circulation numbers than any of the daily newspapers, but the fact that they are weekly newspapers makes it hard to compare them to any of the other newspapers. Also, *De Streekkrant*, for instance, is delivered by mail whether you want it or not (unless you explicitly put a sticker on your mail box stating that you do not want to receive any unaddressed mail) and depending on the area in which you live.

Of course, it would have been interesting to study these newspapers as well, especially since they are studied far too little as is. One of the reasons for limiting myself to four newspapers is feasibility in the given project time. Other reasons for studying these four newspapers specifically are the presence of their liaised news sites, the prevalence of source text references in these newspapers and on their news sites and the opportunity this creates for comparing print news to online news. Freesheet newspapers like *Metro*, *De Streekkrant* and *De Zondag* did not have a liaised news site with an independent editorial office at the time of writing. On their websites (*www.metrotime.be*, *www.streekkrant.be* and *www.dezondag.be* respectively) you could, however, find their latest printed newspaper integrally in a digital format. The news sites linked to the regional dailies *Gazet van Antwerpen* (*www.gva.be*) and *Het Belang van Limburg* (*www.hbvl.be*) did not consistently refer to sources (and especially to *Belga*'s wire service) when I started collecting data in 2011. I have to note that this practice has, however, since changed. That is, too late for my data collection. The newspaper *De Tijd does* have a news site (*www.tijd.be*), but I decided not to incorporate it and its news site because of their pronounced focus on economic news, making them somewhat different from the four newspapers and news sites under study.

News sites linked to other media, like magazines (for example, *www.knack.be*) and broadcast news (for example, *www.deredactie.be*), as well as news sites not directly linked to other media (for example, *www.nieuws.be*) also fell outside the scope of this study. Mainly because of the amount of research data already retrieved from the given corpus and because of time limitations. Also because, as is the case for broadcast news itself, a website like *www.deredactie.be* does not often indicate the use of external sources.

3.1.2.2. How large a sample?

I created a sample of one constructed week. The constructed week starts on Monday November 14th 2011 and ends on Monday December 12th 2011. Put into a table, data were collected for the following dates:

Day	News sites	Newspapers
Monday November 14th	Yes	No
Tuesday November 15th	Yes	Yes
Wednesday November 16th	No	yes
Wednesday November 23th	Yes	no
Thursday November 24th	Yes	yes
Friday November 25th	No	yes
Friday December 2nd	Yes	no
Saturday December 3rd	Yes	yes
Monday December 5th	No	yes
Sunday December 11th	Yes	no
Monday December 12th	No	yes

Table 1. Days for which article data were collected

This set-up differs from what can normally be expected from a constructed week sample. More often a constructed week starts on a certain weekday. As an example let us start on Monday November 14th as well; the second day in that constructed week would then be Tuesday the following week (November 22nd). The third day in the sample would be Wednesday of week three (November 30th) and so on. I chose to collect data differently because of a certain (very important) point of divergence between print and online media: their deadlines.

The four newspapers under study are morning newspapers. People do not get to buy and read these newspapers until the day after the reports in it were written. News sites do not have this limitation. When an online journalist writes an article his report can be read almost instantaneously after it was written. This entails that when a newspaper journalist refers to a source text, that source text stems from at least a day before the newspaper was released. When an online journalist refers to a source text, it is very likely that this source text was made available on that same day. To make both corpora comparable I therefore had to alternate between days. If I wanted to find an article based on the same source text for online and print news, I had to look for a news site article from one day and a newspaper article from the day after.

The previous paragraph does, however, not explain the chosen set-up completely. It does not explain why I gathered news site articles for Monday November 14th as well as Tuesday November 15th, and newspaper articles for Tuesday November 15th as well as Wednesday November 16th for instance. Apart from wanting to compare articles with the same source(s), I also wanted to study some other (more general) differences between online and print media. I therefore decided it would be opportune to gather online and print media articles for at least a few coinciding days.

3.1.2.3. Actual corpus size and metadata

You might think that a sample of one constructed week does not deliver a whole lot of data, but you would think wrong. For one constructed week for four newspapers and four news sites I found a grand total of 12,678 news articles, of which 8,316 are published on news sites and 4,362 in newspapers. Those are a lot of articles. Of those 12,678 articles 3,623 refer explicitly to a minimum of one source (3,291 for news sites and 332 for newspapers). That means that 5,025 online news articles and 4,030 newspaper articles do not explicitly refer to a source text.

Although I only studied news site articles that refer to at least one source text, every one of those 8,316 articles, as well as every single newspaper article, was taken up in an MS Excel 2010 database containing metadata. The following variables were reported upon for all articles:

- **Day:** the day on which the article was published. Notated as mm/dd/yyyy.
- **Time (only for news sites):** the time of publication. Notated as 00:00.
- **Page (only for newspapers):** the page on which an article was printed. Notated as 00.
- **Title:** the main title of the article. When there were two titles only the main title was notated.
- **Author 1-5:** Name or initials of the author(s) of the article. When multiple authors worked on a single article the order of appearance in the article was maintained.
- **Source 1-4:** Source text(s) which the article explicitly refers to. When multiple source texts are indicated the order of appearance in the article was maintained.
- **Section**: the section in which an article is published whether it be in a newspaper or on a news site.

- **Reference number**: every article was given an individual reference number. That reference number begins with two letters. The first letter refers to the name of the medium. For instance for the newspaper *Het Nieuwsblad* as well as its liaised online news site *www.nieuwsblad.be* that letter is 'N'. For the newspaper *De Standaard* and its news site that letter is 'S'. The second letter is a 'P' or an 'O'. 'P' stands for 'paper' and 'O' for 'online'. After those two letters there are four digits. For news sites those four digits are a chronological representation of when an article was published, starting with the day and then the time of publication. For instance the article with reference number 'NO0001' is the first article published on November 11th 2011 on the website *www.nieuwsblad.be*. The time of publication is 0h00. The article with reference number 'NO0002' was, however, published on the same day and at 0h00 as well. Therefore I opted for first author name (alphabetical order) as a second variable and title as a third variable (alphabetical order) for determining the four digit code. So while NO0001 was written by 'Bert Heyvaert', NO0002 was written by 'bhl'. For newspapers the four digit code is determined respectively by the day of publication (earliest to latest), the page number (lowest to highest), first author name (alphabetically) and title (alphabetically).

One random line of metadata for a news site article and a newspaper article respectively would take the following form:

Reference N°	Day	Time	Page	Title	Journalist	Source	Section
MO0176	11/14/2011	19:58		Huisbrandolie alweer duurder	sam	Belga	Economics
NP0101	11/15/2011		13	NBA-spelers verwerpen voorstel clubs	dsp	Reuters	Sports

Table 2. Example of acquired metadata for one news site and one newspaper article

With this MS Excel database it became quite easy to, for instance, filter out all articles with no source attribution or to look for articles written by a certain journalist or editor. In section **4.1.** I report on some of the acquired metadata.

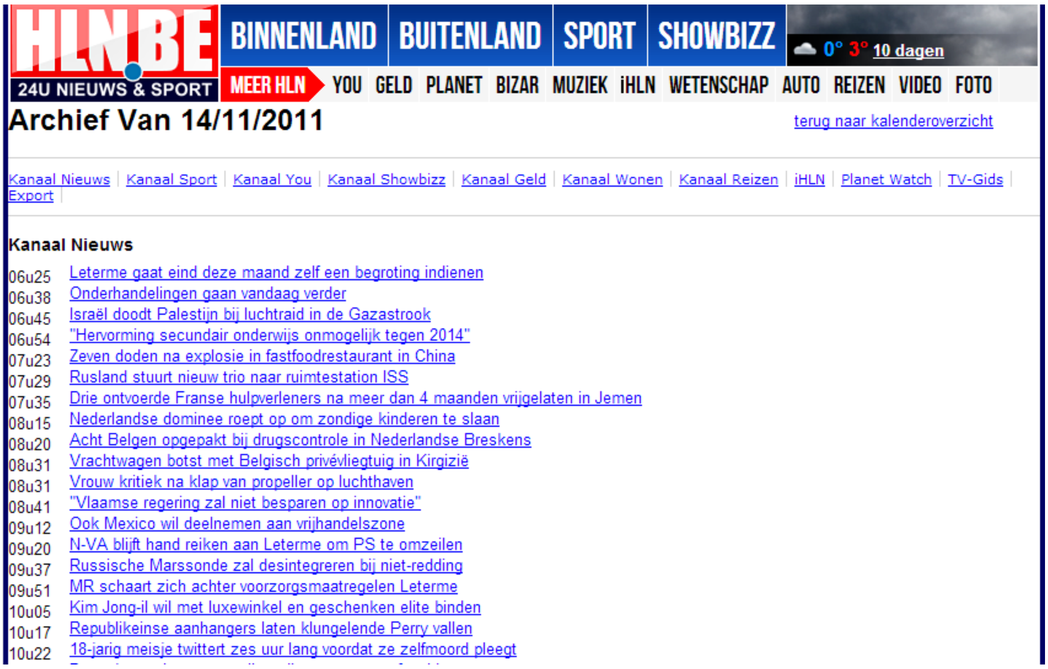
3.1.2.4. Gathering (metadata for) news site articles

Gathering metadata for all articles found on the four news sites under study for a sample of seven days in a constructed week took longer than I expected it to take. I had no prior knowledge of how many articles were published on a news site. Unlike a printed newspaper, there are no touchable boundaries to a news site, no limit to the amount of content that can be published. The only indices I had were the taglines for *www.hln.be* and *www.standaard.be* which both claim to produce more than 350 news updates per day.[21] When all four websites would effectively produce 350 news updates per day, that would be 9,800 updates *in globo*.

An important caveat which needs to be made is that 'an update' does not necessarily equal or amount to 'an article'. An already published article can be updated and such an update could well be regarded as a news update as well. I found a total of 8,316 news site articles and I found traces of articles having been updated. For my research I only studied the final articles, i.e. I collected them months after they had initially been put online. This was once again done because for reasons of feasibility. Finding previously published versions of articles published on news sites in 2011 today, would actually be impossible; furthermore it would have also expanded the corpus considerably.

I started gathering data for the news site *www.hln.be*. This was not too hard because the website has an online archive going all the way back to 2007. When you select a date in the archive you get a list of articles published that day. The list is split up in different news sections (News, Sports, Showbizz, etc.). Articles in each section are ordered chronologically and for each article the time of publication and the article title are given (see *Figure 2*).

[21] *www.hln.be*'s tagline goes as follows: 'HLN.be, News, Sports and Showbizz, 24/24, 7/7, more than 350 news updates per day' ('HLN.be, Nieuws, Sport en Showbizz, 24/24, 7/7, meer dan 350 nieuwsupdates per dag'. *www.standaard.be* advertises that: 'With 350 updates per day De Standaard always gives you the latest news' ('De Standaard bezorgt u met 350 updates per dag altijd het laatste nieuws'). My translations.


HLN.BE 24U NIEUWS & SPORT
BINNENLAND BUITENLAND SPORT SHOWBIZZ 0° 3° 10 dagen
MEER HLN YOU GELD PLANET BIZAR MUZIEK iHLN WETENSCHAP AUTO REIZEN VIDEO FOTO

Archief Van 14/11/2011

terug naar kalenderoverzicht

Kanaal Nieuws | Kanaal Sport | Kanaal You | Kanaal Showbizz | Kanaal Geld | Kanaal Wonen | Kanaal Reizen | iHLN | Planet Watch | TV-Gids | Export |

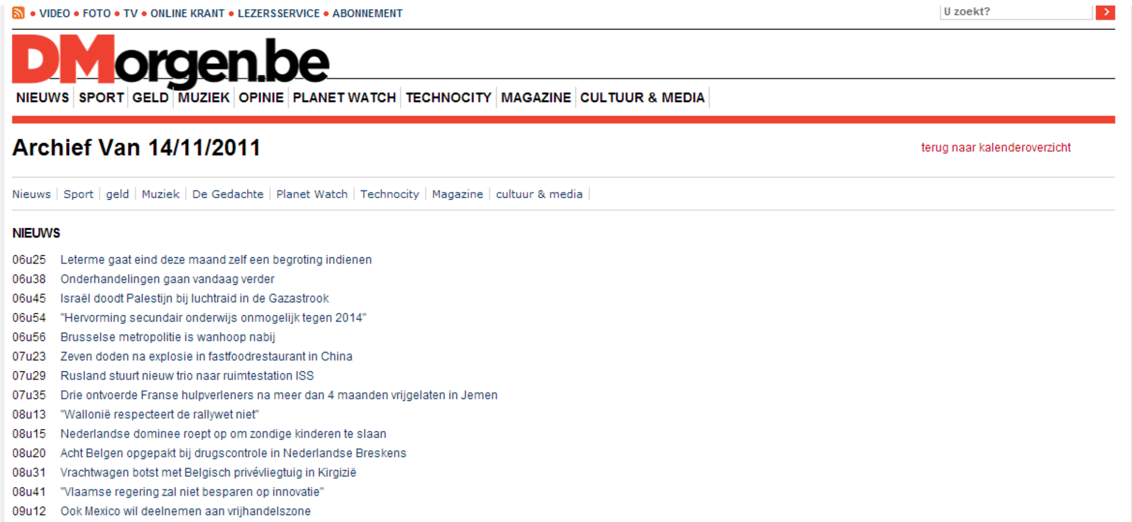
Kanaal Nieuws

06u25 Leterme gaat eind deze maand zelf een begroting indienen
06u38 Onderhandelingen gaan vandaag verder
06u45 Israël doodt Palestijn bij luchtraid in de Gazastrook
06u54 "Hervorming secundair onderwijs onmogelijk tegen 2014"
07u23 Zeven doden na explosie in fastfoodrestaurant in China
07u29 Rusland stuurt nieuw trio naar ruimtestation ISS
07u35 Drie ontvoerde Franse hulpverleners na meer dan 4 maanden vrijgelaten in Jemen
08u15 Nederlandse dominee roept op om zondige kinderen te slaan
08u20 Acht Belgen opgepakt bij drugscontrole in Nederlandse Breskens
08u31 Vrachtwagen botst met Belgisch privévliegtuig in Kirgizië
08u31 Vrouw kritiek na klap van propeller op luchthaven
08u41 "Vlaamse regering zal niet besparen op innovatie"
09u12 Ook Mexico wil deelnemen aan vrijhandelszone
09u20 N-VA blijft hand reiken aan Leterme om PS te omzeilen
09u37 Russische Marssonde zal desintegreren bij niet-redding
09u51 MR schaart zich achter voorzorgsmaatregelen Leterme
10u05 Kim Jong-il wil met luxewinkel en geschenken elite binden
10u17 Republikeinse aanhangers laten klungelende Perry vallen
10u22 18-jarig meisje twittert zes uur lang voordat ze zelfmoord pleegt

Figure 2. Part of www.hln.be's archived list of articles published on November 14th 2011

I copy pasted this information into a notepad-file and later imported that file into Excel, making sure the space between dates and titles, and every line from the next one, was clearly demarcated, so that both variables would end up in adjoining cells and every line was clearly separated. Afterwards I opened every article to add information on its author(s) and source(s) to the database. Subsequently every article received a unique reference number, as exemplified in Table 2.

Next up was the news site *www.demorgen.be*. Because *www.demorgen.be* is property of the same media group as *www.hln.be*, it was not that surprising to find similar archive options on both websites. The archive for *www.demorgen.be* dates back to 2007 as well. Figure 3 indicates what the archive looks like.


● VIDEO ● FOTO ● TV ● ONLINE KRANT ● LEZERSSERVICE ● ABONNEMENT

U zoekt?

DMorgen.be

NIEUWS | SPORT | GELD | MUZIEK | OPINIE | PLANET WATCH | TECHNOCITY | MAGAZINE | CULTUUR & MEDIA

Archief Van 14/11/2011

terug naar kalenderoverzicht

Nieuws | Sport | geld | Muziek | De Gedachte | Planet Watch | Technocity | Magazine | cultuur & media

NIEUWS

06u25	Leterme gaat eind deze maand zelf een begroting indienen
06u38	Onderhandelingen gaan vandaag verder
06u45	Israël doodt Palestijn bij luchtraid in de Gazastrook
06u54	"Hervorming secundair onderwijs onmogelijk tegen 2014"
06u56	Brusselse metropolitie is wanhoop nabij
07u23	Zeven doden na explosie in fastfoodrestaurant in China
07u29	Rusland stuurt nieuw trio naar ruimtestation ISS
07u35	Drie ontvoerde Franse hulpverleners na meer dan 4 maanden vrijgelaten in Jemen
08u13	"Wallonië respecteert de rallywet niet"
08u15	Nederlandse dominee roept op om zondige kinderen te slaan
08u20	Acht Belgen opgepakt bij drugscontrole in Nederlandse Breskens
08u31	Vrachtwagen botst met Belgisch privévliegtuig in Kirgizië
08u41	"Vlaamse regering zal niet besparen op innovatie"
09u12	Ook Mexico wil deelnemen aan vrijhandelszone

Figure 3. Part of www.demorgen.be's archived list of articles published on November 14th 2011

What was more surprising was that not only the archive options struck me as familiar but the article titles and their time of publication as well. In section **4.1.1.** I will go into more detail on these similarities. For now it might be enough to note that only 7.37% (93) of the articles that appeared on *demorgen.be* for the dates in my sample are unique. The other 92.63% can also be found on *hln.be*. On the other hand, 15.18% (209) of the articles on *hln.be* did not appear on *demorgen.be* for the same dates.

It was harder to gather data for *standaard.be* and *nieuwsblad.be*, which are part of the same media group. These websites do not have a readily available online archive function. *standaard.be* does have an online archive, but it is only accessible for subscribers. Non-subscribers can, however, make use of the website's search function which allows one to search on date of publication (*Figure 4*). This search function is not perfect.

1. Although articles in the procured list of title hyperlinks are arranged into sections, many of the articles are not actually part of the sections the list says they are part of. For example, one of the titles in *Figure 4* is 'Jessica Biel heeft spijt van naaktscenes' (Jessica Biel regrets nude scenes). This article can supposedly be found in the economy section of the news site, which is doubtful to begin with. Opening the article reveals that the article is actually part of the 'Life & Style' section, which makes more sense.
2. Many of the title hyperlinks appear multiple times in the procured list. This has to do with the articles having been updated. The different hyperlinks do, however,

not link to different versions of the article in question. They all open up the same article version, the latest version.

3. No time of publication is given in the list.

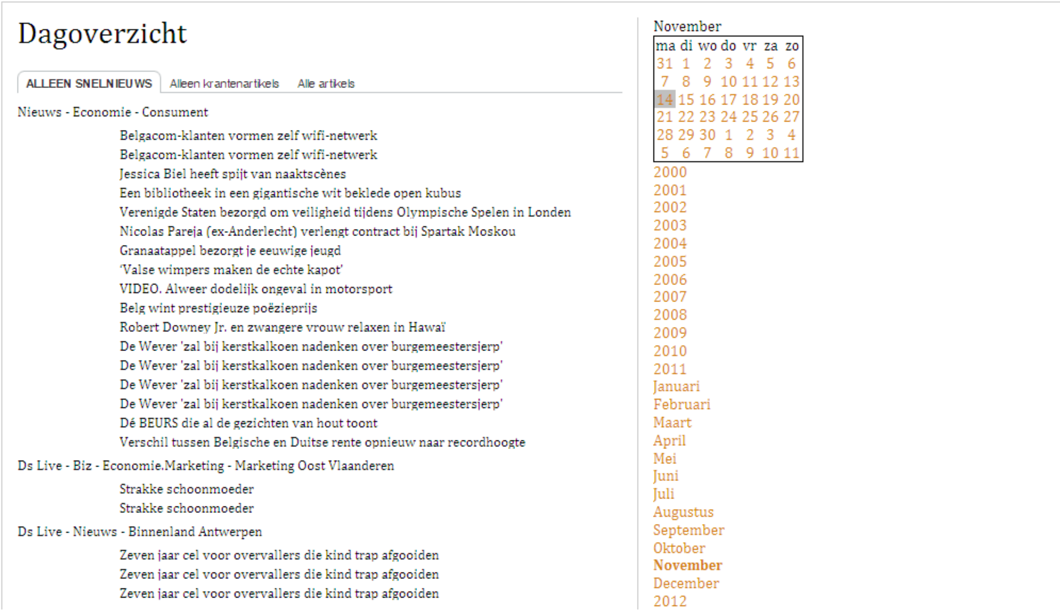


Figure 4. Part of www.standaard.be's search results for November 14th 2011

4. Most of the time when trying to access an article from the list I was prompted with a screen that read: 'Lees dit artikel verder als abonnee van De Standaard' (Read the entire article as a subscriber to *De Standaard*) *(Figure 5)*. I was, however, able to read and gather all of the listed articles without becoming a subscriber. At the time it was still possible to search for every individual article title on Google and find a link to the articles in question. When opening the article from Google, I was never prompted to become a subscriber first and could access all the articles in their entirety.
5. The procured list is incomplete, which I found out when gathering data for *nieuwsblad.be*.

Figure 5. Prompt-screen stating: 'Read the entire article as a subscriber to De Standaard'

While gathering data for *destandaard.be* I had to search for most of the articles on Google. When Google indicated that one of these articles did not only appear on destandaard.be but also on nieuwsblad.be I added the article to my *www.nieuwsblad.be* database as well.

Unlike the other news sites, *www.nieuwsblad.be* had no search option to get an overview of all articles published on a specific date at the time of writing. It was therefore necessary for me to be a bit more creative in gathering the required data. As indicated in the above paragraph the first data I collected were the articles that showed up on *Google* for both *standaard.be* and *nieuwsblad.be*. Then I turned to *Mediargus* which was an online press database and media platform – it became defunct on February 2nd 2014 after the merger between the companies behind *Mediargus* and *Pressbanking*, which were replaced by a single environment, i.e. *Gopress* which was launched on January 1st of that same year. In the *Mediargus* environment one could search for or get an overview of archived articles from, among others, all Belgian newspapers, many Belgian magazines and news sites, as well as *Belga*, Belgium's national news wire service. Its shareholders were all Flemish newspaper publishers.[22] In December 2015 *Gopress* was taken over entirely by wire service *Belga*. Although *Mediargus*' archives were quite complete for newspapers and magazines, their archive service for news sites was somewhat lacking. An example: For Monday November 14th 2011 I found 111 articles for *www.nieuwsblad.be* by searching for *www.standaard.be* articles on *Google*. I found 177 articles for *www.nieuwsblad.be* for that same date on *Mediargus*. Only 17 of those articles I also found by looking for *www.standaard.be* articles,

[22] Information retrieved from www.mediargus.be.

which means that 94 articles found with *Google* were not found with *Mediargus*, which in itself is already a substantial number of articles. Table 3 shows how many articles found for the *www.nieuwsblad.be* corpus stem from a *Google* search, how many stem from *Mediargus* and how many stem from different searches on the news site itself, as well as how many articles found with *Google* and *Mediargus* were identical and the total number of articles found for each day.

	Google	Mediargus	Overlapping		News site searches	Total number
Monday November 14th	111	177	17		321	592
Tuesday November 15th	120	158	17		400	661
Wednesday November 23rd	116	183	26		599	872
Thursday November 24th	103	168	14		407	664
Friday December 2nd	105	129	21		632	845
Saturday December 3rd	79	108	6		572	753
Sunday December 11th	59	145	7		53	250

Table 3. Number of articles found for nieuwsblad.be with different searches.

Table 3 shows that the main number of articles was found by searches on the news site itself. I started by entering some key terms for any of the specific dates in my corpus of which I was sure that they would generate a decent number of hits. I used 15 key terms, which I searched for in articles and their titles for every specific date. The key terms are: 'Anderlecht', 'begroting' [budget, often in a political context], 'beurs' [trade fair; scholarship; pouch], 'brandweer' [fire brigade], 'CD', 'club', 'foto' [photo], 'helft' [half; halftime], 'kans' [chance; opportunity], 'kunst' [art], 'OCMW' [social welfare], 'parkeer' [parking], 'politie' [police], 'provincie' [province], 'video'. Most of these are straightforward enough. 'Police' and 'fire brigade' were expected to give a decent amount of search results because they only show up when something out of the ordinary is going on (i.e. a fire, an accident, a burglary, etc.). Others need some extra words of explanation. 'Anderlecht', for instance, was chosen because it is Belgium's wealthiest and most successful soccer team. It was also chosen because it is a somewhat notorious municipality in Brussels. 'CD' does not only refer to compact discs, but it are also the first two letters of Flanders' Christian democratic party CD&V. Results for news about CD&V as well as CD's showed up because the search option does not recognize the '&'-sign. 'Photo' and 'video' were chosen because the news site has specific sections for articles that focus on photo and video material. These articles are easily recognizable because of their titles. Examples are: 'VIDEO. Hoogerland verliest tegen paard' and 'FOTO: De lichtstoet van Wuustwezel'.

After having added a decent number of articles to my database with the help of this key term search, I completed the corpus by looking for all articles written on any of the sample dates by any of the authors who had written an article that was already part of the corpus. Figure 6 is an example of one such author search and the results it brings forth.

Figure 6. Searching for all articles written by a specific author on a specific day on nieuwsblad.be

3.1.2.5. Gathering (metadata for) newspaper articles

Gathering metadata from articles in four newspapers for a sample of seven days in a constructed week was less labor intensive than gathering metadata from news site articles for that same sample. Because they are printed on paper, newspapers have a clear beginning and end. Once printed on paper and published, a specific newspaper edition will never again be altered. The fact that every newspaper edition is archived in its original (paper) format means that one would get to see the same newspaper whether it is 2011, 2017 or 2041 – depending on how well it was preserved, of course. As already touched upon, this is different for news sites which, in general, are updated continuously, meaning that once a new news update is put on the website, one can never again see what the news site looked like before that update – unless said version of the news site was serendipitously added to *The Wayback Machine*.[23]

Nonetheless, gathering all the wanted information from the newspapers in the corpus remained time consuming. To help speed up the process I relied on *Mediargus* and *Gopress Academic*, which both are online press databases and media platforms owned by Belgian press agency *Belga*. On February 1st 2014 *Mediargus* was terminated and wholly replaced by *Gopress*, which itself was launched on January 1st of that same year. Via both press databases one could/can access, among others, digital versions (minus layout and photos) of almost every article that has appeared in any of the Belgian newspapers since 1998.[24] Prior to February 2nd 2014 I relied on *Mediargus* for gathering newspaper articles and metadata for my analyses, after that date I relied on *Gopress*.

Although *Gopress* is a more modern database than *Mediargus* was, it is in many ways inferior to the latter. While in *Mediargus*, depending on the license one had, one could access pdf-files of complete newspaper pages from months or even years passed, in *Gopress* one can only consult the pdf-versions of newspapers from the last week. After that the pdf-files become inaccessible. Also, in *Mediargus* one could get an overview of all articles within any newspaper edition, or on any page of said edition for that matter. This is impossible in the *Gopress* environment. You can search for articles in any specific newspaper on any specific publication date, but you have to type in a specific search term when doing so. Since I mainly collected metadata for newspaper articles after February 2nd 2014, I had to rely on *Gopress*' inferior working environment.

The search term I used when looking for newspaper articles was the word 'de' [the], which is the definite article used most often in Dutch as it can be used in concordance not only with certain single nouns, but also with all plural nouns. The definite article 'het' [the] can only be used with certain single nouns.

[23] The Wayback Machine archives cached pages of websites so that one can access older versions of certain websites or even websites that are no longer online. It was created by the Internet archive and is largely dependent on active user input for many of its archived websites (although it does use web crawlers for indexing the bulk of its archived content). The main page of the news sites under study are generally archived no more than five times per day. Since news sites are updated hundreds of times over the course of a single day one must indeed be lucky to find the original online environment in which an article was published.

[24] The search option in Gopress allows for searching articles all the way back to January 1st 1985, but no articles would show prior to 1998 for the four newspapers under study.

Gopress' databases contain articles from all different regional editions of newspapers. I decided to only retain metadata for articles published in the Antwerp (city) regional editions, something which I did not do when collecting metadata from the news sites. While anybody can read any regional news site article independent of their location, this is not the case for regional newspaper articles. Also, because of *Gopress*' limitations as a searchable database it is impossible to be certain whether one has collected metadata for all articles in all regional editions.

To be certain I had retrieved all metadata for the Antwerp (city) regional editions of the newspapers, I consulted the physical editions of the newspapers which are archived at the *Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience* [Heritage Library Hendrik Conscience] in Antwerp, Belgium. By doing this more of *Gopress*' limitations as a research environment came to light, e.g. missing articles, missing author information, wrongly assigned page numbers. Because of the archived newspapers I was able to complete my set of metadata.

3.1.3. Corpus 2: news wire and other media reports

Source texts were gathered on an ad hoc basis, meaning that I did not collect every single report published by every quoted medium for the days relevant to my corpus. Rather, when a specific news site (or sometimes newspaper) article referred to a certain medium as its source, I went through the databases at my disposal to find the source text or texts which may have been used for said specific article. I did not stop there, however. Being one article's source text does not exclude an article from having its own source text(s) as well. When possible I tried to recreate the entire trajectory of a text as it went through the hands of different journalists/editors working for different media. When the trajectory from initial source text to eventual online news report was recreated, I searched through my newspaper metadata to see whether any article without source references in the newspapers that shared the same subject was published, and compared those articles with the texts I had already collected for my corpus to see whether any link between them could be established. As an example of this collection process, let us look at the trajectory of one specific article in the corpus.

On Wednesday November 23rd at 14h50 the article 'Luik wil wereldexpo 2017' [Liège wants world fair 2017] was published on news site *www.hln.be*. It refers to Belgian press agency *Belga* as its source. Four articles were published by *Belga* on that day, on said subject. Three of them in French, one of them in Dutch. Because of the close relationship between the Dutch *Belga* article and the Dutch online news report, it was established that the Dutch wire report, titled 'Luik stelt kandidatuur wereldexpo van 2017 voor' (Liège presents candidacy for world fair of 2017), was used as the one and only source for the online news report. The Dutch *Belga* report itself was translated from the original French *Belga* report, entitled 'Liège a présenté sa candidature pour l'organisation de l'Expo international de 2017' (Liège has presented its candidacy for the organization of the World fair of 2017). The other two French language wire reports share the same title as the original French language wire report, but contain information not present in the original version, nor present in the Dutch language wire report. They are updates of the original French language wire report. Although no exact time of publication is given in the database (*Gopress Academic*) for any of the wire reports, they did appear in a list sorted by time of publication after having searched for them, meaning that their relationship to one another could be established not only by looking at the texts themselves but by their order of appearance in the database as well – something which was brought to my attention by *Belga* journalist Victor, whom I interviewed for section **2.3.** of this book. The day after, on Thursday November 24th, an article on the same subject was published in the newspaper liaised to news site *www.hln.be*, i.e. in *Het Laatste Nieuws*. The article was not based on the news site report but on the Dutch *Belga* report, though it does not refer to the agency as a source. The newspaper article is titled 'Luik wil wereldexpo 2017 naar België halen' (Liège wants to bring world fair 2017 to Belgium).

The above example shows some of the intricacies of source text collection when dealing with article updates and source texts which are themselves translations. The above example is, however, only one example of what such a trajectory may look like. Some trajectories are more straightforward, while others are even more intricate. Indeed, the above example only describes how a domestic news event was subsequently covered by different domestic media. Especially when international news is subsequently covered the ties that bind can become even more complicated.

Instead of discussing all possible scenarios here, however, I will discuss them further when relevant in Chapter 4, in which I report upon how the media under study account for their use of source texts (section **4.1.**) and which shifts in meaning occur when news is subsequently translated by different media on two very distinct topics (the 2011 Congolese elections in section **4.2.** and the run-up to the 2012 Summer Olympics in section **4.3.**). First though, it may be interesting to delve deeper into how exactly I analyzed these shifts in meaning on a formal level (section **3.2.**) and on a functional level (section **3.3.**).

3.2. Analyzing formal shifts in meaning

3.2.1. Introduction

In section **2.2.2.** I argued that literal translation is dead.[25] Translation then has little to do with mathematically substituting one word in a particular language for another word in another language. Yes, occasionally this is what translators do, they single out words and find their equivalents in the other language, but if it was the only thing they did, we would not consider them to be very good at their jobs. We would probably scratch our heads every time we were confronted with a translated text, because every single translated text would be complete and utter gibberish. There is more to language than words. Or as Mona Baker put it:

> "Not every instance of non-equivalence you encounter is going to be significant. It is neither possible nor desirable to reproduce every aspect of meaning for every word in a source text. We have to try, as much as possible, to convey the meaning of key words which are focal to the understanding and development of a text, but we cannot and should not distract the reader by looking at every word in isolation and attempting to present him/her with a full linguistic account of its meaning." (Baker 1992, p. 26)

As defined in section **2.2.5.**, translation is a form of interpretive language use. It is an act of recontextualization in which a source text (ST) is manipulated in such a way that it becomes a target text (TT). It is both action and reaction, and as such, the process of translation cannot be limited to how translators react to what they find in any given source text. It is an act of interpretation as well as an act of intervention: translators intervene in both source language and target language cultures because of the (creative) decisions they knowingly or unknowingly make while translating. For example, a translator can decide whether it is necessary to explicate the Japanese word *ronin* in a footnote or within parentheses in a translated story for an American audience. But his or her choice is never a dilemma with two possible outcomes. He or she may as well decide to leave out the Japanese word *ronin* and instead use the explication in text. He or she may try to come up with an English alternative for the term (neologism), or change the entire context of the story so that every Japanese

[25] Outside the realms of language teaching and philology, that is.

reference becomes an American reference.[26] Or he or she may decide that by now the word *ronin* should be known by American readers (like the word 'samurai') and not translate it at all. Such a decision may seem quite trivial, but it is not: In the long run it can alter how one culture perceives the other (as more or less foreign). It can alter a culture as well (more or less diverse in its language use).

Because these choices are so important, and because translators are presented with these kinds of problems all the time while translating, it should not come as too much of a surprise that they are actually trained how to deal with situations as the one described above: they are taught what translation methods, what translation procedures, what translation strategies, what translation techniques, etcetera, are most appropriate in any given situation. Although the above enumeration makes it seem like there are many different actions and reactions required from a translator, most of the mentioned terms are actually quite similar – though not entirely. I will discuss the differences and similarities between these different terms in the following paragraphs.

Functional changes that occur when a ST is translated into a TT, however, do not only occur because of translation methods, procedures, strategies and techniques. Some of them also occur because of differences between language systems, and because translators are humans, and as humans, they make mistakes. For this reason I have created my own categorization of formal changes, which I will also explain in the coming paragraphs. Furthermore, I will argue that all formal changes that find their way into a TT during the process of translation pertain to four basic categories which I have labelled 'RE-actions'. These four categories are: (i) REinforcement; (ii) REduction; (iii) REarrangement; and (iv) REplacement. Before I explain these four RE-actions (and how they can be quantified for textual analysis), I will first turn to what others have said about what translators do (or

[26] This last practice is especially common when Japanese anime is localized for American and/or European children. While it is common place for the names of characters and locales to be localized – Mamorou Endou from Inazuma Eleven is called Mark Evans in the U.S. and Europe, Sakura New Town from Yokai Watch is called Springdale in the U.S. and Europe – a less obvious example of localization has to do with food. While anime characters oftentimes have *onigiri* for lunch (Japanese rice balls) on screen, the characters in the localized version of these anime often speak of eating doughnuts for lunch instead of *onigiri*. Visually nothing changes of course. On screen the characters are still eating *onigiri*, but instead of *onigiri* they are referred to as doughnuts. This is done because it is uncommon in the Western world to eat rice balls for lunch, because they (very vaguely) look somewhat similar to doughnuts (the square dried *nori* leaf is taken for a hole) and because it has become common practice in anime localization.

should do) when literal translation is out of the question, which is to say: what they are actually doing *all* the time while translating any given source text into a target text.

3.2.2. What translators do while translating

In the previous paragraphs I have already indicated that there is some semantic overlap among the different terms used for describing the things a translator does (or should do) when translating. Andrew Chesterman has described that same issue in the following manner:

> "The basic terminological problem is that different scholars use different terms for what seems to be more or less the same thing. This variation is perhaps a sign of the relatively young age of our discipline, but it is also an obstacle in the path towards true professionalization. If we had an agreed term, or set of terms, which professional translators could use as well as scholars, life would be easier. We shall only have space here for consideration of possible generic terms, but the problem is of course multiplied many times over when we move down the conceptual hierarchy and try to name and classify various types of … whatever they are." (2005, p. 18)

In a way Chesterman is right. There are many sets of terms out there (often attributable to different people) that indicate things that can be regarded as more or less the same thing. However, I do not believe this to be a problem for relatively new disciplines in particular. It is commonplace within the humanities to discuss and re-discuss what terms and concepts stand for. Instead of as obstacles, I would rather look at these divergences as academic exercises from which new ideas and concepts can (and should) emerge. If everybody were saying the same thing, there would be no need for scientific discussion. If nothing else, when meaning was set in stone, pragmaticians would be without a job. So instead of looking at these differences as unsurmountable hurdles, let us take a look at what they are, and let us see whether they can provide us with some fruitful new ideas.

Vinay and Darbelnet were among the first to use the term 'translation method' in an academic exposition. In their *Stylistique comparé du français et de l'anglais* (1958) they speak of two translation methods, namely direct translation (or literal translation, or word-for-word translation) and oblique translation (when literal translation is not an option). We have already shown that over the years many more translation methods (or types) have been conceptualized (overt translation, documentary translation, semantic translation, etcetera). Indeed, while many translation scholars have created their own dichotomy of translation methods (semantic as opposed to communicative translation, overt as opposed to covert translation), most of them do refer to these types of translation as translation methods as well (see e.g. Newmark 1982, House 1997). Also Chesterman (2005, 1997) states that the translation method should be regarded as a general way of tackling a source text (ST), and is related to the type of translation one needs to produce (faithful, liberal or any other type found in between on the translation cline). Yves Gambier (2010, p. 416), however, prefers to use the term 'global strategy' (on the macro-level or cultural and sociological levels) to refer to the 'translation method'. He also speaks of the 'local strategy'. While the global strategy is decided upon beforehand (e.g. in a translation brief), before the actual process of translation starts, the local strategy refers to the decisions the translator has to make while translating.

As indicated in the previous paragraph 'translation method' and 'global strategy' can be regarded as synonyms. What Gambier calls 'local strategy' is more often referred to as 'translation procedures'. Translation procedures help the translator deal with the specific problems he or she encounters while translating a source text (ST) into a target text (TT). For Vinay and Darbelnet (2000, 1958) both direct and oblique methods of translation come with their own set of translation procedures. The translation procedures related to direct translation are: borrowing, calque and literal translation. The translation procedures related to oblique translation are: transposition, modulation, equivalence and adaptation. To these seven basic procedures they added twelve additional procedures, namely: compensation, concentration, dilution, amplification, economy, reinforcement, condensation, explicitation, implicitation, generalization, particularization and inversion. According to Lucía Molina and Amparo Hurtado Albir (2002), Vinay and Darbelnet introduced some conceptual confusion about the terms 'translation method' and the term 'translation procedures' because of this distinction. Mostly because they worked with isolated units that do "not distinguish between categories that affect the whole text and categories that refer to small units" (Molina and

Hurtado Albir 2002, p.506). A more important criticism, however, would be that while it can be argued that the (global) translation method does, indeed, influence the translator's decision about what procedures to use, particular procedures should not be looked at as being exclusive to a certain translation method. So while Newmark (1988, p. 81) also speaks of translation procedures, as opposed to the translation method for the entire text – "while translation methods relate to whole texts, translation procedures are used for sentences and the smaller units of language" –, none of the 15 procedures on the list he procures are exclusive to a particular method.

Chesterman (1997) does not speak of translation procedures, but of translation strategies, to describe the same phenomenon. He makes a distinction between grammatical, semantic and pragmatic strategies. For instance the translation procedures ascribed to the direct method of translation by Vinay and Darbelnet (literal translation, calque and borrowing) fall within the category of grammatical strategies in Chesterman's classification. He is not the only one to refer to what others have called procedures as strategies. Wolfgang Lörscher (1991, p. 76), for example, defines a translation strategy as "a potentially conscious procedure for the solution of a problem which an individual is faced with when translating a text segment from one language to another", indicating that strategy and procedure are mainly the same thing. Mona Baker gives her own list of translation strategies, but notes that "[t]he examples discussed in this chapter do not, by any means, represent an exhaustive account of the strategies available for dealing with non-equivalence at word level" (1992, p. 42). The list of examples she gives is very similar to lists of translation procedures.

For Delisle et al. (2003, 1999) translation procedures and the translation strategy (note: never plural!) are different things entirely. They describe translation procedures as the micro-textual changes a translator makes on the basis of which translation method was decided upon. The translation strategy, on the other hand, is the overall strategy that guides the translator and can be brought back to a decision on the basis of whether his or her translation needs to be more source text oriented (more faithful) or more target text oriented (more liberal). As such the translation strategy determines the translation method, which is the application of that strategy to the entire text.

Molina and Hurtado Albir (2002) introduce yet another concept, namely translation techniques. Their definition for translation method does not differ too much from the ones already presented here: it “refers to the way a particular translation process is carried out in terms of the translator’s objective, i.e., a global option that affects the whole text” (p. 507). What makes their theory different is that they also refer to translation strategies, but that they distinguish them from translation techniques. While they define translation strategies as “the procedures (conscious or unconscious, verbal or non-verbal) used by a translator to solve problems that emerge when carrying out the translation process with a particular objective in mind”, which seems close enough to previous definitions for translation strategies or procedures, they add that the actual solution to the problem is only “materialized by using a particular technique” (p. 508). This entails that for Molina and Hurtado Albir the result of solving a problem by use of translation strategies does not necessarily find its way into the translated text (unless the result of a translation strategy is a translation technique, of course). Examples of what they describe as translation strategies are: establishing conceptual relationships, looking for information and saying things out loud. Only translation techniques provide translators with specific textual solutions. The list they provide is an amalgam of what other translation scholars have called translation procedures or translation strategies.

3.2.3. What changes when translators translate

Translation procedures, translation strategies, translation techniques, or whatever you want to call them – I will call them translation procedures from now on (as that is what they were initially called) –, provide the translator with a set of particular solutions for specific textual problems he or she may encounter during the process of translation. They are reactions to said problems. Some of these reactions are obligatory (because of differing language systems), some of them are not. How the translator reacts to a specific textual problem is dependent on many different variables, as there are: the translation brief (i.e. the assigned rules for translation), the chosen translation method, the allowances and limitations of the different language systems, the translator’s procedural knowledge, the translator’s limitations, etcetera. Also, ‘problems’ are not only those textual elements which prove to be impossible for the translator to translate literally. They are any textual element in the source text (ST) of which the translator consciously or unconsciously decides to divert from for the sake of the target text (TT).

As such it could be argued that using translation procedures is an integral part of the translation process. Molina and Hurtado Albir, however, have argued that their translation techniques, what most translation scholars refer to as translation procedures or strategies, “do not refer to the process followed by the translator, but to the final result” (2002, p. 506), unlike the translation method and what they refer to as translation strategies, which they *do* consider to be part of the translation process:

> “Process categories are designed to answer two basic questions. Which option has the translator chosen to carry out the translation project, i.e., which *method* has been chosen? How has the translator solved the problems that have emerged during the translation process, i.e., which *strategies* have been chosen? However, research (or teaching) requirements may make it important to consider textual micro-units as well, that is to say, how the result of the translation functions in relation to the corresponding unit in the source text. To do this we need translation techniques” (2002, pp. 498-499).

Indeed, it *should* prove interesting to consider micro-units in a textual analysis of meaning shifts due to the process of translation – which is exactly what I have been analyzing for the purposes of this book. However, Molina and Hurtado Albir’s argument that we need translation techniques to do so is far less convincing. For one, I fail to see how “using a particular technique” (p. 508) while translating is not part of the translation process, especially when we consider the translation process to be the “succession of steps that result in the translation product, the *target text*; All that happens between receiving the *source text* and publishing the target text” (Delisle et al. 2003, p. 163, my trandslation; italics in original).[27] Also they exclude several procedures documented by other scholars from their list of translation techniques because they are only needed because of the differences between language systems: “They are not a textual option open to the translator, but an

[27] The quote in Dutch: “Opeenvolging van stappen die resulteren in het vertaalproduct, de *doeltekst*; alles wat gebeurt tussen het recipiëren van de *brontekst* en het publiceren van de doeltekst” (Delisle et al. 2003, p. 163).

obligation imposed by the characteristics of the language pair" (Molina and Hurtado Albir 2002, p. 507). Nonetheless, when looking at the actual target texts (TTs), the shifts (whether or not in meaning) are still there. Furthermore, by focusing on translation techniques, Molina and Hurtado Albir leave out yet another shift that can occur because of the process of translation, namely the (honest) mistake.

That is why I have created my own set of quantifiable labels for the analysis of formal shifts that occur when a ST is translated into a TT. My set is based on the different typologies about translation procedures, strategies and techniques out there, but with some alterations and additions as to not leave out any translation shifts, i.e. "the small changes ('shifts') that build up cumulatively over a whole text as a result of the choices taken by or imposed on the translator" (Munday 1998, p. 524), whether that be due to the use of translation procedures, differing language systems or mistakes. I argue that there are four basic shifts or 'RE-actions' that can take place when a translator is translating a ST into a TT: (i) REinforcements; (ii) REductions; (iii) REarrangements; and (iv) REplacements. Before I tell you exactly what these four categories of labels (as well as their subordinate labels) are, I will provide you with some information about how these labels can be applied to a corpus of interdependent source and target texts. In other words, in the next section I will be discussing what textual unit should be labelled as to get quantifiable results for the analysis.

3.2.4. The translation unit

The unit of analysis for this study is the translation unit, which can be described as "the smallest segment of the utterance whose signs are linked in such a way that they should not be translated individually" (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995, p. 352; also quoted in Kenny 2009, p. 304). In other words, the translation unit can be a single word or a phrase, but may as well be a clause or even a whole text when their individual words, phrases, clauses could not be individually translated.

There is much debate on the exact nature of the translation unit; some claim that "translators generally process clauses" (Kenny 2009, p. 304), others that the text is the prime unit and that one has to relate every individual sentence or paragraph to it (Bassnett 2002, p. 121). I will not go into too much detail here, but it is evident that no translation unit is ever completely on its own. One translated unit can (and often does) influence the translation of several other units. As Vinay and Darbelnet have argued: "L'unité de traduction est un contexte restreint; c'est un syntagme dont l'un des éléments détermine la traduction de l'autre" (1973, p. 42).

I have chosen to operationalize the phrase as the main translation unit. This, however, does not mean that the translation unit always took up an entire phrase or even that it was a phrase to begin with. Sometimes a smaller unit – e.g. an attributive adjective, an adverb, a head noun – was considered to be the translation unit and was tagged instead of the phrase. This is only done when several formal changes within one phrase are encountered. An example from the corpus would be the prepositional phrase functioning as an adverbial: 'avec un écart confortable, incontestable et irrattrapable' ('a comfortable, unquestionable and unassailable gap') from a French *Belga* report which was translated into Dutch as 'met een duidelijke, onoverbrugbare en comfortable voorsprong' ('with a distinct, unbridgeable and comfortable lead'). Because of the many changes within this phrase it was, first of all, split into smaller units. The noun which was modulated from 'gap' to 'lead' was considered to be one translation unit, the three adjectives ('comfortable', 'unquestionable', 'unassailable') as three separate translation units. Formal changes are, however, not limited to the lexical level and the phrase – as mentioned earlier. The position of the adjective 'comfortable' changed from first in the French ST, to last in the Dutch TT. Such formal changes were tagged separately as well.

3.2.5. RE-action markers

As already mentioned previously, I argue that there are four basic shifts or 'RE-actions' that can take place when a translator is translating a source text (ST) into a target text (TT): (i) REinforcements; (ii) REductions; (iii) REarrangements; and (iv) REplacements. Every formal change in the corpus that is not the product of literal translation between a ST and a TT was tagged as such. A definition for each of these four main formal changes is provided in Table 4. Every RE-action has its own set of subdivisions, which are also defined in Table 4.

Most of my definitions for these subdivisions are based on the ‘translation procedures’ defined by Vinay and Darbelnet (2000, 1995, 1973, 1958), and Delisle et al. (2003, 1999), as well as the ‘translation techniques’ defined by Molina and Hurtado Albir (2002). Not all translation procedures and techniques described by these authors were taken up as RE-action subdivisions. For instance, ‘calque’ (in which an SL expression or structure is literally transferred to the TL text) and ‘coinage’ (a word or phrase that is created to (only) function with a specific TT) do not appear as a subdivision for any type of RE-action. The simple reason being that I did not come across a simple instance in which I could label a translation unit as such in my corpus. The more complex explanation for these two specific omissions is that ‘calque’ can be regarded as a specific type of ‘borrowing’ and may as well be labeled as such when running into it, and that ‘coinage’ is a very time specific endeavor which cannot always be recognized as such. Because when a new phrase in the target language becomes accepted as the conventional translation for a phrase in the source language, it can no longer be labelled as a RE-action at all.

In any case, just as Mona Baker admitted about her list of examples: that it does “not, by any means, represent an exhaustive account of the strategies available for dealing with non-equivalence at word level” (1992, p. 42), my lists of RE-action subdivisions are only as exhaustive as my corpus has allowed them to be, which, however, changes nothing about my argument that there are four main RE-actions. That hypothesis still stands.

Apart from the subdivisions based on lists of translation procedures, three other subdivisions were added. These subdivisions also differ from the others in that they appear across three of the four RE-action categories (i.e. the ones in which changes generally occur on the phrasal level). They are: ‘Audience adaptation’, ‘Editorial correction’ and ‘Mistake’. The last two were added to deal with human error (in STs and TTs respectively); the first category (Audience adaptation) is a special case. I previously defined audience adaptations as “those changes a translator makes when keeping in mind his specific audience needs”. It is audience specific, instead of culture specific in that it “does not necessarily cater to specific cross-cultural differences, as for example between English and German" (Franck 2012, p. 9).

Rearrangement	**All instances in which a translation unit takes up a different place in the TT**
Compensation	a translation unit appears within a different clause, sentence, or paragraph
Interchange	two (or more) words or phrases in the ST swap places in the TT
Recasting	the word order of a phrase or sentence from the ST changes in the TT

REduction	**All instances in which a translation unit is made smaller or removed**
Concentration	a translation unit consists of fewer words in the TT
Implicitation	a translation unit that was explicit in the ST appears implicit in the TT
Omission	a translation unit that appeared in the ST is completely left out of the TT
Audience adaptation	a translation unit is left out of the TT for audience specific reasons
Editorial correction	a translation unit that was wrongly used in the ST is correctly omitted
Mistake	a translation unit that was correctly used in the ST is wrongly omitted

REinforcement	**All instances in which a translation unit is made larger or added**
Addition	a translation unit that did not appear in the ST is added of the TT
Amplification	a translation unit consists of more words in the TT
Explicitation	a translation unit that was implicit in the ST appears explicit in the TT
Audience adaptation	a translation unit is added to the TT for audience specific reasons
Editorial correction	a translation unit that was wrongly left out of the ST is correctly added
Mistake	a translation unit that was correctly left out of the ST is wrongly added

REplacement	**All instances in which a translation unit is replaced by another that is not an accepted formal equivalent**
Borrowing	a term in the TT was taken straight from another language
Modulation	a translation unit is reformulated from a different point of view
Transposition	a translation unit's grammatical category changes
Audience adaptation	a translation unit is replaced by another for audience specific reasons
Editorial correction	a translation unit that was wrongly used in the ST is replaced correctly
Mistake	a translation unit that was correctly used in the ST is wrongly replaced

Table 4. Overview of RE-actions and its subdivisions

3.3. Analyzing functional shifts in meaning

3.3.1. Introduction

Journalists always write their stories from a certain angle. This can be, but is not necessarily, the result of a deliberate choice. For instance, they choose to include some voices and to exclude other voices. They include or exclude voices for different reasons, because of routinized work conditions, ideologies, or simply because there is no other voice to be found. They do this because

> "All stories have to view reality from some particular point of view – just like somebody walking into a room has to view it from a particular point. The story can't be everywhere at once" (Davies 2009, p. 111).

This has led some to criticize the media for having a specific political agenda or being politically, religiously or economically biased. One such idea can be found in the works of Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky (2002, 1988). According to Herman and Chomsky the media manufacture consent by way of a propaganda model. They do this because their 'societal purpose' is not to inform their audience in such a manner that would allow them to make their own individual political choices. No, they do this

> "to inculcate and defend the economic, social, and political agenda of privileged groups that dominate the domestic society and the state. The media serve this purpose in many ways: through selection of topics, distribution of concerns, *framing* of issues, filtering of information, emphasis and tone, and by keeping debate within the bounds of acceptable premises." (Herman and Chomsky 2002, p. 298; italics not in original)

Of course Herman and Chomsky have some valid points, and their propaganda model is certainly applicable to newspapers and other media that are, for instance, run by a business magnate like Rupert Murdoch of whom it is for instance claimed that he said: "I give instructions to my editors all round the world, why shouldn't I in London?" (Evans 1983, location 9274), the same Murdoch who has helped politicians or made them stumble in their claims to power all across the globe by exacting his influence on the newspapers he owns. But, thankfully, not all media are run by people like Murdoch and sometimes journalists are actually encouraged to walk their own path (see for example Caleb's story in section **2.3.**). Also, while there may, indeed, be ideological biases that steer the news in some respects, we, as researchers, should refrain from exaggerating its presence to further our own agendas. Indeed,

> "in the process of reaching the desired 'conclusion', linguistic articles on the media sometimes show stronger traces of ideological bias than the reports about which it is 'discovered' that they are ideologically biased." (Verschueren 1985b, p. vii)

In any case, when academics talk about the journalistic angle and about media bias it is never long before the concept of framing shows up (in fact, Herman and Chomsky refer to that same concept in the quote above). And it is exactly that same concept we will be exploring in the coming pages and which lies at the basis of my own analysis of functional shifts in meaning in subsequently translated news reports.

3.3.2. Frames of Interpretation

When Gregory Bateson re-introduced Bartlett's (1932) concept of frame in his "A Theory of Play and fantasy" (2006, 1972 [1955]), he started his paper with the identification of three levels of communication (p.315): (1) a denotative level ("The cat is on the mat"); (2) a metalinguistic level (when talking about language itself: "The word, 'cat,' has no fur and cannot scratch"); (3) a metacommunicative level ("My telling you where to find the cat was friendly"). This third, metacommunicative level is especially important, because no communicative move can be understood without referring to it, meaning that what we say or do while communicating (on a denotative level or metalinguistic level) we do because it fits into a larger picture or 'frame' as well.

Bateson first formed his frame hypothesis in 1952, watching two monkeys play in the Fleishacker Zoo in San Francisco. The only reason why the first monkey's (communicative) actions were not interpreted as being hostile by the other monkey (and vice versa), was because of the metacommunicative message: "This is play" (2006, p. 316; see also: Hale 2011, Tannen and Wallat 1993, Tannen 1993a, 1993b, 1979; Watanabe 1993). There are of course other frames than the ‘play’ frame. Bateson himself, for instance mentions ‘threat’ and ‘histrionics’ as psychological frames different from ‘play’, but he also mentions that they should not be regarded as completely independent from one another. It is possible to encounter “such combinations as histrionic play, bluff, playful threat, histrionic threat, and so on” (Bateson 2006, p. 318). The last frame he mentions in his original thesis is ‘ritual’ (see: Engler and Gardiner 2012, Kapferer 2006 and Kreinath 2004 for more on the ritual frame). There are of course many other psychological frames indicating “whether the interaction is serious, playful, ironical or in some other interactional, social capacity” (Hale 2011, p. 2) out there (for more on the ‘humorous’ frame, for example, see: Sinkeviciute 2014; Dynel 2011). Too many to enumerate here.

Although Bateson’s hypothesis has proven to be quite pervasive in different fields of academics, there are those who criticize his work as well. For instance Engler and Gardiner have pointed out that Bateson introduced certain confusions by his apparent misreading of the works of the philosopher Bertrand Russell, which can be exemplified by his running “together two distinct, but related, paradoxes: *Russell’s Paradox*,[28] specific to set theory; and *Epimenides’ Paradox* (more familiarly known today as *The Liar’s Paradox*),[29] involving reference or denotation” (2012, p. 9). Be that as it may, in the end Engler and Gardiner see a lot of merit in Bateson’s hypothesis and use it as a starting point for their own research into rituals.

One of the most important works applying and expanding Bateson’s framework is probably Erving Goffman’s *Frame Analysis: An essay on the organization of experience* (1974). While Bateson focused primarily on non-verbal communication, Goffman was (initially) more interested in face-to-face talk, but also focused on purely textual interactions (e.g. newspapers and their readerships). He also found there to be multiple layers of framing present in different types of interactions. Frames to him are the “principles of organization which govern events – at least social ones – and our subjective involvement in them” (1975 [1974], pp. 10-11). Indeed, Goffman stressed that frames deal with “the organization of

[28] *Russel’s Paradox* refers to the question within mathematics that asks whether a set that contains all sets that do not contain themselves as a member contains itself as a member. If it would, the set would be inconsistent. If the set does not include itself, the set would be incomplete. Hence the paradox. The solution to this paradox came by acknowledging that ‘sets of sets’ and ‘sets’ do not belong to the same logical type.

[29] *Epimenides’ Paradox* is another type of problem, one which comes into existence when somebody makes a contradictory proposition about him- or herself. It has to do with self-reference. A clear example of Epimenides’ Paradox would be me saying that the rest of this sentence is true on every occasion: I am always lying and I never tell a lie.

experience – something that an individual actor can take into his mind – and not the organization of society" (1975 [1974], pp. 13). In 1981 he added the concept 'footing' which he defined as "the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance" (Goffman 1981, p. 128; also quoted in Tannen and Wallat 1993, p. 58 and Hoyle 1993, p. 115). This alignment "is constantly being changed through various "projections of self" signaled by pitch, volume, rhythm, stress, and other paralinguistic, lexical, and syntactic cues ([Goffman] 1981, p. 128)" (Smith 1993, p. 147).

What footing actually *is* and why as a concept it should be discerned from framing may not become entirely clear from the above definitions and explanations. However, this should not come as too much of a surprise. According to Stephen C. Levinson, Goffman's footing "seems intended to have some pretty global and correspondingly vague application" (1988, p. 168; also see Hale 2011, p. 3). Indeed, Goffman also says that a "change in our footing implies a change in the alignment we take up [and] a change in our footing is another way of talking about a change in our frame for events" (Goffman 1981, p. 128; also quoted in Hale 2011, p. 1). "If footing is nothing more than another way to talk about frames, which in turn is just another way of talking about alignment, then why bother to have separate terminology?" Chris Hale asks. As a reply he quotes the answers given by different scholars, among whom Deborah Tannen (1986), who said that footing is a "kind of frame, that identifies the relationship between speakers" (p.90; quoted in Hale 2011, p. 3). Hale remarks that as such she, like Goffman, defines footing as a frame, which would still make it impossible to define 'footing' independent from 'frame'.

However, the fact that frame and footing are related terms should not be regarded as a problem. The idea that footing is a type of frame, on the other hand, can be considered somewhat problematic. So while the frame is one type of metacommunicative message, a message which dictates the *boundaries* communication takes place in, footing is how one *aligns* him- or herself towards oneself, towards the other interlocutor(s) or towards any communicative act taking place *within these boundaries*. As such footing should be regarded as a different kind of metacommunicative message. While 'this is play' can be a frame within which communication takes place, its success as a frame is highly dependent of how the interlocutors stand towards each other and towards each single communicative act or utterance within that frame. In other words, for a jab to be considered friendly, to be part of the ‘this is play’ frame, it is important to assess the relationship between the interlocutors (e.g. do they know each other well enough to consider the jab as play?) as well as the harshness of the jab (e.g. can a jab of this magnitude be considered as play?). The way people stand towards each other and towards each individual communicative act, figuratively speaking (and maybe even literally when looking for footing cues), is what makes up footing; something which does not necessarily make it a frame, but which most definitely provides it with the *potential* to influence an active frame.

Maybe the best way to show the difference between frame and footing is by exemplifying how a shift in footing may, in fact, *not* alter a frame. In his *Ideology in Language Use* (2012, p. 88) Jef Verschueren gives an example of a writer of a history book for school students shifting footing, i.e. the writer stops addressing his students as students but starts addressing them as French citizens. Although Verschueren does not talk of any effect on the active frame (he only states that “[c]learly, specific communicative effects are aimed at when such switches are made”), one would imagine such a shift in footing having an effect on the active frame as well. However, the writer’s shift in footing does not necessarily change the frame. For one, the author may still *think* the frame to be something along the lines of ‘This is factual study material’ and not ‘This is subjective nationalistic propaganda’ because (s)he believes what (s)he says to be true. When the student also thinks the frame has not changed (because (s)he believes what the author writes to be true or because (s)he does not possess the background knowledge to assess the information as subjective) the frame does not shift, and communication remains successful. Only when one of the interlocutors perceives this shift in footing to fall outside the boundaries of the frame, do we see an effect on the frame as well.

In the last example I mentioned that background knowledge can have an effect on the active frame as well. For one party to perceive a shift in footing to be harmful for the active frame one needs to be able to assess the shift as falling outside the boundaries of that frame. This brings us to yet another term related to framing and footing, namely knowledge schemas. Tannen and Wallat (1993) use the term knowledge schemas “to refer to participants’ expectations about people, objects, events and settings in the world, as distinguished from alignments being negotiated in a particular interaction” (p. 60). With “the alignments being negotiated in a particular interaction” Tannen and Wallat refer to ‘footing’. The reason why Tannen and Wallat explicitly point out that footing is excluded from the knowledge schema concept is because there would otherwise be some extensive overlap. Indeed, footing also has to do with expectations. You would expect a friendly jab to be less harsh in the 'This is play' frame. You would expect that someone who jabs another person within that same frame to be on good terms with the other person.

But even while trying to completely distinguish knowledge schemas from footing it is hard to imagine a situation in which that would actually be the case. Can an alignment really be negotiated on the basis of one particular interaction? Can you distinguish how one stands towards the other interlocutor(s) indistinguishably from the shared history of the interlocutors? You cannot, not even when meeting someone entirely new. Because even then, the events that led up to that meeting necessarily play a role in the alignment you take up towards that new person. Communication never takes place in a context free environment.

There is always the context of situation.

Of course, the fact that there is some overlap between concepts such as footing and knowledge schemas should once again not be regarded as problematic. Knowledge schemas are different from footing in that they also refer to more general patterns of knowledge, e.g. you can expect there to be waiters in a restaurant without having to go inside the restaurant, you would expect a bar to have beer without having to order one, you would expect the president of a country to have some authority within that country without having to live there, you would expect someone who tells you that they 'washed their hair' to have used soap in the process. Knowledge schemas then have to do with how "one organizes knowledge about the world and uses this knowledge to predict interpretations and relationships regarding new information, events and experiences" (Tannen 1993b, p. 16). "Moreover, the only way anyone can understand any discourse is by filling in unstated information which is known from prior experience in the world" (Tannen and Wallat 1993, p. 60).

Then how do knowledge schemas relate to frames? Well, for a frame to be successful the different interlocutors should have similar knowledge schemas. To come back to our example of the friendly jab once more: when it is acceptable in one person's (world) view for a jab to be part of the 'This is play' frame, and it is completely unacceptable according to the other person's (world) view, the frame will rapidly change from 'This is play' to another, plausibly less 'playful' frame. In the example of the history book writer and the student we saw that when both interlocutors believe something to be true, a shift in footing does not necessarily lead to a shift in frame. When an interlocutor would, however, perceive this shift in footing to fall outside the 'This is factual study material' frame because of what he knows about the world, communication (as intended) would become unsuccessful.

The type of frames discussed in the previous paragraphs can be categorized as "frames of interpretation" (Tannen and Wallat 1993, p. 59; Verschueren 2012, p. 10) or as John Gumperz (1982) calls them: "interpretive frames". They provide a deeper insight into how communication between different interlocutors becomes successful or proves to be unsuccessful (by for instance looking at (non-)differing footings and knowledge schemas). The 'frame of interpretation' sets the boundaries in which communication takes place, it sets the boundaries for how different communicative acts should be interpreted, but the frame of interpretation cannot exist without the acceptance of all interlocutors involved. There is a strong cognitive basis for understanding how these types of frames work. Interestingly, entirely different branches of frame research have been developed within other disciplines of the humanities, as opposed to the one sketched above which is mostly practiced by anthropologists and sociologists (like Bateson, Goffman and Gumperz, but also Hymes (1974) and Frake (1977)). For one, within linguistics there is Fillmore's frame semantics (Fillmore 2003 [1968]; Sambre 2010), in which it is understood that "every syntactic constellation or lexical expression brings up a particular frame perspective on the general real-world situation displayed by more general conceptual scenes" (Sambre 2010, p. 2; see also Fillmore 2003 [1968], p. 199). In other words, in Fillmore's frame semantics the frame has become "the dominating device for the conceptual structuring of world knowledge" (Sambre 2010, p. 2). Secondly, there is the frame analysis mostly practiced within communication sciences and journalism studies in which critical analysis of texts brings certain media frames to light which often warrant further scrutiny. In the following paragraphs I will be discussing these media frames and how they relate to frames of interpretation, as they will play an important part in my own analysis of shifting metacommunicative messages in subsequently translated news reports.

3.3.3. From frame to frame

> “Despite its omnipresence across the social sciences and humanities, nowhere is there a general statement of framing theory that shows exactly how frames become embedded within and make themselves manifest in a text, or how framing influences thinking” (Entman 1993, p. 51).

A statement, like the one above by Robert M. Entman, seems to be at odds (for the most part) with the story I have been telling so far about frame research. First of all, the idea that a frame can be embedded by a single person (or multiple persons in some cases) within a text seems to be the exact opposite of the idea that a frame is a metacommunicative message which defines the communication itself in any interaction, and which can only be successful when interlocutors’ footings are aligned and when knowledge schemas are similar. It also seems to be a witticism to say that there are no statements out in the wild about how frames influence thinking, while the cognitive basis for analyzing frames lies at the heart of the works of Bateson, Goffman and others. To give Entman credit where credit is due though: his own work does exemplify that there are *indeed* some remarkable differences within the social sciences and humanities when it comes to the concepts of ‘frame’ and ‘framing’.

After having introduced Entman’s work as I have, the title of his 1993 paper: *Framing: toward clarification of a fractured paradigm* may seem to be even more ill-chosen. Indeed, to one who has read Entman’s work after having read the works of Bateson and Goffman, the paper may not come across as all that *clarifying* at all, but conjures up even more questions about what ‘frames’ actually are than ever before. That also has to do with Entman treating Bateson’s and Goffman’s cognitive frame analyses as if they do not exist. Yes, Entman does refer to Goffman’s *Frame Analysis* in his paper, but only in a cursory way (as if to say: Yes, I know the work exists. Yes, I choose to ignore it!). Mentioning the works of Goffman and Tuchman (whose work I will come back to not much later) in a cursory way is not all that uncommon in analyses that tackle media discourse from a ‘critical’ perspective, a perspective which Entman shares with other critical media scholars, and which can also be found, for instance, in Fairclough’s critical discourse analysis (see Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999), as was pointed out by Verschueren in his evaluation of a paper written by Dorman and Farhang in 1987, i.e. "'Frame analysis' is further explained only in footnotes with reference to Erving Goffman's work and two quotations from Gaye Tuchman (1978)" (Verschueren 1987, p. 189), and which fits into his call for a pragmatic perspective on international communication. In Entman's paradigm, however, there is no room for other framing research traditions, like the cognitive approach, or the pragmatic perspective. It is his goal to unify framing research under the critical media research paradigm (also see: D'Angelo (2002)), which seems to stem from the foundations prepared by the works of Gaye Tuchman (1978, 1973, 1972).

According to Paul D'Angelo (2002, p. 878) Tuchman (1978) "repudiates Goffman's (1974) notion of frame because she thinks he does not adequately explain the ideological functions of newswork". But according to my own reading, I find it too unforgiving to state that she "repudiates" his 1974 notion of frame. Yes, her 1978 work goes a lot further than Goffman's analyses with regards to news reporting, and focusses much more on ideologies, but that can partially be explained by Goffman's 1974 work having a different scope. In his 1974 work Goffman does not only focus on the news as a particular frame, but also on other frames – with the theater frame (e.g. a less fundamental kind of 'This is play' frame) playing a pivotal role in his argument. Just as theater, he argues that news is an example of "keying", where keying is "the set of conventions by which a given activity, one already meaningful in terms of some primary framework, is transformed into something patterned on this activity but seen by the participants to be something quite else" (pp. 43-44). This means that news itself can be described as a less fundamental type of frame or metacommunicative message (or key), based on other types of frames or metacommunicative messages (or activities). As such, news makes "reductions or abstractions of the real thing", which, however, can also be "understood to influence later occurrences of the real thing" (p. 79; see also: Jacobs 1997, pp. 32-38).

Instead of "repudiating" these general ideas about frames, Tuchman actually seems to *accept* them – though, of course, she argues that newswork is far more complex than described by Goffman. For one, she quotes his definition of frame (already quoted above) near the beginning of her book as the "principles of organization which govern events—at least social ones—and our subjective involvement in them" (Goffman 1974, pp. 10-11; quoted in Tuchman 1978, p. 192). Secondly, she also accepts Goffman's notion of news as a frame which abstracts reality and which has an influence on said reality: “The news frame organizes everyday reality and the news frame is part and parcel of everyday reality” (Tuchman 1978, p. 193). Indeed, already on page 1 of her *Making News: A study in the construction of reality* Tuchman beautifully describes how this news frame operates:

> “News is a window on the world. The view through a window depends upon whether the window is large or small, has many panes or few, whether the glass is opaque or clear, whether the window faces a street or a backyard. The unfolding scene also depends upon where one stands, far or near, craning one’s neck to the side, or gazing straight ahead, eyes parallel to the wall in which the window is encased.” (Tuchman 1978, p. 1)

Describing news as a frame is, however, only part of Tuchman’s book. She goes into much more detail on how exactly news abstracts reality, on how it is made, focusing on the organizational structure of media and journalists’ work routines. She talks about how the media structure knowledge and shape ideologies by selective coverage. While in Tuchman’s framework, journalists’ work routines have an influence on the boundaries of what defines the news frame, she does not yet talk of media frames per se. Something which apparently warrants scrutiny:

> “Tuchman’s work lacked a definition of framing that can serve as a guideline for future research in this area. She referred to earlier theoretical work on the general notion of frame analysis, but did not develop a clear conceptual or operational definition of media framing as the dependent variable in her analyses.” (Scheufele 1999, p.110)

Indeed, while the works of Tuchman and Goffman are interesting for how they formulate their insights about how frames of interpretation can be linked to how everyday reality is organized by the news, their works do not offer systematic analytical methodologies.

> “But this tenet of frame analysis […] does not lead directly to an analytical methodology, which may be why much of Goffman’s own work, though full of valuable insights and characterized by a systematicity of its own, remains anecdotal.” (Verschueren 1987, pp. 188-189)

That is why it can be argued that, while Tuchman may have prepared the foundations for critical media research, the idea that frames can be found within a text, rather than that they define situational boundaries for communication, seems to have developed at a later point in time. For critical media scholars (like Entman 1993 and Scheufele 1999) news is not necessarily to be considered a frame in its own right, an example of 'keying', on a par with for example the theater frame, but the news is framed *itself*, which is quite different from how frames were originally envisioned. Now, of course, even Bateson would have had to concede that frames of interpretation have *an influence* on how the news comes to be. Most simply because news makes abstractions of discourse, conversations, interviews, etcetera, in which these frames of interpretation play a role. And it may even be the case, as Verschueren (1985b, p. 5) has indicated, that: "[n]o matter how factual one tries to make the reporting of events, detaching it completely from one's frame of interpretations is impossible". But the fact remains that the frames critical media scholars are talking about and the frames of interpretation the likes of Bateson and Goffman talk about are quite different.

When Entman talks of frames, he does not speak of 'This is play', 'This is consultation', 'This is ritual', or even 'This is news' as examples of frames. The example frame he gives in his 1993 paper is the 'cold war' frame (p. 52). Now, this is both a great and not so great example of how frames of interpretation differ from media frames. First, it is not a great example because one can imagine the 'cold war' frame as a psychological state as well, one that influences the interactions between different parties (with interactants' footings being hostile, but not overtly aggressive). Second, it is a great example because Entman explains what he means by this 'cold war' frame. He does not describe it as a psychological state, but as the historical context and the ideological baggage influencing news reporting about civil wars around the world during the late 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s. Civil wars which in these reports are represented as a problem started by communist rebels and which can be solved by U.S. support for the other side. Framing, according to Entman (1993, p. 52):

> "essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral

> evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described." (Entman 1993, p. 52)

Media frames then are less psychological states of mind than (hidden) knowledge structures and ideologies which find their way into news reporting because of the organizational structure of the media and because of journalists' work routines, as described by Tuchman (1978), and which also find their way into news reporting because of media and journalists' biases (as described by Herman and Chomsky 2002, 1988). That the focus may sometimes be too much on the latter has to do with the fact that there are no clearly established boundaries for what falls within an analysis of media frames and what falls outside of it (though some have of course made their own classification, see for instance, de Vreese 2005). Also, as said before, it was indeed Entman's goal to unify frame analysis under the auspices of critical theory, but his endeavor was mostly a conceptual endeavor, not an empirical one. As such, framing analysis has often turned into a political tool for tackling journalists' subjective discourses. It is regarded to be the *ideal tool* for scrutinizing the power media apparently have over their audience:

> "the concept of framing consistently offers a way to describe the power of a communicating text. Analysis of frames illuminates the precise way in which influence over a human consciousness is exerted by the transfer (or communication) of information from one location-such as a speech, utterance, news report, or novel-to that consciousness." (Entman 1993, p. 51-52)

The main problem I have with the above quote is that in this view it seems that the audience is just a void receptacle in which powerful media can store just about any idea they want. No agency is ascribed to the audience. Too much agency is ascribed to the media (and the text). Of course, not all of Entman's descriptions of framing are as black-and-white as the one above. At some point he does acknowledge the audience having its own frames (or schemas; see section **3.3.4.** for more about the difference between frames and schemas) which may entice that same audience to reject a text's powerful impact on its own ideologies and ideas. Of course, the media *do* have an influence, but if we want to describe this influence, if we want to criticize the media (or any other institution), it is important that, as Jef Verschueren has indicated, we do so from empirically observable facts:

> "Scholarship differs from the mere voicing of opinions in that it has to be based on clear arguments, preferably underscored with empirically observable facts. It is particularly this empirical status that has to be achieved in order for research to be convincing, and hence relevant in a down-to-earth sense" (Verschueren 2001, p. 60).

This is not a direct attack on the works of Robert Entman. There is a reason why his work has become as seminal as is for the analysis of media frames. It is just a fair warning that while conceptual unity may have its merits, it is equally (if not more) important to have empirical grounds for your arguments. Before I explain the empirical grounds for my own type of 'frame analysis', it is important to relate in the next part in what ways media frames and frames of interpretation *can* be regarded as similar.

3.3.4. Media frames vs. Frames of interpretation

At this point it must be said that, while the previous paragraphs may have come across as quite critical with regards to the works of Entman and other critical scholars, this criticism mostly stems from the idea that there is a clear "need for *critical scrutiny of critique*" (Verschueren 2001, p. 60; italics in original). Also the above criticism has nothing to do with the idea that a text or any piece of discourse may contain linguistic proof of (hidden) knowledge structures and ideologies which find their way into news reporting. The criticism was mainly directed at the idea that frames should only be looked at from a critical angle and that, although critical media researchers often refer to the works of Goffman and Tuchman (often also in a cursory way), they are actually describing phenomena that are quite different.

On the other hand, it also needs to be said, that there is some remarkable overlap in the conceptualization of the frames of interpretation and media frames described above, and in the terminology which is used for conceptualizing these two different types of frames. For one, both types of frames are often considered to be metacommunicative messages. Baldwin Van Gorp defines the media frame as "a steadfast, metacommunicative message which displays the structuring notions that grant coherence and meaning to a news report"

(Van Gorp 2004, p.6; my translation).[30] From the descriptions of both types of frames it becomes apparent that we are, of course, dealing with different types of metacommunicative messages: while a frame of interpretation is considered to be a (larger) metacommunicative message that only becomes successful through interaction and that defines the psychological state in which that interaction occurs, the media frame is defined as “a steadfast, metacommunicative message” (Van Gorp 2004, p. 6), which can “become embedded within and make [itself] manifest in a text” (Entman 1993, p. 51), and which “determines which aspects of reality are selected, rejected, emphasized or modified in the production of a media text” (Van den Bulck and Claessens 2013a, p. 72: see also Van den Bulck and Claessens 2013b). In other words, the media frame is “*an emphasis in salience of different aspects of a topic* (de Vreese 2005, p. 53; italics in original), i.e. by selecting which elements to emphasize or not when dealing with a certain topic, the journalist frames reality in a very specific manner.

The reason why media frames are regarded as *steadfast* metacommunicative messages has to do with the fact that the text is often regarded to be a static entity itself, written by a single author, while face-to-face conversations are regarded as more dynamic in nature. Today, however, that distinction is harder to make with news reports online constantly being updated, sometimes even on the basis of reader input, making texts more dynamic than ever before. Also, because frames are regarded as static metacommunicative messages, this has led some (though definitely not all) critical media scholars to attribute too much agency to the writer of the text, allowing them to state that these frames “guide the receiver’s thinking” (Entman 1993, p. 52). While this may be the case on some occasions, we should not forget that a lot of agency also lies with the other interlocutors, and not only with the writer.

Entman does acknowledge that readers are not just empty vessels who appropriate a frame as is. He admits that while media frames *do* “guide the receiver’s thinking”, the “conclusion [the receiver makes] may or may not reflect the frames in the text and the framing intention of the communicator” (Entman 1993, p. 52-53). Also, according to other frame analysts, there is never one clear way in which media frames influence their

[30] The original Dutch quote goes as follows: “*een standvastige, metacommunicatieve boodschap die het structurerend denkbeeld weergeeft dat een nieuwsbericht samenhang en betekenis verleent*” (Van Gorp 2004, p. 6; italics in original).

(different) audiences: "media frames can be consumed (or decoded) by audiences in different ways" (Van den Bulck and Claessens 2013a, p. 73).

Although the vast majority of studies on media frames focus on frames embedded in a text, or on how these media frames exactly influence an audience's thinking, frames are not an exclusive property of texts. They are found in "at least four locations in the communication process: the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture," (Entman 1993, p. 52) with culture being "the stock of commonly invoked frames" (p. 53). Entman adds that the types of frames not specifically found in a text are often labeled as schemata or schemas: "frames introduce or raise the salience or apparent importance of certain ideas, activating *schemas* that encourage target audiences to think, feel, and decide in a particular way (Entman 2007, p. 164; my italics). Van den Bulck and Claessens (2013a, p. 72) explicitly distinguish media frames found in texts from (audience) schemata found on the cognitive level. According to Van Gorp the frame itself is part of the culture "and is linked to cultural motives like values and stereotypes" (2004, p.3; my translation).[31] The "cultural motives" Van Gorp defines, namely "values" and "stereotypes", can both be regarded as structures of "expectations about the world, based on prior experience" (Tannen 1979, p.140). As such it is not that hard to see the connection between the "schemas", "schemata" and "cultural motives" Entman (1993), Van den Bulck and Claessens (2013a), and Van Gorp (2004) respectively talk about and the "knowledge schemas" Deborah Tannen and Cynthia Wallat (1993) talk about. In fact, it can be argued that the linguistic evidence found by critical media scholars to define their media frames, is actually the same linguistic evidence anthropologists and sociologists have been using to define knowledge schemas, i.e. those instances of linguistic representation a text exhibits (explicitly as well as implicitly) that give it coherence; those instances of text that prove that

> "people approach the world not as naïve, blank-slate receptacles who take in stimuli as they exist in some independent and objective way, but rather as experienced and sophisticated veterans of perception who have stored their prior experiences as "an organized mass," and who see events and objects in the world in relation to each other and in relation to their prior experience. This prior experience or organized knowledge then takes the expectations about the world, and in the vast majority of

[31] Original quote in Dutch: "en is verbonden met culturele motieven zoals waarden en stereotypen" (2004, p.3).

> cases, the world, being a systematic place, confirms these expectations, saving the individual the trouble of figuring things out anew all the time.” (Tannen 1979, p. 144)

In the last few paragraphs of this part I will relate which types of frames and related terms I have chosen to focus upon in my own research, as well as explain why I have chosen these specific terms and concepts, and how I delimit them – which may differ in some ways from how they have been generally conceptualized. Also I will provide the theoretical basis for how shifts in these types of frames and related terms will be analyzed in a systematic empirical way.

3.3.5. Towards a methodology for analyzing shifting metamessages in a series of subsequently translated texts

What critical media scholars have been calling media frames are actually the textual outings of what sociologists and anthropologists have been calling knowledge schemas when discussing frames of interpretation. Therefore it can easily be argued that analysts of media texts should not focus on media frames alone to describe how different but concurrent metacommunicative messages contextualize the news, but should, look at the overarching frame of interpretation, and at “metacommunicative devices that present the perspective of one speaker on the speech of another” (e.g. voicing and direct and indirect reported speech) (Mey 1998, p. 525; see also Bakhtin 1981).

So instead of looking at the news text as if it was a static entity that hides the biased ideologies of its author, I look at several iterations of that same text as it goes through the process of translation. More specifically I will look at the changes that take place when these news texts are translated. Also, instead of only looking for linguistic evidence that gives coherence to a media text (e.g. lexical choice, the representation of social actors), I will also look for linguistic evidence which gives cohesion to said media texts. By looking at cohesive markers one can, for instance, get a clearer picture of the changing contexts of situation associated with the publication of a text (e.g. changes relating to a shifting deictic center). As I have proven in a previous case study (see Franck 2014, pp. 304-305; also added to the back of this book, pages 333-365), changes in the deictic center can have a profound influence on the "meaning trajectory of a news story".[32]

To help me with the analysis of these different metacommunicative messages I have added a second layer of labels to the different formal changes (mostly on the phrasal level) that were already labeled as RE-actions (introduced in section **3.2.5.**). More specifically, with this second layer of labels I have marked the different linguistic cues that deal with cohesion and coherence that help me in distinguishing and analyzing the different, concurrent metacommunicative messages found in a series of subsequently translated news reports (as detailed in section **3.1.**). I will henceforth refer to this specific set of labels as pragmarkers. These should not be confused with pragmatic markers or discourse markers, which are generally defined as "those constructions, such as *you know*, *I mean*, *you see*, *well*, *yeah*, that are present in speech to support interaction but do not generally add any specific semantic meaning to the message" (Romero-Trillo 2012). Furthermore, unlike RE-actions, pragmarkers are functional labels, not formal labels, and are, as such, more of a heuristic tool than that they allow for data to be quantified. As such, this "supporting tool" is very much in line with what Jef Verschueren already proposed in 1987:

> "The methodological lesson to be drawn from this is that individual texts can never be regarded as a sufficient basis for valid general conclusions; specific pragmatic features gain significance by their recurrence (which is where quantification may come in handy sometimes — not as a methodology in its own right, but merely as a supporting tool). In other words, the studied data have to be as wide as possible; one should abstain from focusing on single occurrences of linguistic features, or even on single texts; the same questions should be asked for coverage of a news event in its totality as for limited passages; the final picture should be arrived at by paying attention to large numbers of interrelated details." (Verschueren 1987, p. 195)

[32] In that article I describe a case in which one particular news site (*www.deredactie.be*) published an article about a traffic accident the day after it was originally made available by the press agency that originally covered the story. "This meant the information on traffic being obstructed in the original story had become obsolete by the time of publication, and the editor was forced to make a choice between adapting the information to the new deictic centre (for instance by altering verb tenses) or omitting the information altogether. The editor in question chose the latter. This is also a prime example of how changes in the deictic centre have an influence on the meaning trajectory of a news story" (Franck 2014, pp. 304-305).

By looking at a wide corpus of subsequently translated versions of news reports, I am also respecting the other warning in the above citation (e.g. that we should abstain from focusing on single texts). The "large numbers of interrelated details" Verschueren speaks of are what I have labeled pragmarkers. Some of the operationalized pragmarkers have already been named in the previous paragraphs (e.g. lexical choice, voicing). A complete list of the pragmarkers operationalized[33] for the purposes of this book can be found in the following overview, together with how they are defined (here), some extra labeling notes and examples of what exactly they can tell us about framing, footing, knowledge schemas, and implicit meanings in general:

Pragmarker	Definitions, Notes and Uses
Social Actor	***Definition*** Social actors are the people, companies, institutions, countries, etcetera, that play a role in social events. As a discourse analytical category, introduced by Theo van Leeuwen (1996), they "are seen as the textual instantiations of models of the self and others, both individual and collective" (Koller 2009). Even when non-deictive or non-anaphoric, references to social actors in texts or in spoken discourse can generally be understood without too much explanation because of shared knowledge schemas. ***Labeling Notes*** While personal pronouns also refer to social actors, they are never labeled as such. This is because their meaning is generally derived from the context of situation (deictic reference) or from the immediate co-text (endophoric reference). Not from shared knowledge schemas. As such they were labeled differently (i.e. 'anaphor'; 'cataphor'; 'person deixis'; 'social deixis'). Noun phrases that refer to social actors can be anaphoric, cataphoric or exophoric as well. Example: 'Albert II went to a brewery. The former king likes beer.' In this snippet there is coreference between 'Albert II' and 'The former king', with the former reference being the antecedent and the latter reference being the anaphor. However, the degree of "accessibility", the degree of unity between the antecedent and the anaphor (Ariel

[33] Although several pragmarkers have been operationalized for the purposes of this book, the list of pragmarkers presented here is not exhaustive. It is, of course, possible to define other pragmarkers when for instance one also wants to study the influence of changing theme-rheme patterns in subsequently translated news reports or in other types of textual relations.

	2001, p. 34), is actually lower here than when the personal pronoun 'He' would have been used anaphorically. Indeed, for those who do not know that Albert II is the former king of Belgium, the two sentences may as well be entirely unrelated. As such, in the example, shared knowledge schemas mainly determine whether coreference is successful. That is why all RE-actions that deal with such noun phrases were labeled with the 'social actor' pragmarker. RE-actions to social actors whom are quoted directly (i.e. 'direct reported speech') or indirectly (i.e. 'indirect reported speech') were labeled with the 'voicing' pragmarker and not with the 'social actor' pragmarker. Voicing should be regarded here as a specific type of reference to social actors. ***Example of Use*** Events only become interesting to journalists because they involve people (or lately… cats and other animals). It can be argued that "even natural disasters become newsworthy mainly because they affect people's lives" (Verschueren 1985b, p. 1). It is said that media tend to overrepresent the social elite (politicians, the police, celebrities, etc.) and do not give enough attention to other social actors (Gans 1979; Tuchman 1978). More than any other category, the selection of which social actors to represent in subsequently translated news reports, give us insights into (presumed) shared knowledge schemas.
Voicing	***Definition*** Here voicing literally refers to whom gets voiced in a text, i.e. social actors to whom direct reported speech or indirect reported speech is attributed. ***Labeling Notes*** As was already noted in the Labeling Notes for social actors: RE-actions to social actors whom are quoted directly (i.e. 'direct reported speech') or indirectly (i.e. 'indirect reported speech') were labeled with the 'voicing' pragmarker and not with the 'social actor' pragmarker. Voicing should be regarded here as a specific type of reference to a social actor. ***Example of Use*** Adding a different voice/different voices to a news report can be used by journalists to keep up the semblance of neutrality. By attributing a statement to someone else they can transfer responsibility for a statement from themselves to another person. Choosing whom to quote and what to quote (direct or indirect reported speech, see *supra*) is, however, a judgment call

	in its own right and linguistic evidence of voicing can tell us more about presumed (shared) knowledge schemas.
Agency	***Definition*** Linguistic agency "refers to the linguistic marking of different perspectives in which represented characters are viewed as relating to objects and to other characters in the (represented) world" (Bamberg 2005). In narrative theory one can speak in terms of more versus less agency. Here, however, agency is mainly determined through the social actor's relationship to the action expressed by the verb, e.g. the use of the active or passive voice. ***Labeling Notes*** When labeling a RE-action with the 'agency' pragmarker, it is never the noun phrase which is labeled, but the accompanying verb – as to avoid overlap with the 'social actor' or 'voicing' pragmarker. ***Example of Use*** In Franck (2014) I showed how ascribing agency to a social actor (in this case an ambulance woman) can change a story and the details presented in that story. By ascribing agency to certain social actors and not to other social actors, journalists and translators can change the frames of interpretation related to the representation of a social event.
Direct reported speech	***Definition*** Direct reported speech is a type of utterance which is generally formally delimited by quotation marks. The utterance between quotation marks stems from a previous speech situation or text, and is supposedly an exact representation (or translation) of what has previously been said or written.[34] It is sometimes also referred to as a quotation or citation (Holt 2009, p. 190), and "is the most explicit form of inclusion of other discourse (D2) in one's-discourse (D1)" (Calsamiglia and Lopez Ferrero 2003, p. 147). Because the exact same words are used as in the original text or speech situation, the deictic center of direct reported speech can be different from the discourse or text in which it is embedded (also see Zienkowski 2012, p. 26). It is a particular

[34] Although it is generally held that what appears between quotation marks is the literal rendering of a previous speech situation, this is not always so. In his book, *Preformulating the News. An Analysis of the Metapragmatics of Press Releases*, Geert Jacobs shows that although companies often attribute quotes to their own representatives in press releases, these citations "may not even be a literal rendering of the quoted source's words at all" (1997, p. 148). Indeed, in press releases, the words written between quotation marks do not necessarily refer to a previous speech situation, but are (falsely) attributed to company representatives so that journalists would use the exact same words in their reports (i.e. the act of "preformulation").

	form of intertextuality. ***Labeling Notes*** Although direct reported speech is a particular form of intertextuality, RE-actions to quotes are not labeled with the 'intertextuality' pragmarker. The 'intertextuality' pragmarker is used for RE-actions to forms of intertextuality that are unrelated to this particular type of reported speech or to 'indirect reported speech'. ***Example of Use*** Reported speech can be used by journalists to keep up the semblance of neutrality. By attributing a statement to someone else they can transfer responsibility for a statement from themselves to another person. Indeed, as Goffman states: "When a speaker employs conventional brackets to warn us that what he is saying is meant to be taken in jest, or as mere repeating of words by someone else, then it is clear that he means to stand in a relation of reduced personal responsibility for what he is saying" (1974, p. 512). As Holt (2009, p. 192) notes, "reported speech is a function of the fact that speakers constantly 'shift footing'". Choosing whom to quote (i.e. 'voicing') and how to quote (i.e. 'direct reported speech' or 'indirect reported speech') is, however, a judgment call in its own right and, as such, linguistic evidence of direct reported speech can tell us more about (presumed) shared knowledge schemas.
Indirect reported speech	***Definition*** Indirect reported speech is a type of utterance which refers to an utterance from a previous speech situation or text. Unlike direct reported speech it is not formally delimited by quotation marks. It is, however, often recognizable because of its concordance with a linguistic action verb which links the utterance to a previous utterance (or its utterer)[35]. Also, it are not the words which are attributed to a previous utterance (or utterer), but the general idea behind the words. In other words, it "adapts the reported utterance to the speech situation of the report" (Coulmas 1986, p. 2). Because it is unnecessary to use the exact same words as were used in the original text or speech situation, the deictic center of the utterance is generally the same as that of the discourse or text in which it is embedded (also see Zienkowski 2012, p. 26; Holt 2009). It is a particular form of intertextuality.

[35] Just as in Verschueren (2012, p. 109) "'Linguistic action verbs' is used here as a cover term for all verbs that are used to describe instances of verbal or communicative behavior (including the more restricted set of speech act verbs)".

	Labeling Notes Although indirect reported speech is a particular form of intertextuality, RE-actions to indirect reported speech are not labeled with the ‘intertextuality’ pragmarker. As stated before, the ‘intertextuality’ pragmarker is used for RE-actions to forms of intertextuality that are unrelated to this particular type of reported speech or to ‘direct reported speech’. ***Example of Use*** As noted when talking about ‘direct reported speech’, indirect reported speech can also be used by journalists to keep up the semblance of neutrality. Though it is less obviously recognizable than direct reported speech, that does not mean it is used less in news reporting. In fact, many news reports are entirely made up of indirect reported speech. This should not come as too much of a surprise. As we have discussed in section **2.3.3.**: “most news is not what has happened, but what someone says has happened” (Sigal 1973, p.69). Linguistic evidence of indirect reported speech can tell us more about (presumed) shared knowledge schemas.
Intertextuality	***Definition*** While direct reported speech and indirect reported speech are types of “intertextuality” (a term coined by Julia Kristeva in 1966 (1986)), intertextuality itself is not limited to these specific types of reported speech. “In the most general terms, intertextuality is the combination in my discourse of my voice and the voice of another” (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999, p. 49), which means that (any aspect of) translation can also be regarded as an instance of intertextuality, as an instance of reported speech (Gutt 2000, p. 210). Note that while some authors (like Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999) distinguish between intertextuality and interdiscursivity, with intertextuality referring to the interrelatedness of a text with the words of other texts and interdiscursivity referring to the interrelatedness of discourse with other discourses or genres, I do not make this distinction and regard interdiscursivity as a part of intertextuality for the purposes of this book. ***Labeling Notes*** Labeling every RE-action as an instance of intertextuality would not help my research endeavor. That is why the ‘intertextuality’ pragmarker was used specifically for those RE-actions that deal with explicit references to previous discourse. Because direct and indirect reported speech have their own pragmarker, the use of the ‘intertextuality’ pragmarker was mainly limited to those RE-actions that deal with source attribution for the entire text.

	Example of Use Direct and Indirect reported speech can tell us more about active knowledge schemas. They are particular forms of intertextuality. Also "impure discourse deixis" (Lyons 1977, p. 670; Levinson 1983, p. 87) is a particular form of intertextuality and can tell us more about implicit meanings. Intertextuality, however, also involves "*the positioning of parts of a text in relation to each other*. There is a reason, for instance, why prefaces tend to behave differently from the main bodies of the texts with regard to aspects of person deixis" (Verschueren 2012, p. 107; italics in original). Likewise, it involves a text's "*positioning in relation to a wider body of literature*" (Verschueren 2012, p. 107; italics in original), and gives us more information about knowledge schemas.
Lexical Choice	***Definition*** Lexical choice refers to the act of consciously choosing to replace one lexical item in a text for a markedly different one in its translation. Deliberately choosing a different lexical item can, of course, be necessary (because of differing language systems) and not voluntary, but such a choice always has the potential to change the meaning of a message. ***Labeling Notes*** A RE-action could only be labeled with the 'lexical choice' pragmarker when it could not be labeled with another pragmarker. ***Example of Use*** When a journalist or translator deliberately decides to change one lexical item for another lexical item in a translated text, (s)he often does so because of different reasons: (i) (s)he simply wants her or his text to not be a word for word representation of the former text; (ii) (s)he thinks the new lexical item is better at expressing what is meant in the original text (it adds to its coherence); (iii) (s)he wants to say something different than what was originally intended by the text; (iv) (s)he has to choose a new lexical item because of untranslatability. Although it is not my intention to evaluate journalists' decisions, these changes do influence the meaning of (meta)messages.
Temporal reference	***Definition*** A temporal reference is quite simply any reference to time in any given discourse. Just like references to social actors, temporal references can generally be understood without too much explanation, even when they are non-deictive, because of shared knowledge schemas.

	Labeling Notes While time-deictic references are also temporal references, they are never labeled as such. This is because their meaning is generally derived from the context of situation. Not from shared knowledge schemas. As such they were labeled differently (i.e. time deixis). ***Example of Use*** The reason why journalists make changes to temporal references can be attributed to cultural differences (for instances the switching of months and days in calendric representations when translating from a U.S. source text to a European target text), the salience of information (one may no longer refer to the date of an event which has already passed), etcetera. Just as is the case with spatial references and references to social actors, temporal references offer us insights into (presumed) shared knowledge schemas.
Spatial reference	***Definition*** A spatial reference is quite simply any reference to a place in any given discourse. Just like references to social actors, spatial references can generally be understood without too much explanation, even when non-deictic, because of shared knowledge schemas. ***Labeling Notes*** While space-deictic references are also spatial references, they are never labeled as such. This is because their meaning is generally derived from the context of situation (e.g. space deixis) or from the co-text (e.g. discourse deixis). Not from shared knowledge schemas. ***Example of Use*** The reason why journalists make changes to spatial references can be attributed to cultural differences (for instances mentioning that a lesser known U.S. town is close to or far away from New York when translating for a non-American audience), the salience of information (one may no longer refer to the place where the road was blocked after a traffic accident when the road block has been cleared in a translated news report (see Franck 2014 for more on this example), etcetera. Just as is the case with temporal references and references to social actors, spatial references offer us insights into (presumed) shared knowledge schemas.
Person deixis	***Definition***

	Verschueren (1999a, p. 18) refers to deixis as the "“anchoring” of language in a real world, achieved by “pointing” at variables along some of its dimensions"". Person deixis specifically allows to distinguish between an utterer (first person, i.e. ‘I’) whom is mostly also the deictic center, an addressee (second person, i.e. ‘you’) and others (third person, e.g. (s)he) (Verschueren 1999a, p. 78; Levinson 1983, p. 62). Markers of person deixis bear little meaning outside the context of situation. ***Labeling Notes*** Because of the interrelatedness of person deixis and social deixis, it is possible to come across RE-actions to person deictic markers that are both person and social deictic references. Markers were labeled with the ‘social deixis’ pragmarker when RE-actions to social distinctions are markedly different between source and target texts. They were labeled with the ‘person deixis’ pragmarker when the RE-action could not be connected to social distinctions. ***Example of Use*** The general expectation for the use of person deictic references in news reporting would be a backgrounding of both the utterer or writer and the addressee, and a clear dominance of topic-related third-person references. This pattern is the same as Verschueren (2012, p. 84) describes for scholarly textbooks. As he indicated later on, “the most interesting observations tend to bear on apparent breaches of expected or discovered patterns” (Verschueren 2012, p. 88). Changes with regards to person deixis can, among others, tell us more about shifts in footing.
Social deixis	***Definition*** Verschueren (1999a, p. 18) refers to deixis as the "“anchoring” of language in a real world, achieved by “pointing” at variables along some of its dimensions"". Social deixis specifically “concerns the encoding of social distinctions that are relative to participant-roles, particularly aspects of the social relationship holding between speaker and addressee(s) or speaker and some referent” (Levinson 1983, p. 63). “The information encoded in social deixis may include social class, kin relationship, age, sex, profession, and ethnic group. Defined thus, social deixis is particularly closely associated with person deixis” (Huang 2007, p. 163). ***Labeling Notes*** Because of the interrelatedness of person deixis and social deixis, it is possible to come across RE-actions to person deictic markers that are both person and social deictic references. Markers were

	labeled with the 'social deixis' pragmarker when RE-actions to social distinctions are markedly different between source and target texts. They were labeled with the 'person deixis' pragmarker when the RE-action could not be connected to social distinctions. ***Example of Use*** In French journalistic texts it is not uncommon, for example, to add 'Monsieur' or 'M.' in front of a (male) person's name. Such titles are generally absent from Dutch journalistic texts, even when we are dealing with translations. This is a prime example of how culture bound knowledge schemas influence news translation. The appearance and/or absence of honorifics can tell us a lot about the journalist's stance towards social actors and, as such, about footing. Cultural differences with regards to honorifics in translation studies or in systemic functional linguistics are often discussed under the denominator '**tenor**' (see House 1997, p. 108-109; Eggins 1994, p. 26; Haliday 1978, p. 33).
Time deixis	***Definition*** Verschueren (1999a, p. 18) refers to deixis as the ""anchoring" of language in a real world, achieved by "pointing" at variables along some of its dimensions"". Time deixis specifically refers to the use of temporal adverbs (e.g. 'today', 'yesterday', 'then') and the use of verb tenses (future, past, present) to point at different points along a temporal axis (mostly pointing away from the time of utterance or publication). Markers of time deixis bear little meaning outside the context of situation. ***Labeling Notes*** While time-deictic references are also temporal references, they are never labeled as such. This is because their meaning is generally derived from the context of situation. Not from shared knowledge schemas. As such they were labeled with the 'time deixis' pragmarker. ***Example of Use*** A news article referring to an event that happened the day before and describing it as having happened 'yesterday' is a good case in point. One can only understand what day 'yesterday' was if one reads the article 'today' or when the article mentions a date of publication. When the deictic center changes (along the dimension of time) not only markers of temporal deixis are affected, "but also the salience of information. What used to be interesting at a previous point in time, is not necessarily interesting at a later point" (Franck 2014,

	p. 294). In the case that the journalist acts upon this change in salience, he makes a judgment in lieu of the reader on the basis of a presumably shared background (i.e. knowledge schema).
Space deixis	***Definition*** Verschueren (1999a, p. 18) refers to deixis as the ""anchoring" of language in a real world, achieved by "pointing" at variables along some of its dimensions"". Space deixis specifically "encodes spatial locations on coordinates anchored to the place of utterance" (Levinson 1983, p. 62). Spatial adverbs (e.g. 'here', 'there') and verbs indicating movement are all markers of space deixis. They bear little meaning outside the context of situation. ***Labeling Notes*** While space-deictic references are also spatial references, they are never labeled as such. When their meaning is derived from the context of situation, they were labeled with the 'space deixis' pragmarker. Space-deictic terms like 'this' and 'that' can, for example, also be used as discourse deictic references. RE-actions to such references were labeled with the 'discourse deixis' pragmarker, not the 'space deixis' pragmarker. ***Example of Use*** A news article published in the local subsection of a newspaper referring to an event that happened somewhere and describing it as having happened 'here' without any previous in-text reference to that place is a good case in point. One can only understand what place 'here' refers to because the article is located in the local subsection or because a place of publication is mentioned. Also, when the deictic center changes (along the dimension of space) not only markers of space deixis are affected, but also the salience of information. What is interesting for people in one town or country may not necessarily be interesting for people in another town or country, and vice versa. In the case that the journalist acts upon this change in salience, he makes a judgment in lieu of the reader on the basis of a presumably shared background (i.e. knowledge schema).
Discourse deixis	***Definition*** Verschueren (1999a, p. 18) refers to deixis as the ""anchoring" of language in a real world, achieved by "pointing" at variables along some of its dimensions"". Discourse deixis specifically refers to "the use of expressions within some utterance to refer to some portion of the discourse that contains that utterance (including the utterance itself)" (Levinson 1983, p. 85). Examples

	of discourse deictic references are, “*in the last paragraph* and *in the next Chapter*”, as well as space-deictic terms, “especially the demonstratives *this* and *that*” (Levinson 1983, p. 85). Discourse deictic references bear little meaning outside the immediate co-text. It gives cohesion to the text. ***Labeling Notes*** Space-deictic terms like ‘this’ and ‘that’ can, for example, also be used as discourse deictic references. RE-actions to such references were labeled with the ‘discourse deixis’ pragmarker, not the ‘space deixis’ pragmarker. ***Example of Use*** In Dutch journalistic writing ‘Dat’ (‘That’) is often used to introduce a sentence which states that the previous statement was made by another source. Example: ‘Dat schrijft Het Laatste Nieuws’. Although such a construction can be regarded as “impure discourse deixis” (Lyons 1977, p. 670; Levinson 1983, p. 87), i.e. not quite discourse deictic, not quite anaphoric, RE-actions to such constructions were always labeled as instances of discourse deixis, and not as anaphors – while RE-actions to the linguistic action verb would be tagged as “indirect reported speech”, and RE-actions to the named source as “voicing”.
Anaphor (endophora)	***Definition*** An expression (mostly, but not limited to, a preform or deictic expression) of which the meaning is recoverable (Geluykens 1994) or accessible (Ariel 2008; 2001) because of an antecedent expression. It establishes coreference and gives cohesion to a text. ***Labeling Notes*** Noun phrases can be anaphoric as well. Example: ‘Albert II went to a brewery. The former king likes beer.’ In this snippet there is coreference between ‘Albert II’ and ‘The former king’, with the former reference being the antecedent and the latter reference being the anaphor. However, the degree of “accessibility”, the degree of unity between the antecedent and the anaphor (Ariel 2001, p. 34), is actually lower here than when the personal pronoun ‘He’ would have been used anaphorically. Indeed, for those who do not know that Albert II is the former king of Belgium, the two sentences may as well be entirely unrelated – unless the co-text or context of situation would dictate otherwise. As such, in the example, it are mainly shared knowledge schemas that determine whether coreference is successful or not. All RE-actions that deal with such noun phrases were labeled with the ‘social actor’, ‘temporal reference’ or

	‘spatial reference’ pragmarker (depending on what type of reference the noun phrase is), and not with the ‘anaphor’ pragmarker. ***Example of Use*** Economy is an important principle in journalistic writing. Anaphoric references can be used to avert unnecessary repetition in a text. As such they can provide us with further (implicated) information about active knowledge schemas. Also, as Ruth Wodak (1996, pp. 100-102) has pointed out, it is not unlikely for imprecise references to show up in news reports because of the (translation) cycle they have to go through. She argues that when people cannot identify referents, the news becomes inaccessible to parts of the population (also see Cornish 1999; Cutting 2002, pp. 116-117).
Cataphor (endophora)	***Definition*** An expression (mostly, but not limited to, a preform or deictic expression) of which the meaning is recoverable (Geluykens 1994) or accessible (Ariel 2008; 2001) because of a postcedent expression. It establishes coreference and gives cohesion to a text. ***Labeling Notes*** Noun phrases can be cataphoric as well. However, in such cases the degree of “accessibility”, the degree of unity between the cataphor and the postcedent (Ariel 2001, p. 34), is actually lower than when a personal pronoun would be used cataphorically. As such, it are mainly shared knowledge schemas that determine whether coreference is successful in these cases, or not. All RE-actions that deal with such noun phrases were labeled with the ‘social actor’, ‘temporal reference’ or ‘spatial reference’ pragmarker (depending on what type of reference the noun phrase is), and not with the ‘cataphor’ pragmarker. ***Example of Use*** Economy is an important principle in journalistic writing. Cataphoric references can be used to avert unnecessary repetition in a text. As such they can provide us with further (implicated) information about active knowledge schemas. Also, as Ruth Wodak (1996, pp. 100-102) has pointed out, it is not unlikely for imprecise references to show up in news reports because of the (translation) cycle they have to go through. She argues that when people cannot identify referents, the news becomes inaccessible to parts of the population (also see Cornish 1999; Cutting 2002, pp. 116-117).

Conjunction	***Definition*** A grammatical particle that connects words, phrases, clauses or sentences. It gives cohesion to a text by way of a(n): - additive expression (e.g. ‘further’) - adversative expression (e.g. ‘but’) - causal expression (e.g. ‘because’) - coordinating expression (e.g. ‘and’) - discourse expression (e.g. ‘well’) - temporal expression (e.g. ‘after’) ***Labeling Notes*** Apart from the different words labeled with the ‘conjunction’ pragmarker, also RE-actions that affect punctuation were tagged as such. ***Example of Use*** Conjunctions do not only show us how textual elements are connected to each other grammatically speaking; they also show us how ideas are connected. As Verschueren (2012, pp. 115-116) indicates: “all instances of conjoining, juxtaposing, contrasting, comparing, and the like, may give rise to implicit meanings.” The act of replacing one conjunction for another in a translated news report, adding one or removing one, can change these implicit meanings.
Hedge (Incertitude)	***Definition*** “Hedges are linguistic devices that are used to modify an expressed proposition, usually by adding unclarity as to the utterer’s commitment to truth or certainty. The most common ones are modal auxiliaries, certain linguistic action or mental state verbs, hypothetical constructions, as well as a variety of adjectives, nouns and adverbs that emphasize probability, possibility, likeliness” (Verschueren 2012, p. 122). ***Example of Use*** Journalists hedge statements of which they cannot guarantee that they are true. Just as with reported speech (see *supra*), hedging can help journalists with keeping up the semblance of neutrality. Neutrality, however, is only a guise underneath which clear choices and judgments are hidden.[36] Indeed, when using hedges journalists “do not restrict themselves to the mere reporting of what they regard as facts. They make suggestions concerning unattested circumstances, and they formulate hypotheses for alternative scenarios” (Verschueren 2012, p. 123).

[36] For more on the relationship between journalism, neutrality and truth, see 2.3.3..

Booster (Certitude)	***Definition*** Boosters are the exact opposite of hedges. They are linguistic devices used to modify statements, and are generally used when one wants to emphasize that one believes a statement to be correct. The most common devices used are modal auxiliaries, certain linguistic action or mental state verbs, as well as a variety of adjectives, nouns and adverbs that emphasize certainty (see Hyland 2000; Verschueren 1999a). ***Example of Use*** Journalists boost statements which they believe to be true. As such they make clear judgment calls. These judgments can have a profound influence on how statements are interpreted by the reader. They provide linguistic evidence of active knowledge schemas, or of footing when social actors are involved.

Chapter 4: Results

4.1. Metadata: some general questions and answers

At the beginning of chapter 2 I wrote that 'Defining pragmatics could be quite easy. That is if we would simply state that pragmatics is the study of language use and leave it at that. Of course almost nobody ever leaves it at that. And neither will I' (p. 5). A similar remark can be made about answering questions. One can tackle a question like 'What do journalists translate?' in very different manners. One can look at the actual source texts journalists use and compare them to the target texts they produce and provide an answer that may state that 'paragraphs X and Y were literally translated by journalist A, though phrase Z was omitted'. One can also go beyond the formal level of comparison and look for some recurring patterns in the way journalists translate news to come up with an answer that sounds like 'details about X were generally omitted in favor of details about Y, meaning that metamessage Z became strengthened throughout the process of translation'. But one can also make a list of what source texts journalists translate from and answer the question by simply stating that 'journalists mostly translate source texts produced by medium XYZ'.

For the purposes of this book I decided to approach the question 'What do journalists translate' from all three angles sketched above. While all three angles play a role in the two case studies reported upon in sections **4.2.** and **4.3.**, this section (**4.1.**) is reserved for answering some general questions with the help of the metadata collected when creating the corpus. In section **4.1.1.** I report on what media write about by looking at titles and the sections in which articles were put; in section **4.1.2.** I look more closely at what sources media refer to by looking at source attribution; and in paragraph **4.1.3.** I try to factor in the human aspect by looking at how many articles a journalist writes and/or translates on a daily basis for any particular medium.

It is not my intention to judge any person or medium by comparing these metadata. As mentioned before, I hold true that there are a plethora of practices related to the journalistic profession that differ depending on the medium journalists works for, what sources they use, when and where they are, etcetera. One cannot judge a journalist based on the number of articles (s)he produces for any particular medium, simply because it is only one of the many tasks related to the profession (some of which are detailed in section **2.3.**) and may be only one of several jobs said person does. Nor should one judge a medium for prioritizing certain types of news over others. One could make claims about certain media catering news to the "lowest end of the market", "the middle end" or "the high end", to use the terminology of Manssens and Walgrave (1998) for distinguishing the 'popular press' from the 'quality press', but I do not believe that 'quality' and 'popular' should be used as antonyms when discussing media. One can of course evaluate the quality of the articles a medium produces as high or low quality, but topicality should not factor into this equation. Quality should be reserved for discussing aspects like penmanship, research and truthfulness. One can also evaluate any medium's popularity as high or low, for instance by looking at sales or readership numbers, but that does not mean 'quality' and 'popular' necessarily exclude one another.

The results acquired from closely looking at the metadata are here to provide a larger context, a bigger picture, explaining some aspects of news production and translation that would remain unknown when only discussing specific cases. For example, when journalists are asked to procure a high number of articles per day for any specific medium, this directly affects the time (s)he can spend with any (source) text. It also means that (s)he may prioritize same language sources over foreign language source to speed up the production process. The results from the metadata also factored into deciding which topics to discuss in the case studies, as it would not make much sense to choose a random topic on which not a whole lot was written, or for which few or no source texts were used.

4.1.1. What media write about

For one constructed seven day week running from Monday November 14th until Monday December 12th, the four newspapers and four news sites under study provided no less than 12,678 articles, 8,316 of which were published on news sites and 4,362 of which were published in newspapers. While in some articles journalists report on a basketball game, in others they discuss politics, forecast the weather, advise to buy or sell certain stock. In other words, there are many topics about which journalists write in very different (or similar) manners.

4.1.1.1. Newspapers

Tables 5 to 8 show how many articles every individual newspaper published on a daily basis in any specific section, while table 9 shows how many articles were found in each newspaper in any specific section for the entire constructed week. Sections are generally distinguished from one another on the basis of topic (e.g. general, sports, finance, leisure), though relative closeness to the perceived audience (i.e. regional, domestic, foreign) is also a possible trait for separating sections from one another. Some sections may be broader than others and sometimes the inclusion of certain articles in a section may come across as somewhat arbitrary. For example, the newspaper *Het Nieuwsblad* has a 'general news' section which focuses on domestic news, but which also contains foreign news. Nonetheless, it also has a dedicated 'foreign news' section. Why some articles are put into one section and not the other may indeed come across as random, but it is actually the end result of a constantly ongoing decision process (up until the moment of proof reading) in which the editor in chief generally has the final say. Factors that come into play are, among others, allotted space for a section and the presence of related news in a section. This decision process, though interesting, falls outside the scope of this study on translation.

To make results comparable (and to fit the presented tables within page margins) I have simplified the representation of sections for all media. While every medium has its own specific terminology for any given section, I have decided upon labels (in English) that can be applied to all these similar but differently named sections. For example, both *Het Laatste Nieuws* and *Het Nieuwsblad* have a specific section for 'regional sports news', which in their editions for the Antwerp region are called 'Antwerpen Sport' (Antwerp Sports) and 'Sport in uw regio – Antwerpen-Mechelen-Lier' (Sports in your region – Antwerp-Mechelen-Lier) respectively. Instead of trying to fit both differently named, but very similar section labels into the tables, I chose to use the label 'Sports Regional' for both. Newspapers *De Standaard* and *De Morgen* have no sections that can be filed under the 'Sports Regional' label. Some newspapers also have different subsections for different types of leisure interests, while others have one general section for it, e.g. *Het Laatste Nieuws* has separate subsections for (among others) ‘television’, ‘travel’ and ‘celebrities’; *De Standaard* has a supplement called ‘DS2’ in which diverse leisure activities are reported upon. For newspapers with subsections in the leisure category, the articles in said subsections were tallied and are represented in the table under the ‘Leisure’ label. The ‘Miscellany’ label in the table is the amalgamation of sections in any newspaper in which no news reports were found (e.g. opinion sections, cartoon sections). The reason why ‘Weather’ is a separate label, is because weather reports for certain newspapers mention the existence of a source text; also the weather section in *Het Laatste Nieuws* is actually more of an ecology section in which, next to the weather forecast, news about natural disasters and other natural phenomena are also reported upon.

	Front Page	General	Politics	Domestic	Regional	Foreign	Sports	Sports Regional	Economics	Leisure	Weather	Miscellany	*Total*
11/15/2011	3	5	6	18	0	26	13	0	14	23	1	0	*109*
11/16/2011	4	7	8	26	0	17	17	0	6	24	1	0	*110*
11/24/2011	2	5	7	23	0	16	12	0	13	20	1	0	*99*
11/25/2011	4	6	6	20	0	22	11	0	11	26	1	0	*107*
12/03/2011	3	6	16	18	0	16	15	0	15	95	1	4	*189*
12/05/2011	4	5	9	19	0	14	21	0	8	16	1	3	*100*
12/12/2011	4	10	7	10	0	14	16	0	10	13	1	5	*90*
De Morgen	**24**	**44**	**59**	**134**	**0**	**125**	**105**	**0**	**77**	**217**	**7**	**12**	***804***

Table 5. Articles found per section for newspaper De Morgen

	Front Page	General	Politics	Domestic	Regional	Foreign	Sports	Sports Regional	Economics	Leisure	Weather	Miscellany	*Total*
11/15/2011	1	0	0	25	8	10	13	0	17	23	1	11	*109*
11/16/2011	1	0	0	26	5	9	12	0	24	30	1	12	*120*
11/24/2011	1	0	0	23	3	9	10	0	19	19	1	7	*92*
11/25/2011	1	0	0	26	11	12	13	0	19	42	1	11	*136*
12/03/2011	3	0	0	81	11	15	14	0	24	55	1	14	*218*
12/05/2011	1	0	0	26	3	15	29	0	13	22	1	10	*120*
12/12/2011	1	0	0	22	5	21	22	0	15	24	1	9	*120*
De Standaard	**9**	**0**	**0**	**229**	**46**	**91**	**113**	**0**	**131**	**215**	**7**	**74**	***915***

Table 6. Articles found per section for newspaper De Standaard

	Front Page	General	Politics	Domestic	Regional	Foreign	Sports	Sports Regional	Economics	Leisure	Weather	Miscellany	*Total*
11/15/2011	4	39	8	0	28	6	51	16	9	18	1	6	*186*
11/16/2011	5	50	3	0	38	7	46	10	8	37	1	5	*210*
11/24/2011	3	50	2	0	40	7	57	18	5	17	1	5	*205*

11/25/2011	3	45	6	0	27	5	63	17	10	9	1	6	*192*
12/03/2011	4	56	8	0	25	0	76	14	7	88	1	3	*282*
12/05/2011	2	25	0	0	15	7	79	61	0	10	1	3	*203*
12/12/2011	4	35	8	0	20	4	103	47	0	10	1	7	*239*
Nieuwsblad	**25**	**300**	**35**	**0**	**193**	**36**	**475**	**183**	**39**	**189**	**7**	**35**	***1,517***

Table 7. Articles found per section for newspaper Het Nieuwsblad

	Front Page	General	Politics	Domestic	Regional	Foreign	Sports	Sports Regional	Economics	Leisure	Weather	Miscellany	*Total*
11/15/2011	8	81	0	0	18	0	44	22	13	11	3	0	*200*
11/16/2011	9	68	0	0	32	0	34	15	13	12	2	0	*185*
11/24/2011	5	69	0	0	16	0	49	7	12	15	2	6	*181*
11/25/2011	8	48	0	0	30	0	23	21	14	9	2	0	*155*
12/03/2011	4	49	0	0	25	0	19	14	8	0	2	4	*125*
12/05/2011	8	41	0	0	18	0	47	15	0	6	1	0	*136*
12/12/2011	8	41	0	0	14	0	58	16	0	6	1	0	*144*
Laatste N.	**50**	**397**	**0**	**0**	**153**	**0**	**274**	**110**	**60**	**59**	**13**	**10**	***1,126***

Table 8. Articles found per section for newspaper Het Laatste Nieuws

	Front Page	General	Politics	Domestic	Regional	Foreign	Sports	Sports Regional	Economics	Leisure	Weather	Miscellany	*Total*
De Morgen	24	44	59	134	0	125	105	0	77	217	7	12	*804*
De Standaard	9	0	0	229	46	91	113	0	131	215	7	74	*915*
Nieuwsblad	25	300	35	0	193	36	475	183	39	189	7	35	*1,517*
Laatste N.	50	397	0	0	153	0	274	110	60	59	13	10	*1,126*
Total	**108**	**741**	**94**	**363**	**392**	**252**	**967**	**293**	**307**	**680**	**34**	**131**	***4,362***

Table 9. Articles found per sections for all newspapers tallied

During the sample week, newspaper *De Morgen* produced the smallest number of articles. This is not unrelated to the fact that it also had the least number of pages per edition (i.e. 36 on regular weekdays, while all other newspapers count at least 40 pages on regular weekdays). It had a general news section at the beginning of the newspaper (separate from the domestic and foreign news sections) in which mostly domestic news, opinion pieces and cartoons are presented side by side. Unlike the other newspapers, it had no regional news section. Indeed, there are no different regional editions of the newspaper. *De Morgen* focuses on domestic news, often political in nature, as well as on foreign events (often political in nature as well). While its sports section is the smallest of the four newspapers, it has more articles that fit under the 'leisure' denominator than any other newspaper. This is mostly due to the 'DM Magazine' and 'DMuze' supplements which accompany the newspaper on Saturday, in which various cultural events, as well as book, CD and film releases are discussed.

There are five regional editions of newspaper *De Standaard*, one for each Flemish province. Differences between regional editions are limited, because the regional news section was generally limited to one page per edition. For the sample under study, it had the largest economy section of the four newspapers. The newspaper's mainstay is domestic news, often political in nature as well. Its Saturday edition bolstered a higher number of domestic articles than its other day editions. These are mostly reactions by various people to the fact that 541 days after the 2010 federal elections (a worldwide record) Belgium would finally end the process of government formation and have a new (fully functioning) federal government. The newspaper's foreign news and sports news sections are comparable in size. Interestingly it has fewer front page articles than the other newspapers, mostly focusing on a single news event per edition – excluding the front page of the weekend edition, on which multiple articles appeared.

Het Nieuwsblad has sixteen different regional editions. Its mainstays are regional news and sports news, but it also has a sizeable general news section. Although it has dedicated foreign news and economics sections, these are generally limited to one or two pages per edition. The Monday editions in the sample do not even have an economics section. More than for the other newspapers, the Monday edition of the newspaper has sizably more sports news than its other editions. This is not all that surprising. Many of the major sports events take place during the weekend (e.g. first division soccer games, major cycling events). Apart from separate sports and regional news sections, it also has a regional sports section.

Much like *Het Nieuwsblad*, newspaper *Het Laatste Nieuws* also has a ‘general news’ section, in lieu of a domestic news section. Unlike *Het Nieuwsblad*, however, it has no dedicated foreign news section during the sample days in our constructed week. The newspaper focuses on domestic news, sports news and regional news. There are 21 regional editions, as well as an extra edition which can only be bought abroad. The fact that it has more regional editions than *Het Nieuwsblad*, however, does not mean that it had more articles in its regional news section during the sample days, nor in its specific regional sports news section. *Het Laatste Nieuws* is the only newspaper to publish articles concerning ecology in the ‘weather’ section. It also has the highest number of articles on the front page. Articles on the front page may be on any topic represented in the newspaper, making it look like the most erratic of the bunch – especially when held next to the weekday editions of *De Standaard*. A caveat which needs to be made is that I was not able to collect data for the supplemental magazine *Nina*, which accompanies the Saturday edition of the newspaper and which is in many ways a separate entity. For one, it is not printed in the Berliner format, like the newspaper, but as a magazine. It also has its own editorial board with its own editor in chief. Furthermore, said editorial board was (until early 2017) located on a different floor than the newspaper itself in the overarching publishing company’s main building in Kobbegem, Belgium (*De Persgroep NV*). *Nina*’s editorial board is situated on the same floor as the editorial boards for the company’s other weekly magazines. The low count of articles underneath the ‘leisure’ label for the newspaper in my data is largely accounted for by the absence of articles published in *Nina*.

In general we see that the highest number of articles accounted for under any of the chosen labels are found within the sports sections of the newspapers (967). This is partially due, of course, to some newspapers preferring a general news section (741) over separate domestic (363) and foreign news (252) sections, or vice versa. But it does show the overall importance of sports news within newspapers, especially when we also take into account the number of articles found in the separate regional sports sections of *Het Laatste Nieuws*

(110) and *Het Nieuwsblad* (183). This realization has played an important role in deciding which case studies to focus on for this book.

4.1.1.2. News sites

Tables 10 to 13 show how many articles every individual news site published on a daily basis in any specific section, while table 14 shows how many articles were found on each news site in any specific section for the entire constructed week. Just as with newspapers, news site sections are distinguished from one another on the basis of topic and relative closeness to the perceived audience. While the same rules described above for the representation of newspaper sections were applied to the representation of news site sections, there are some differences that may need some extra clarification.

While newspapers and news sites largely have the same sections, some newspaper sections do not appear on news sites (e.g. regional sports sections) and vice versa (e.g. health and science sections – which were both given the label ‘science’ in the tables). The biggest difference between newspapers and news sites, however, is that news sites are not physically limited in the amount of content that can be accessed through them. Because of this, any number of articles can be found in any single section on any given day, including articles from previous days. There are no daily editions of a news site. It is constantly being updated. The absence of the physical boundaries that restrict newspapers in the amount of content they can offer on a daily basis also means that news sites can have infinitely more sections than any of their printed brethren. Furthermore, all news site sections are connected to one another through hyperlinks, which may indeed be “the most visible feature of computer–mediated news media” (Opgenhaffen 2011). Infinite possibilities are, of course, great, but to keep things manageable the news sites under study all had a system of sections and subsections which could readily be accessed on the main page (though some of the subsections would remain invisible until one held the cursor over the main section tab or clicked on said tab). What slightly complicated data collection was that articles were sometimes published in multiple sections and subsections at the same time. So while all news sites had a general news section, this section was generally split up into multiple subsections, including sections for domestic and foreign news, meaning that articles were as much part of the general section as the subsections they were published in. I decided to only note down the relevant subsection. The reason for there being a ‘General’ news label in the tables, is that sometimes journalists failed to define a subsection, meaning that an article ended up in the general news section.

By 2017, the idea of fixed sections and subsections on news sites has become somewhat obsolete. For example, news site *www.hln.be*, does not only have a ‘domestic’ tab under its general news tab, but also a tab for news about ‘Belgium’. It should not be hard to imagine that there is some serious overlap regarding the articles found when clicking on any of those two tabs. Then why do we have both ‘domestic’ and ‘Belgium’ categories? This is related to the fact that today, instead of defining an article as part of a section, journalists now assign a label to an article. Assigning multiple labels to an article means it will show up under different tabs. News tabs are also constantly being added to or deleted from a news site. In February 2017, when all of the world’s eyes were focused on the actions of the newly instated United States president, news site *www.hln.be* for instance had a specific tab for news on the United States of America, while in March 2016, for instance, there was a specific tab on the terrorist attacks in Brussels.

	General	Domestic	Regional	Foreign	Sports	Economics	Leisure	Science	Ecology	Miscellany	*Total*
11/14/2011	1	40	0	29	39	23	44	9	8	8	*201*
11/15/2011	0	53	0	32	42	28	56	2	7	6	*226*
11/23/2011	1	58	0	29	39	24	37	3	7	10	*208*
11/24/2011	0	52	0	34	42	27	41	6	9	9	*220*
12/02/2011	0	37	0	27	44	29	29	3	7	16	*192*
12/03/2011	0	20	0	22	38	5	19	0	3	9	*116*
12/11/2011	0	22	0	25	35	3	6	2	4	2	*99*
demorgen.be	**2**	**282**	**0**	**198**	**279**	**139**	**232**	**25**	**45**	**60**	***1,262***

Table 10. Articles found per section for news site www.demorgen.be

	General	Domestic	Regional	Foreign	Sports	Economics	Leisure	Science	Ecology	Miscellany	*Total*
11/14/2011	1	48	3	28	35	31	43	0	0	0	*189*
11/15/2011	0	52	0	25	32	27	28	0	0	0	*164*
11/23/2011	0	49	1	26	27	21	51	0	0	2	*177*
11/24/2011	0	39	0	31	36	28	23	0	0	3	*160*
12/02/2011	1	51	0	25	19	18	42	1	0	4	*161*
12/03/2011	0	30	1	21	31	8	16	1	0	0	*108*
12/11/2011	0	25	0	18	19	4	14	1	0	0	*81*
standaard.be	**2**	**294**	**5**	**174**	**199**	**137**	**217**	**3**	**0**	**9**	***1,040***

Table 11. Articles found per section for news site www.standaard.be

	General	Domestic	Regional	Foreign	Sports	Economics	Leisure	Science	Ecology	Miscellany	*Total*
11/14/2011	8	43	400	25	60	16	39	0	0	1	*592*
11/15/2011	5	52	474	25	55	20	30	0	0	0	*661*
11/23/2011	6	57	653	32	60	10	54	0	0	0	*872*
11/24/2011	6	47	473	35	55	16	32	0	0	0	*664*

12/02/2011	1	50	623	23	93	11	44	0	0	0	*845*
12/03/2011	1	34	594	25	65	8	25	0	0	1	*753*
12/11/2011	0	30	140	22	36	3	19	0	0	0	*250*
nieuwsblad.be	**27**	**313**	**3,357**	**187**	**424**	**84**	**243**	**0**	**0**	**2**	***4,637***

Table 12. Articles found per section for news site www.nieuwsblad.be

	General	**Domestic**	**Regional**	**Foreign**	**Sports**	**Economics**	**Leisure**	**Science**	**Ecology**	**Miscellany**	***Total***
11/14/2011	1	38	0	29	39	26	80	9	10	0	*232*
11/15/2011	0	54	0	32	42	30	80	2	8	0	*248*
11/23/2011	1	56	0	36	39	24	72	4	8	0	*240*
11/24/2011	0	53	0	36	43	28	66	6	9	0	*241*
12/02/2011	0	37	0	31	44	29	53	4	7	0	*205*
12/03/2011	0	20	0	22	38	3	22	1	4	0	*110*
12/11/2011	0	22	0	25	35	3	10	2	4	0	*101*
hln.be	**2**	**280**	**0**	**211**	**280**	**143**	**383**	**28**	**50**	**0**	***1,377***

Table 13. Articles found per section for news site www.hln.be

	General	**Domestic**	**Regional**	**Foreign**	**Sports**	**Economics**	**Leisure**	**Science**	**Ecology**	**Miscellany**	***Total***
demorgen.be	2	282	0	198	279	139	232	25	45	60	*1,262*
standaard.be	2	294	5	174	199	137	217	3	0	9	*1,040*
nieuwsblad.be	27	313	3357	187	424	84	243	0	0	2	*4,637*
hln.be	2	280	0	211	280	143	383	28	50	0	*1,377*
Total	**33**	**1,169**	**3,362**	**770**	**1,182**	**503**	**1,075**	**56**	**95**	**71**	***8,316***

Table 14. Articles found per sections for all news sites tallied

While there was decidedly less sports news found in newspaper *De Morgen* (105) than in its sister newspaper *Het Laatste Nieuws* (384) in the different sports sections (including the regional sports section), news site *www.demorgen.be* (279) has almost the same number of articles in the sports section as its sister news site *www.hln.be* (280) during the sample week. This is not surprising, as both news sites actually share the bulk of their content. All in all, 7.37% (93) of the articles that appeared on *demorgen.be* for the dates in my sample are unique. The other 92.63% can also be found on *hln.be*. On the other hand, 15.18% (209) of the articles on *hln.be* did not appear on *demorgen.be* for the same dates. Regarding sports news, only one article published on news site *www.hln.be* was not published on *www.demorgen.be*, namely the article titled 'Anderlecht bespreekt vandaag samenwerking met D'Onofrio' (Anderlecht today discusses collaboration with D'Onofrio). Since it is an article about Belgium's wealthiest soccer team, the nonappearance of the article on news site *www.demorgen.be* should be considered coincidental. This does not mean, however, that all differences between the two news sites should be considered coincidental.

The biggest differences between the two news sites are found in the table under the 'Leisure' and 'Miscellany' labels. While *www.demorgen.be* had a specific section for opinion pieces (which fall under the 'Miscellany' label) on its site. Such a section was not present on *www.hln.be*. The opinion pieces in my corpus exclusively appeared on *www.demorgen.be*. News site *www.hln.be*, on the other hand, had subsections on its website called 'Bizar' (Bizarre) and 'Showbizz' (Showbiz) which are absent from news site *www.demorgen.be*. While many of the articles found in said subsections are also absent from *www.demorgen.be*, others do appear on the site, but in differently named (sub)sections. For instance, of the 'Bizar' articles that were published on *www.demorgen.be*, many appear in the foreign news section, while of the 'Showbizz' articles that did appear on *www.demorgen.be*, many were put in the Culture and Media section (which in the tables also falls under the 'Leisure' label). It also occurred that articles appeared on both news sites with the same core text, same author credentials, same time of publication, but with a different title. So while one article on Rosie Huntington-Whiteley appeared in the Showbiz section of *www.hln.be* as 'Knapste vrouw ter wereld was vroeger lelijk scharminkel' (Most beautiful woman in the world was ugly scrag in the past', it appeared in *www.demorgen.be*'s Culture and Media section as 'Rosie Huntington-Whiteley was vroeger lelijk eendje' (Rosie

Huntington-Whitely was ugly duckling in the past'. The latter, of course, is formulated less harshly (especially in Dutch) than the first. Plastic verbiage is often a sign of sensationalism (see Franck 2009a). A sensationalist style for article titles may lead to a higher click per title ratio, generating more advertising income (as explained in section **3.3.**). Then why does news site *www.demorgen.be* soften down some of the article titles? Because the news site tries to attract a somewhat different audience than its sister news site and also has to keep in mind the more serious image of its liaised newspaper, i.e. *De Morgen*, which it tries to uphold. While changing certain article titles may affect the metamessages these articles convey – or would one start reading the same article that appeared on news sites *www.hln.be* and *www.demorgen.be*, entitled 'Islam niet langer snelst groeiende godsdienst ' (Islam no longer fastest growing religion) and 'Christendom snelst groeiende godsdienst' (Christianity fastest growing religion) respectively in the same manner? – , it does, however, not change the fact that both news sites largely share the same content and that differences are largely superficial.

Much like for sister news sites *www.hln.be* and *www.demorgen.be*, there is strong overlap in content published by sister news sites *www.nieuwsblad.be* and *www.standaard.be*, both published by *Corelio NV* (now part of *Mediahuis NV*). Differences are, however, more outspoken between the latter two sister sites. For one, news site *www.nieuwsblad.be* has a specific page for every village or city in the Flemish region on which regional news for said village or city can be read. With 3,357 articles across seven days, it makes for the bulk of the content found on the news site for the sample period. Only very rarely (5 times to be exact) could these articles be read on news site *www.standaard.be* as well. News sites *www.demorgen.be* and *www.hln.be* did not have regional news sections. Back in 2011, accessing sports news through *www.nieuwsblad.be* and *standaard.be* often meant that one would be taken out of the *www.nieuwsblad.be* or *www.standaard.be* environment, and into the *www.sportwereld.be* environment. Today the 'sportwereld' (sports world) brand still exists (in both print and online) but when trying to access *www.sportwereld.be* in 2017, you are automatically transferred to www.nieuwsblad.be/sportwereld. The sportwereld brand is no longer associated with *www.standaard.be*. Indeed, already in the sample week we see that although many sports related articles could be accessed through both news sites, *www.nieuwsblad.be* (424) gives access to decidedly more sports news than its sister news site *www.standaard.be* (199), and more than the other two news sites as well. With respect to topics prioritized, the content provided for by *www.nieuwsblad.be* is very much in line with the content provided for by its liaised newspaper *Het Nieuwsblad* – which does, of course, not mean that newspaper and news site have the same content. The same can be said about how news site *www.standaard.be* and newspaper *de Standaard* relate to one another. Both newspaper (131) and news site (137) have the most articles in their respective economic sections for any newspaper or news site under study.

Leaving out the vast number of articles found in the regional section of *www.nieuwsblad.be*, a section which the other news sites generally do not publish in, it is once again the sports section which proves to be the biggest of all, with no less than 1,182 articles found across all news sites combined. Domestic news is in second place, with no less than 1,169 articles found. Another interesting find is that, while the weekend editions of the newspapers tend to count more articles than their respective weekday editions – mostly due to the addition of supplements –, far less content was found on news sites that was published during the weekend (and especially on Sunday) than on week days.

4.1.2. What sources media refer to

4.1.2.1. Newspapers

Of the 4,362 newspaper articles in the corpus only 333 refer to at least one source. Table 15 shows how many articles were found per newspaper and how many of them referred to at least one source in numbers and percentages.

	Total N° of articles	N° with source	% with source
De Morgen	804	113	14.05
De Standaard	915	109	11.91
Het Nieuwsblad	1,517	110	7.25
Het Laatste Nieuws	1,126	1	0.09

Table 15. Numbers and percentages of newspaper articles that refer to sources

All in all this means that 4,029 of 4,362 newspaper articles do not refer to a source, i.e. 7.63% refer to at least one source, while 92.37% of articles do not refer to any source at all. As can be seen in the table, there are some interesting differences between the different newspapers. For one, newspaper *Het Laatste Nieuws* generally did not refer to its sources. Only in one example, found in the sports section of its November 15 edition, French international press agency *Agence France-Presse* (*AFP*) was referred to as a source. The newspaper with the most source attributions is *De* Morgen, sister newspaper of *Het Laatste Nieuws*. This is largely due to foreign news (42 articles with source references) being one of its main staples. Decent numbers of source references can also be seen in its domestic (21) and economic (19) news sections. For its economic news, newspaper *De Morgen* mostly referred to its other sister newspaper *De Tijd*, which is a newspaper mostly dedicated to financial news.

Relatively speaking, newspaper *De Standaard* refered more often to sources than its sister newspaper, *Het Nieuwsblad* – though only percentage wise and not in absolute numbers. This also has to do with the *De Standaard*'s more outspoken focus on foreign news (19 articles with source references) and on economic news (29 articles), though many of the articles in its sports section also referred to a source (20 articles). Newspaper *Het Nieuwsblad* mostly referred to sources in its general news (34) and sports (31) sections, though its relatively short foreign news (16) and economic (13) sections also show a decent number of source attributions.

Table 16 shows which media the different newspapers referred to as a primary source. To make the table fit within page margins, I refer to newspaper *Het Laatste Nieuws* as '*HLN*', which is the often used acronym to refer to the newspaper.

	De Morgen	**De Standaard**	**Het Nieuwsblad**	**HLN**	**Total**
AFP	9	7	3	1	**20**
ANP	1	1	1	0	**3**
AP	0	12	2	0	**14**
Belga	51	65	92	0	**208**
Bloomberg	0	3	1	0	**4**
De Tijd	11	0	0	0	**11**
De Volkskrant	29	0	0	0	**29**
DPA	7	6	3	0	**16**
MeteoServices nv	0	7	0	0	**7**

Reuters	4	8	8	0	**20**
The New York Times	1	0	0	0	**1**
Total	*113*	*109*	*110*	*1*	***333***

Table 16. What media newspaper articles refer to as a primary source

The medium newspapers refer to most often is Belgium's national press agency *Belga*. In 208 of the 333 cases in which a source was mentioned, *Belga* was indicated as being the primary source, i.e. in 62.46%. It was referred to as a second source in four more cases. There are many reasons which may explain *Belga*'s popularity as a source for news. For one it is Belgium's main national press agency, and unlike most newspapers today, it still has many correspondents working in different fields all across the country. For Franck (2014, added as a supplement to this book), I followed one such correspondent working in the Antwerp region for one evening and discussed how one of his articles was picked up by different print and online media. He was also one of the journalists who took part in the focus group discussed in section **2.3.** of this book. Although the national press agency has its own platforms of distribution (e.g. *Mediargus* and *Gopress*), these are not as readily accessible to the general public as, for instance, newspapers and news sites are. *Belga*'s clientele are primarily other (media) companies and the Belgian government. Because they do not cater to any specific end user, *Belga*'s journalists and translators are asked to write in a neutral manner, so that other media can easily pick up and adapt the content they provide. Content is presented in both French and Dutch, two of the three official languages in the country. Not all articles are presented in both languages. Internally, editors decide what content gets translated from one language into the other and what content does not get translated. Translation also happens internally at the agency. Apart from the domestic content it provides, *Belga* also positions itself as an intermediary between international media (mostly press agencies) and Belgium's national media. It does this by translating articles from international press agencies, mostly coverage from *Agence France-Presse* (*AFP*), into both French and Dutch. *Belga* also has an exchange agreement with the main national news agency of the Netherlands, *Algemeen Nederlands Perbureau* (*ANP*) – with *ANP* in its own right translating coverage from the largest German international press agency, *Deutsche Presse Agentur* (*DPA*).

As will become more clear in the case studies, *Belga*'s intermediary role is far more important than one would expect by just looking at source attribution alone. Indeed, examples are not rare of journalists referring to a medium other than *Belga*, while they had in fact mostly been working from a translated version provided to them by *Belga* (i.e. this holds especially true for *AFP* articles). The high number of references found in *De Morgen* to newspapers *De Tijd* and *De Volkskrant* can be explained by the fact that these newspapers are all owned by the same company, namely *De Persgroep NV*. Because the three newspapers cater to different audiences and because of the company's will to keep costs as low as possible, there is some synergy between these newspapers. While much of the economic news in *De Morgen* stems from *De Tijd*, which is a Belgian newspaper that focuses on financial news, *De Morgen* exchanges foreign news with Dutch newspaper *De Volkskrant* – which in turn explains why it can deliver as much foreign news as it does to its readers.

4.1.2.2. News sites

Of the 8,316 news site articles in the corpus 3,291 refer to at least one source. Table 17a shows how many articles were found per news site and how many of them referred to at least one source in numbers and percentages.

	Total N° of articles	**N° with source**	**% with source**
demorgen.be	1262	913	72.35
standaard.be	1040	691	44.00
nieuwsblad.be	4637	734	15.83
hln.be	1377	953	69.21

Table 17a. Numbers and percentages of news site articles that refer to sources

All in all this means that 5,025 of 8,316 online news articles do not refer to a source. However, numbers are somewhat skewed because of the vast number of regional articles that can be found on *www.nieuwsblad.be*. Articles found on the regional pages of said news site are mostly written by volunteers, not by payed journalists. As volunteers generally do not have the same access to sources as their employed counterparts, this is one reason for the largely diverging numbers for *www.nieuwsblad.be*. Also articles on the regional pages may range from a three part photo series on a local pancake bake event (on November 14th 2011) to a report on the scouting expedition organized by one primary school during its annual Christmas fair (on December 11th 2011). Not the fare, pardon the pun, one usually sees covered by wire services, but interesting to the local community nonetheless.

Leaving out articles found in the regional sections of the news site for Table 17b, we see that numbers are much more in line with the other news sites.

	Total N° of articles	N° with source	% with source
demorgen.be	1262	913	72.35
standaard.be	1040	691	44.00
nieuwsblad.be	1281	734	57.30
hln.be	1377	953	69.21

Table 17b. Numbers and percentages of news site articles that refer to sources, excluding the regional section of www.nieuwsblad.be

When looking at the numbers this way, we see that of the 4,960 online news articles (so excluding articles in the regional section of *www.nieuwsblad.be*), 3,291 refer to at least one source (i.e. 66.35%), while 1,669 articles do not refer to a source (i.e. 33.65%). Put in other words, roughly two out of three articles produced for the news sites by professional journalists refer to at least one source – a situation which was markedly different for newspapers.

Differences in source attribution between newspapers and news sites will be further explored in the case studies. Suffice it to state here that multiple aspects are in play, ranging from the physical limitations of the medium (i.e. number of words an article may count in a newspaper section), to preconceptions about translation and how much work goes into text production. Even the actual work environment plays a decisive role. For instance, news site sports journalist Henry related that when he loaded a *Belga* wire report into his text editor (a largely automated process), the text editor spontaneously added a byline in the style of the news site in which his initials and source name were already filled out.

Looking at what sources news sites usually refer to we see that national press agency *Belga* is the most popular of the bunch. In fact, 2,298 of the 3,291 articles referring to at least one source refer to press agency *Belga* as their first source. Table 18 shows how many articles refer to *Belga* as a first source per medium in numbers and percentages. Once again, articles in the regional section of *www.nieuwsblad.be* are left out.

	Total N° of articles	Belga as first source (N°)	Belga as first source (%)
demorgen.be	913	718	78.64
standaard.be	691	405	58.61
nieuwsblad.be	734	434	59.13
hln.be	953	741	77.75

Table 18. Numbers and percentages of news site articles with source references that refer to Belga as their primary source

As we discussed when talking about newspaper source attribution, *Belga* is Belgium's main national press agency. It provides content in both French and Dutch, with much of its content being translated from one language into the other internally. Not every article automatically gets translated internally. *Belga* has far more correspondents than translators working for it and as such decisions are made about what content to translate and what content not to translate. They are generally considered to be a reliable source for domestic news (including domestic sports news). They also translate articles from international press agencies, mostly coverage by *Agence France-Presse* (*AFP*) and some (English) coverage by *Deutsche Presse Agentur* (*DPA*), and have an exchange agreement with the main national news agency of the Netherlands *Algemeen Nederlands Perbureau* (*ANP*), which in its own right not only offers news about the Netherlands, but also translates coverage from the largest German international press agency, *Deutsche Presse Agentur* (*DPA*).

News site journalists do not often get the opportunity (and are mostly not expected) to look for news that has not yet been covered by another medium. This is due to, among others, the number of articles they (have to) publish on the news site daily (see section **4.1.3.** for more details) and the fact that the companies they work for want to keep production costs as low as possible. As such it is not surprising to see that news site journalists tend to lean on reliable same language sources like *Belga* as often as they do. Furthermore, next to the 2,298 references to *Belga* as a primary source, there were also 50 articles that referred to *Belga* as a second source, six as a third source and two as a fourth source.

Only 993 news site articles referred to another primary source than *Belga*, with *Agence France-Presse* (254) being the most popular. Table 19 shows some of the more popular primary sources (excluding *Belga*) and the number of times they were referred to as a primary source. I chose not to include all source media in the table. Only the more popular ones. As not to have a table which mostly consists of ones and zeroes.

	demorgen.be	**standaard.be**	**nieuwsblad.be**	**hln.be**	**Total**
AFP	95	96	29	34	*254*
Algemeen Dagblad	12	19	8	6	*45*

ANP	13	15	3	7	*38*
AP	1	1	41	39	*82*
Bloomberg	1	1	3	5	*10*
De Morgen	0	0	1	1	*2*
De Telegraaf	0	0	3	3	*6*
De Tijd	0	0	2	2	*4*
DPA	49	50	27	32	*158*
Het Laatste Nieuws	0	2	4	4	*10*
IPS	7	6	0	0	*13*
Reuters	4	5	9	10	*28*
The Daily Mail	0	0	17	16	*33*
VRT	0	0	10	9	*19*
Total	**182**	**195**	**157**	**168**	***702***

Table 19. Number of articles on news sites referring to some of the more popular, non-Belga, media as a primary source

AFP's popularity may be surprising, but not so much when considering that while the original source text may be an *AFP* article, the source text the news site journalist actually used was mostly the Dutch translation made by press agency *Belga* (examples of this relationship are detailed in the case studies). The same holds for *DPA* reports and *ANP* reports, which can be accessed by news site journalists through the *Belga* news wire environment. When news site journalists translated news from another language it was generally from English. Most of these source texts stem from international press agencies *Associated Press* (*AP*), *Reuters* and *Bloomberg* or from the news site of the British newspaper *The Daily Mail* (*www.dailymail.co.uk*). Important same language news agencies that were referred to are *ANP* and *IPS* (Inter Press Service). The latter is an alternative news wire focusing on news from the southern hemisphere and ecology (see Joye 2009 for more on *IPS*). Occasionally other Dutch or Belgian media were also indicated as a primary source, e.g. *Algemeen Dagblad* (Dutch), *De Morgen* (Belgian), *De Telegraaf* (Dutch), *De Tijd* (Belgian), *Het Laatste Nieuws* (Belgian) and *VRT* (Belgian).

4.1.3. What journalists produce on a daily basis

As I have mentioned before, it is not my intention to judge any journalist on how much content (s)he produces for any medium. That is why I decided to leave out actual journalist names for this part of the book and present you with some general data on the number of articles journalists produce for news sites and newspapers. Instead of journalist names I decided on a label that describes the sections these journalists mostly produce content for. When unclear, journalists were given the label 'Jack-of-all-trades'. Label names are always followed by a number. The number only reflects the order of appearance in the tables. Journalists are ranked in the tables from highest total article count to lowest total article count for the seven day constructed week. I only counted the articles in which a journalist appeared as main author, and only included the ten journalists with the overall highest total article count per medium in the tables. Many more journalists have contributed to the different media during the constructed week (e.g. 73 unique initials/author names were found for news site *www.demorgen.be*). Including all journalists in the tables would not only make these tables excessively long, but would also mean that occasional contributors (often not producing more than one piece for any given medium during the constructed week) would take up most of the space in the tables. By focusing on the ten journalists with the highest total article count per medium, one can assume that, professionally speaking, producing content for their medium was one of that person's main tasks (at least during the months of November and December 2011). Another choice I made, with regard to the tables, is to use abbreviations for the days of the week under study instead of the actual dates. This I did once again to make sure that the tables would fit within page margins.

4.1.3.1. News sites

Tables 20 and 21 show the number of articles put on news sites *www.demorgen.be* and *www.hln.be* by the ten journalists with the highest total article count for these media during days in the constructed week. I grouped the two tables together, because nine out of the eleven unique contributors represented in these tables appear in both. What is more, the top eight contributors for both tables even appear in the same order when ranked from highest total article count to lowest total article count. These results are not surprising, as 92.63% of the articles found on *www.demorgen.be* were also found on www.*hln.be*. The two contributors unique to each table represent the slightly different foci of both news sites, though both contributors also produce content for the other news site.

	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat	Sun	Total
Jack-of-all-trades 1	23	21	33	0	16	23	0	*116*
Sports 1	25	21	14	23	21	9	0	*113*
Jack-of-all-trades 2	25	19	7	15	21	0	18	*105*
Jack-of-all-trades 3	0	19	17	17	20	19	0	*92*
Domestic 1	20	27	17	0	0	17	0	*81*
Jack-of-all-trades 4	9	8	19	23	0	0	20	*79*
Leisure 1	9	10	21	9	0	0	23	*72*
Jack-of-all-trades 5	24	6	10	22	1	0	0	*63*
Sports 2	1	12	23	3	7	0	12	*58*
Jack-of-all-trades 6	10	4	0	15	25	0	0	*54*

Table 20. Number of articles put on news site www.demorgen.be by the ten journalists with the highest total article count for the medium in the corpus

	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat	Sun	Total
Jack-of-all-trades 1	24	21	33	0	16	23	0	*117*
Sports 1	25	21	14	24	21	9	0	*114*
Jack-of-all-trades 2	24	21	7	16	22	0	18	*108*
Jack-of-all-trades 3	0	20	25	22	20	20	0	*107*
Domestic 1	22	27	23	0	0	20	0	*92*
Jack-of-all-trades 4	9	8	19	24	0	0	20	*80*
Leisure 1	9	12	21	9	0	0	24	*75*
Jack-of-all-trades 5	24	6	11	22	1	0	0	*64*
Leisure 2	5	14	7	22	13	0	0	*61*
Sports 2	2	13	22	3	7	0	12	*59*

Table 21. Number of articles put on news site www.hln.be by the ten journalists with the highest total article count for the medium in the corpus

Most contributors to both news sites publish articles for all different sections of the news sites, rather than for any specific section. Some journalists represented here do focus on content for specific sections (i.e. domestic, sports and leisure news) but none of them do so exclusively. The top contributors are far less likely to produce content during the weekend than during the rest of the week. This is in line with what we saw when discussing the different sections, i.e. far less content is put on news sites during the weekend than on weekdays. All of the journalists produce more than twenty articles on at least one of the days represented in the tables. Jack-of-all-trades 1 even produced no less than 33 articles on Wednesday November 23th 2011. All of her articles produced that day appeared on both news sites.

Tables 22 and 23 show the number of articles put on news sites *www.standaard.be* and *www.nieuwsblad.be* by the ten journalists with the highest total article count for their medium. As discussed before, differences between these two news sites are more outspoken than between the previous two. This can also be seen when looking at the different contributors and the sections they generally produce content for. Though all journalists who appear in the table for *www.standaard.be* also published content on *www.nieuwsblad.be*, content from the four regional journalists in the table for *www.nieuwsblad.be* only appeared on said news site. Five journalists appear in both tables, though in a slightly different order (i.e. Domestic 1, Sports 1, Jack-of-all-trades 1, General 1 and General 2).

	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat	Sun	Total
Domestic 1	24	19	20	0	13	23	0	*99*
Sports 1	19	10	11	11	14	17	15	*97*
Jack-of-all-trades 1	8	16	7	21	1	15	0	*68*
General 1	19	0	13	12	16	0	0	*60*
General 2	9	11	7	11	11	0	0	*49*
Economics 1	10	10	5	7	10	0	0	*42*
Jack-of-all-trades 2	0	7	12	5	11	0	0	*35*
Jack-of-all-trades 3	0	0	5	12	10	1	0	*28*
Leisure 1	6	6	8	0	0	8	0	*28*
Leisure 2	4	6	6	2	7	2	1	*28*

Table 22. Number of articles put on news site www.standaard.be by the ten journalists with the highest total article count for the medium in the corpus

	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat	Sun	Total
Sports 1	25	16	24	26	34	26	24	*175*
Domestic 1	21	17	20	0	8	19	0	*85*
Jack-of-all-trades 1	9	16	8	24	3	16	0	*76*
Sports 2	0	2	25	2	41	0	0	*70*
General 1	20	0	13	13	16	0	0	*62*
Regional 1	0	8	19	16	13	5	0	*61*
General 2	9	11	10	14	13	0	0	*57*
Regional 2	7	3	6	12	15	7	0	*50*
Regional 3	3	5	0	9	21	12	0	*50*
Regional 4	7	13	8	1	9	11	0	*49*

Table 23. Number of articles put on news site www.nieuwsblad.be by the ten journalists with the highest total article count for the medium in the corpus

Unlike what we saw for www.demorgen.be and www.hln.be, journalists with the highest total article count working for *www.standaard.be* and/or *www.nieuwsblad.be* mainly produce content for a specific section. The foci of the different media (i.e. sports and regional news for *www.nieuwsblad.be*; economic news for www.*standaard*.be) also come to the fore in tables 22 and 23. Once again, generally speaking, fewer articles are produced by the represented contributors in the weekend than on weekdays. Article count per contributor per day for news sites part of *Mediahuis NV* is somewhat lower than for the news sites part of *De Persgroep NV*, though sports journalist 1 did manage to produce no less than 34 articles that appeared on *www.nieuwsblad.be* (14 of which also appeared on *www.standaard.be*).

4.1.3.2. Newspapers

Tables 24-27 show the number of articles written for the four newspapers under study by the ten journalists with the highest total article count for the respective media during the days of the constructed week. I decided not to group any tables together, but to discuss them separately. Differences between newspapers are more outspoken than differences between news sites.

	Tue	**Wed**	**Thu**	**Fri**	**Sat**	**Mon (1)**	**Mon (2)**	**Total**
Domestic 1	5	3	5	5	2	0	2	*22*
Politics 1	2	3	4	4	3	5	1	*22*
Foreign 1	1	0	1	10	7	1	0	*20*
Economics 1	4	2	2	0	0	6	5	*19*
Leisure 1	3	1	4	1	2	6	0	*17*
Jack-of-all-trades 1	4	3	5	0	0	4	0	*16*
Domestic 2	0	3	1	6	3	0	0	*13*
Leisure 2	0	0	0	10	3	0	0	*13*
Leisure 3	0	0	0	0	11	0	0	*11*
Politics 2	1	0	2	2	1	5	0	*11*

Table 24. Number of articles published in newspaper De Morgen by the ten journalists with the highest total article count for the medium in the corpus

What definitely stands out when comparing numbers of newspaper *De Morgen* to that of its liaised news site, is that journalists produce far fewer different articles for the newspaper on a daily basis. This is a finding which holds up in general, across all newspapers and news sites under study. Of course, these numbers says nothing about the amount of work that goes into writing articles. They only reflect the fact that news site journalists were expected to churn out more articles on a daily basis, meaning that, potentially, newspaper journalists could have been allotted more time to explore any of the specific subjects they were asked to tackle. Interestingly while journalists working for news site *www.demorgen.be* were generally jack-of-all-trades, meaning that they had to produce content on many different topics, journalists for newspaper *De Morgen* tended to write articles for their specific section only. Only one journalist in table 24 produced content for many different sections of the newspaper. Furthermore, most of the newspaper's main sections are represented by a journalist in the table, and numbers for the articles produced by the ten journalists with the highest total article count are not that far apart from one another. Journalists who wrote many different articles for the Friday and Saturday editions of the newspaper tended to produce less (to no) content on (certain) weekdays. This is partially explained by the end of week supplements which (partially) have their own staff (i.e. leisure journalists 2 and 3 in the table). Interestingly, none of the sports journalists working for *De Morgen* made it into the top 10 presented above.

	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat	Mon (1)	Mon (2)	Total
General 1	14	8	0	1	0	9	0	32
Regional 1	6	9	0	0	8	7	0	30
Regional 2	4	8	0	0	7	8	0	27
Regional 3	2	3	5	8	0	0	1	19
Regional 4	0	7	3	3	3	0	0	16
Sports Regional 1	7	1	2	3	1	1	1	16
General 2	6	0	4	0	1	0	5	16
Sports 1	3	1	0	4	1	3	3	15
Sports Regional 2	2	3	0	3	2	2	3	15
Sports 2	2	4	8	0	0	0	0	14

Table 25. Number of articles published in newspaper Het Laatste Nieuws by the ten journalists with the highest total article count for the medium in the corpus

More than for sister newspaper *De Morgen*, the specific focal points of newspaper *Het Laatste Nieuws* come to the fore when looking at the number of articles produced by its journalists with the highest total article count. Indeed, it are mostly regional, sports and regional sports journalists that produced the highest number of different articles for the newspaper during the days in the constructed week. Contributors with the highest total article count for *Het Laatste Nieuws* generally wrote more articles on a daily basis than contributors to sister newspaper *De Morgen*. General journalist 1 wrote 14 articles on Tuesday November 15th 2011. A number which would not be out of place in the news site tables discussed above. None of the listed journalists working for *Het Laatste Nieuws* produced content for sister newspaper *De Morgen*, and vice versa, which should not be too much of a surprise as *De Morgen* has no regional section nor regional sports section.

	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat	Mon (1)	Mon (2)	Total
Economics 1	2	3	2	4	0	0	0	*11*
Domestic 1	3	1	1	5	0	0	0	*10*
Miscellany 1	3	1	1	0	2	3	0	*10*
Leisure 1	0	3	1	0	3	0	2	*9*
Miscellany 2	0	1	2	1	1	2	1	*8*
Domestic 2	3	1	1	0	2	1	0	*8*
Regional 1	2	1	0	3	0	0	1	*7*
Economics 2	1	2	0	0	2	2	0	*7*
Foreign 1	0	0	0	4	1	0	2	*7*
Sports 1	3	1	0	0	2	0	1	*7*

Table 26. Number of articles published in newspaper De Standaard by the ten journalists with the highest total article count for the medium in the corpus

Generally speaking, the journalists with the highest total article count working for newspaper *De Standaard* wrote fewer articles than any of their colleagues represented in the other tables, be that for news sites or newspaper. Journalists writing for the newspaper's focal sections (i.e. the economics, leisure and domestic sections) tended to write more different articles per day than journalists working for less highlighted sections. Articles written by regional journalist 1 also showed up in sister newspaper *Het Nieuwsblad*. Indeed, all articles found in the regional pages of *De Standaard* are actually produced by journalists working for *Het Nieuwsblad*. The same holds up for most articles found in its sports section. Sports journalist 1 in table 26 was also mainly employed by newspaper *Het Nieuwsblad*. He, however, does not figure in table 27.

	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat	Mon (1)	Mon (2)	Total
Regional 1	4	7	1	5	4	0	14	*35*
Sports 1	2	4	6	7	2	8	0	*29*
Regional 2	0	9	17	1	0	0	0	*27*
Leisure 1	7	6	0	3	7	1	1	*25*
Regional 3	3	1	2	4	5	9	0	*24*
Politics 1	5	0	4	5	4	2	4	*24*
Sports 2	1	3	2	2	2	2	7	*19*
Sports 3	0	0	0	4	0	10	5	*19*
Leisure 2	1	2	6	0	3	7	0	*19*
Sports 4	0	0	3	3	2	1	9	*18*

Table 27. Number of articles published in newspaper Het Nieuwsblad by the ten journalists with the highest total article count for the medium in the corpus

Journalists writing for the sports and regional sections are represented most often in the table for newspaper *Het Nieuwsblad* – as was also the case for rival newspaper *Het Laatste Nieuws*. Regional journalist 2 in this table is the same person as regional journalist 1 in the previous table. On Thursday November 24th 2011 he wrote 17 articles for newspaper *Het Nieuwsblad*. Interestingly, none of these articles made it into the same day edition of sister newspaper *De Standaard*, while many of the articles he wrote on different days did make it into said newspaper. Some of the articles written by regional journalists 1 and 3, as well as by sports journalist 1, 2 and 3 also made it into newspaper *De Standaard*.

4.1.4. Conclusions

Different media focus on different topics, though sister news sites *www.hln.be* and *www.demorgen.be* are very much alike in this respect. Competing newspaper *Het Laatste Nieuws* and *Het Nieuwsblad* also focus on the same topics, though differences between these two media are more outspoken than between the two previously mentioned news sites. In general we see that the highest number of articles accounted for under any of the chosen labels are found within the sports sections for both newspapers and news sites (excluding the vast amount of articles written by volunteers for the regional pages of news site *www.nieuwsblad.be*).

News sites articles referred much more often to the sources that were used than newspaper articles, but when a source was referred to it was most often Belgium's national press agency *Belga*. Other agencies were also referred to; mainly the ones that are also made available through *Belga*'s wire service. Other newspapers and news sites were referred to much less often, and those that were referred to were most of the time sister media (or international media).

News sites journalists generally produced more articles on a daily basis than newspaper journalists did. This, of course, says nothing about the length of these articles nor anything about the quality. News site journalists tended to write less for any specific section, while newspaper journalists mostly produced content for a single section.

Het is nog steeds de zee, uiteraard, maar je ziet dat er iets is veranderd, iets aan de kleur. De brede, lage golven deinen nog steeds even vriendelijk, er is nog steeds alleen maar oceaan, maar het blauw raakt gaandeweg bezoedeld met geel. En dat levert geen groen op, zoals je van de kleurentheorie nog weet, maar troebelheid. Het schitterende azuur is verdwenen. De turkooizen rimpeling onder de middagzon is weg. Het peilloze kobalt waaruit de zon opsteeg, het ultramarijn van de schemering, het loodgrijs van de nacht: voorbij.
(Van Reybrouck, David 2013[2010], p. 11)

It is still the sea, of course, but you can see that something has changed, something about its color. The wide, low waves still sway as friendly as they did before, there is still only ocean, but the blue gradually becomes stained with yellow. And that does not make the water green, as you would know from color theory, but opaque. The beautiful azure has disappeared. The turquoise ripple under the noonday sun is gone. The fathomless cobalt from which the sun ascended, the ultramarine of twilight, the leaden gray of the night: gone.
(Van Reybrouck, David 2013[2010], p. 11; my translation)

4.2. Case Study 1: The DR Congo's 2011 general elections

4.2.1. Introduction

In the above excerpt from *Een geschiedenis van Congo* (A history of Congo) archeologist and author David Van Reybrouck describes the mouth of the Congo River and its power to change the color of the Atlantic Ocean for hundreds of kilometers from blue to yellow. He uses this description to start a longer description of Congolese topography, before turning to the book's 'actual topic': a history of Congo. It is a more than fitting start, as the River Congo and its tributaries have had (and still have) such an important influence on the development of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DR Congo).

I have chosen one particular moment in the DR Congo's history, the 2011 general (presidential and parliamentary) elections, as the focal point of this first case study for several reasons. One, it is one of the biggest political foreign news events that occurred in the period under study). Second, as Gambier has argued, "[i]n dealing with translating written media, we do very often focus on political news, international relations, wars, etc." (2006, p. 9). There are, of course, several reasons for why we focus on foreign political news when discussing translation practices; the fact that we know that media, which have limited resources, are more likely to fall back on what other media have written when an event has occurred abroad, is just one of those reasons. Also, when an event is considered quite complex, this often results in there being a much more outspoken role for translation. On the other hand, it may be argued that we have been focusing on foreign political news *too much* when looking at how journalists translate. That is why we will also be discussing another type of news event in the other case study.

Here I will explore the textual changes and changes to meaning that occur when news wire reports about the 2011 elections, published between November 14th and December 11th, were translated by Belgian media, i.e. by (other) news wires, and by news sites and newspapers (see section **3.1.** for more details on corpus composition). Indeed, this case study will also be about the power to change; not about the power of '*le fleuve*'[37] to change the color of ocean water, of course, but about the power of journalists, editors and translators to change meanings, text and discourse.

Of course, this is not the first study to focus on the representation of an important event in the southern hemisphere by journalists from the north (for African events specifically, see for example: Coesemans 2012; Mawdsley 2008; Palmans 2008, Cuvelier 2000 and Brookes 1995), but even though many of these studies are comparative in nature as well – often looking at representational differences between local and non-local media –, most of them exclusively focus on the finished news products. Not on the process of translation that predates these final news products. Which is of course exactly what I will be exploring in this case study.

Specific questions for this study are: how did journalists working for different media and from different languages translate news wire reports about DR Congo's 2011 elections? Are there differences depending on what medium is translated from/for or the language that was translated from/into? How is news about the Congolese elections represented? Are

[37] People in Congo often refer to the Congo River in French as '*le fleuve*', the river (Van Reybrouck, 2013, p. 22).

there differences in the representation of people, places and time because of translation? What metamessages can be discerned?

4.2.2. Some historical and current notes on the presidential and parliamentary elections in the DR Congo

The first free general (parliamentary and presidential) elections in the DR Congo, that is, since its independence in 1960, were held on July 30th, 2006. According to David Van Reybrouck, that day was an important day for the people of Congo. He had witnessed men and women standing in line to vote from before dawn. Men wore ties and polished shoes, women had braided their hair especially for that day. They were waiting in line with their orange voting cards in hand (Van Reybrouck 2013, p. 14).

On August 20th the results were in: the 500 available parliamentary seats were distributed among the somewhat 9600 candidates; however, none of the 33 presidential candidates had obtained an absolute majority during the election – a necessary prerequisite for one to be instated as president at the time. A presidential runoff was held on the 29th of October between the two candidates who had obtained the highest number of votes. In the second round Joseph Kabila, who had been in power since 2001, received 58.05% of the votes, Jean-Pierre Bemba 41.95%. On December 6th Joseph Kabila was sworn in as the first freely elected president of the DR Congo.

On November 28th, 2011 the second free general elections were held in the DR Congo. The 2011 parliamentary elections boasted a grand total of 18,835 candidates – almost double the number of 2006’s tally – for the unchanged number of 500 parliamentary seats. For the presidential elections there were 11 candidates – as opposed to 33 in 2006. The Belgian press agency Belga called the 2011 elections “historiques”, historical, because it was the first time that elected officials in the DR Congo put themselves up for re-election (BELGA 2011a). But the euphoria that had accompanied the 2006 elections had apparently turned into skepticism or into downright disillusionment for many Congolese. Democracy should have led to safety and peace for all Congolese people, but not much had changed in that respect. Rebel groups and members of the national army were still murdering and raping civilians, terrorizing the people (Bakiman 2011; Wema 2011).

Nonetheless, according to official figures, almost 19 million (18,911,572) people brought out their vote during the second general elections, a significantly higher number of voters than in 2006 when almost 18 million (17,931,238) people voted in the first round and another 16,256,601 in the second round. Different non-profit and human rights organizations retorted that these numbers were unrealistically high and that there had been irregularities during the elections. The Carter Center, for instance, Claimed “that multiple locations, notably several Katanga province constituencies, reported impossibly high rates of 99 to 100 percent voter turnout with all, or nearly all, votes going to incumbent President Joseph Kabila” (Felix 2011). That most of the irregularities occurred in Katanga should not be surprising. It is Joseph Kabila’s home region.

On December 8th, 2011 the official results were announced by the Céni, *la Commission électorale nationale indépendante* (the Independent National Electoral Commission). Officially, Kabila had won the elections with 48.95% (8.830.994) of votes in his favor. Runner-up was Etienne Tshisekedi with 32.33 % (5.864.775) of votes in his favor. Since Kabila did not win with an absolute majority during the first round of the elections, there should have been a runoff between the two on February 26th, 2012, the same date on which elections were held for members of the provincial parliaments, as announced by the Céni in August 2010. However, this runoff never happened, because in January 2011 Kabila and his majority had passed an election law that annulled the necessity of an absolute majority in the presidential elections. A law which, as it turned out, would work in Kabila’s favor because of the opposition’s failure to gather behind one common candidate.

The main reason for this failure is attributed to the unwillingness of the DR Congo’s primary opposition leader Étienne Tshisekedi (UDPS) to make any sort of compromise with the other opposition leaders (BELGA 2011b) – notably with Vital Kamerhe (UNC) and Léon Kengo (UFC), who in the end received 7.74% (1,403,372) and 4.95% (898,362) of the votes, respectively. Tshisekedi strongly believed that the presidency of the republic was rightly his, that he was the only legitimate president of the DR Congo – something which he did not fail to emphasize when starting his election campaign on November 11th (BBC.CO.UK 2011a), and when the Céni announced the first partial results on December 2nd. On that day, Tshisekedi's party swiftly released a statement, claiming it had "already won with a comfortable, unquestionable and unassailable lead" (BELGA 2011c) – even though only 15% of the votes had been counted.

When the official results were released by the Céni on December 8th, 48 hours late, the "comfortable" lead of Tshisekedi's party had completely disappeared. Étienne Tshisekedi, the man who had founded the country's first opposition party in 1982 after his relations with dictator Mobutu Sese Seko had been ruptured, had not won the presidential elections. Not much later protest broke loose against Kabila's reelection, not only in the DR Congo itself, but also in the rest of the world with manifestations for instance in London, Paris and Brussels. There was even a short-lived takeover of the Congolese embassy in Bern.

On December 20th, 2011 Joseph Kabila was reinstituted as president. Three days later, Étienne Tshisekedi proclaimed himself president (INDEPENDENT.CO.UK 2011) and had his own presidential inauguration at home after having been denied access to the Martyrs Stadium in Kinshasa where the ceremony was to take place (BBC.CO.UK 2011c). On January 26th 2012 he and his supporters "tried to march to the president's office so he could take up his "active functions"", but they were halted and Étienne Tshisekedi was put under house arrest (BBC.CO.UK 2012). After said incident manifestations organized by Tshisekedi's UDPS were outlawed in the DR Congo (RTBF.BE 2013). In August 2014 he was flown to Belgium for treatment because of health issues, where he resided up until his return to the DR Congo on July 27th, 2016. His return to the country that year was seen as "the beginning of the departure of Kabila", according to Martin Fayulu, president of the *Engagement pour la Citoyenneté et le Développement* (*ECiDé*), an opposition party which had also taken part in the 2011 elections (REUTERS.com 2016). Tshisekedi passed away in Brussels on February 1st 2017, after having been flown out of the DR Congo on January 24th, where Kabila was still officially president (HLN.be 2017).

In February 2015 the Céni had announced that the next general elections in the DR Congo would be held on November 27th 2016 though. A month before that date, on October 25th, local elections would be held. However, as Jean-Pierre Kalamba of the Céni reported, there were still some "constraints" at the time that needed to be resolved before both the local and general elections could take place. One of these “constraints” related to the decentralization of the country as described in article 2 of the constitution.

> La République Démocratique du Congo est composée de la ville de Kinshasa et de 25 provinces dotées de la personnalité juridique.
>
> Ces provinces sont : Bas-Uele, Équateur, Haut-Lomami, Haut-Katanga, Haut-Uele, Ituri, Kasai, Kasai Oriental, Kongo central, Kwango, Kwilu, Lomami, Lualaba, Lulua, Mai-Ndombe, Maniema, Mongala, Nord-Kivu, Nord-Ubangi, Sankuru, Sud-Kivu, Sud-Ubangi, Tanganyika, Tshopo, Tshuapa.
>
> Kinshasa est la capitale du pays et le siège des institutions nationales. Elle a le statut de Province. La capitale ne peut être transférée dans un autre lieu du pays que par voie de référendum.
>
> La répartition des compétences entre l’État et les provinces s’effectue conformément aux dispositions du Titre III de la présente Constitution.
>
> Les limites des provinces et celles de la ville de Kinshasa sont fixées par une loi organique.

The constitution states that the DR Congo has 26 provinces (including Kinshasa), but when the Céni announced the elction dates there were still only 11. In May 2013, four years after the original deadline for the decentralization, the Congolese government released a document (République Démocratique du Congo 2013, *La Décentralisation en bref*) in which they explained their plans to turn the eleven provinces the country has into 26 provinces. The new deadline for this to happen was, of course, the date of the local elections of 2016 during which, among other things, the governors of these provinces would be elected. If the decentralization was not finalized by that date, the local elections would have to be postponed, and if the local elections were postponed, the general elections would have to be postponed as well, because the constitution dictates that local elections have to happen before the general elections can be held.

In July 2015 the decentralization was completed, and in March 2016 interim governors were elected by the ruling provincial assemblies. These interim governors would hold their positions until permanent governors could be voted in after the local elections of

October 25th 2016, when the new provinces would get their own provincial assemblies (Radio Okapi 2016a). However, early October 2016 the Céni announced that both local and general elections would be postponed to the end of 2018 because they could not be organized in a timely fashion. The announcement was not well received by part of the populace, as protest broke out in several regions, nor was it well received by the United Nations (Radio Okapi 2016b). Furthermore, an arrest from May 2016 had already ensured that the president's mandate could be extended as long no elections took place, and that he would lead a transitional government until elections could be organized to ensure political stability. Of course, this did not sit well with the opposition parties. A compromise was signed in the final minutes of 2016, though, which declared that elections would have to be organized by the end of 2017 and that while president Kabila could remain in office until that date, the prime minister would have to be an opposition politician (BBC.COM 2017).

If Kabila does step down from power by the end of 2017, the third free general elections in the DR Congo, will be even more historic than the previous two, because it "would be the country's first ever peaceful transition of power" (REUTERS.COM 2015a).

4.2.3. Some historical and current notes on the DR Congo's constitution and its altered election laws

In December 2005 the Congolese people approved a new constitution by referendum. It was composed to safeguard the DR Congo's newfound democracy, and holds that the DR Congo is neither a presidential country, nor a parliamentary country, but something in between. While the president has the power to appoint the prime minister, parliament has the right to take judicial steps against the prime minister and even the president in the case of treason (Van Reybrouck 2013, p. 531). Parliament consists of two chambers, the National Assembly (*Assemblée Nationale*) – its members are elected directly during the general elections – and the Senate (*Sénat*) – its members being elected by the provincial assemblies.

The Senate was first elected by the provincial assemblies in January 2007. Jean-Pierre Bemba, second during the presidential election, was one of the elected senators. He would not remain in office very long, because in 2008 he was arrested in Brussels on account of crimes against humanity and crimes of war committed by his militia in 2002 and 2003 in Central Africa. His trial before the International Court of Justice at The Hague started in November 2010. On March 21nd 2016 he was convicted for his crimes (Radio Okapi 2016c).

In January 2011, months before the second free general elections in the DR Congo, eight constitutional articles were altered. The annulation of one of those articles was already briefly discussed in the previous section, namely article 71, which stated that there should be two rounds when no candidate obtained an absolute majority during the first round of the presidential elections. The updated constitution provides that one election round is enough and that no absolute majority is needed (HLN.BE 2011). According to the government this change was made to “avoid an explosive confrontation” (BBC.CO.UK 2011b) and to reduce the costs of the elections (Gobbers 2011). According to the opposition it was “a dangerous step backward” and had “the sole aim of organising fraud on a grand scale and of allowing a single individual to confiscate all state powers” (BBC.CO.UK 2011b). It would in any case, as also discussed previously, favor president Kabila during the 2011 presidential elections when confronting a divided opposition.

The other constitutional articles altered at that time gave the president the right to dismiss provincial governors and to summon provincial parliaments (Gobbers 2011), a change which has been less reported upon by international media, but which has strengthened the president’s power (especially over the Senate) significantly.

The article which has garnered the most media attention since the constitution was incepted is probably article 220, which stipulates, among other things, that it is impossible to make any constitutional change to the number of terms a president can stay in office and to the duration of said terms.

> La forme républicaine de l’État, le principe du suffrage universel, la forme représentative du Gouvernement, le nombre et la durée des mandats du Président de la République, l’indépendance du Pouvoir judiciaire, le pluralisme politique et syndical, ne peuvent faire l’objet d’aucune révision constitutionnelle.

> Est formellement interdite toute révision constitutionnelle ayant pour objet ou pour effet de réduire les droits et libertés de la personne, ou de réduire les prérogatives des provinces et des entités territoriales décentralisées.

In 2009, however, Kabila installed a commission to research whether it was possible to extend the president's mandate from five to seven years and to scratch the maximum number of terms from the constitution so that he could be reelected indefinitely (Van Reybrouck 2013, p. 539). In June 2013, a year and a half after Joseph Kabila had been reelected for a second term as president of the DR Congo, Evariste Boshab, secretary-general of the presidential party, published the book entitled "*Entre la révision constitutionnelle et l'inanition de la nation*" (Between constitutional revision and emptiness of the nation). It is a political pamphlet which calls for further constitutional change. The publication of that book led organizations like *l'Association africaine des droits de l'homme* to express their fears for a constitutional revision with regard to article 220 (Kibangula, 2013). In October, Aubin Minaku, the chairman of the National Assembly and ally of Joseph Kabila, however, reassured that it was impossible to alter article 220 (Radio Okapi 2013). In May 2014 and already twice in 2015 the United States have called for Kabila to step down from power after his second term ends in 2016 (HLN.BE 2014, 2015a; REUTERS.COM 2015b). He did not. As stated before, his mandate was extended to the end of 2017.

Whether Kabila will effectively leave the office by the end of 2017 without much ado remains to be seen. Because, sadly, there are enough (historical and current) indications to the contrary. To begin with, while Aubin Minaku may have stated that it is impossible to change article 220 in October 2013, Richard Muyej, the minister of Internal Affairs, Security, Decentralization and Customary Affairs under Joseph Kabila, stated something quite different in July 2014. When addressing concerns about the new election law the government was preparing, Muyej explained to Radio Okapi (2014) that the new law would have no effect on article 220 and reaffirmed that Parliament does not have the power to change said article. He did, however, add that while Parliament itself does not hold the power to change article 220, the Congolese people *do* have that power:

> Comme le peuple souverain s'est exprimé par voie référendaire en décembre 2005 par un oui massif pour la constitution actuelle, il reste le seul à pouvoir modifier les

> dispositions interdites au Parlement par la même voie du référendum constitutionnel.

For now, the Congolese government has not announced any plans with regards to organizing a referendum to change article 220 of the constitution, which according to Vital Kamerhe, chairman of opposition party UNC (Union pour la Nation congolaise), is only because the international community is dead set against such a change (Kibangula 2015; HLN.BE 2015b; REUTERS.COM 2014).

Also according to Kamerhe, Kabila and his government were applying different strategies to stay in power after 2016. The May 2015 arrest, which allows the president to stay in office as long as elections are not held, and the actual postponement of the 2016 elections, have already ensured Kabila another year in office. Prior to that, in January 2015, the government had already tried to pass an election law, accompanying the decentralization law. The law stated, among other things, that prior to the local and general elections a countrywide census would have to be organized, something which in a country as vast as the DR Congo could take several years. After heavy protest in Kinshasa, as well as abroad, however, the census clause was scratched from the new election law which was passed in February 2015 (HLN.BE 2015d). It remains to be seen, though, whether both local and general elections can be organized by the end of 2017. When the general elections were planned to be held about a month after the local elections in 2016, the opposition already exclaimed it was an absurd situation, especially given the resources the Céni has for organizing elections, and because of the new electoral situation created by the decentralization (HLN.BE 2015c). Indeed, the Céni still needs to finish revising voter registers to account for the new situation created by the decentralization before it can actually start organizing the local elections (Gallo 2016), though in February 2017 it stated to be well on track (Radio Okapi 2017). And while the census clause was scratched from the February 2015 election law, it is not completely off the table either. In November 2015, government spokesperson, Andre-Alain Atundu Liongo,for instance said that, “the political class should have the courage to support the organization of a national census, if necessary. If this means a delay of six months, eight months or more, the political class needs to be prepared.” (BLOOMBERG.COM 2015)

4.2.4. Case study Corpus

During the seven days in our constructed week (as detailed in section **3.1.2.**), 40 articles concerning the general elections in the DR Congo were published by the news sites under study and 25 by the newspapers linked to these news sites.

Thirteen articles appeared on *www.demorgen.be*, twelve on *www.hln.be*, eight on *www.nieuwsblad.be* and seven on *www.standaard.be*. The first two news sites are maintained by *De Persgroep NV*, the latter two by Corelio *NV* – which now is part of the larger corporate group *Het Mediahuis*. While all four newspaper editorial rooms have their own offices, this is not the case for the news sites. *De Persgroep NV*, for instance, has most of its online editorial staff working on one floor. First and foremost it is their job to create content for *www.hln.be*, the company's main online platform. That is why the twelve news reports that appeared on *www.hln.be* also appeared on *www.demorgen.be*. No differences whatsoever. Even the time of publication is identical. This does not mean that both news sites are completely identical. For one, while the content may often be the same, the two news sites look markedly different and feature different 'cover stories', i.e. the stories found on the main page of the news site. Also, not everything that appears on *www.hln.be* automatically appears on *www.demorgen.be*, and vice versa. Both news sites have exclusive content. Most of this content was originally intended for the newspaper to which the respective news site is linked, but it also occurs that online specific content which is featured on one news site is not featured on the other. The one article which appeared on *www.demorgen.be* but which did not feature on *www.hln.be* is an example of the first situation. It was written by Koen Vidal who is responsible at *De Morgen* for writing articles about African affairs. The seven news reports featured on *www.standaard.be* also featured on *www.nieuwsblad.be*. The one report which appeared on *www.nieuwsblad.be* that did not appear on *www.standaard.be* is an example of the second situation, in that it is an article specifically created for the online platform.

Nine articles appeared in *De Morgen*, eight in *De Standaard*, five in *Het Nieuwsblad* and three in *Het Laatste Nieuws*. The difference in articles published on this topic can easily be explained by the differences between the newspapers themselves, as sketched in section **4.1.1.**. The newspapers *De Morgen* and *De Standaard* are known to bring more news about foreign politics than the other two. Furthermore, both *De Morgen* and *De Standaard* have one journalist working for them who focuses on African affairs specifically. For *De Morgen* Koen Vidal was responsible for five of their nine articles about the general elections in the DRC. For *De Standaard* Ine Roox was responsible for three of their eight articles.

Interestingly, while both newspaper and news site carrying the *De Morgen* brand feature the most articles on the general elections in the DR Congo, there are, for instance, very few articles on the elections in the DR Congo to be found in the newspaper *Het Laatste Nieuws* compared to the number of articles found on the news site carrying its brand name. This has to do with the different scopes of the two media. News site *www.hln.be* boasts that it posts more than 350 news updates per day, which means that editors working for the news site do not have to select as much as their newspaper colleagues have to. Indeed, regional news, sports news and domestic news stories are favored over foreign news at the newspaper. The reason why there are relatively few news reports about the general elections in the DRC on *www.standaard.be* compared to the number of articles published in the newspaper, has to do with the limited scope of the freely accessible part of the news site and its limited resources for online specific content.

Of the 40 articles found on the news sites, 33 refer to at least one source in their byline. Because of the overlap in articles posted on news sites maintained by the same company, we are left with 17 unique articles that refer to at least one source: twelve articles posted on *www.demorgen.be* and *www.hln.be*, four on *www.nieuwsblad.be* and *www.standaard.be*, and one exclusively posted on *www.nieuwsblad.be*. Unlike news sites, Belgian newspapers generally refer far less often to sources in their byline. This, of course, has to do with the fact that many newspaper articles cannot be regarded (in their entirety) as translations, i.e. they are not the recontextualizations of prior texts, but the sum of different (multimodal or multimedial) (re)sources. To a lesser extent, it also has to do with keeping up appearances, i.e. some articles are, in fact, translations, but are presented in such a way that they appear to be original coverage. Of the 25 articles found in the newspapers only one article found in *Het Nieuwsblad* 'obscurely' (see *infra*) referred to a source in its byline. One further article, found in *Het Laatste Nieuws*, can be regarded as a translation from a wire report, although it does not refer to said wire report in any explicit way whatsoever.

In 13 out of 17 online news reports, Belgian press agency *Belga* was referred to as a first source. In 12 of these news reports it was referred to as the only source; only in one of them the French press agency *Agence France-Presse* (*AFP*) was referred to as a second source. *Belga* was referred to as a second source in two cases. In both of these cases *AFP* was referred to as a first source. *AFP* was also indicated as a first source in two more instances; in one of them it is the only source referred to, in one instance the American agency *Associated Press* (*AP*) was referred to as a second source. *Belga* was also the source for the two newspaper articles which can be considered translations. The article published in *Het Nieuwsblad* refers to *Belga* as "(blg)". The reason why I described this particular reference as 'obscure' in the previous paragraph is because the newspaper refers to its own reporters in a similar fashion, e.g. "(jdl)", "(jvr)", "(emv)". Because no distinction is made between internal and external attribution, it becomes harder to distinguish translations from non-translations. As also said in the previous paragraph, the article published in *Het Laatste Nieuws* does not refer to any source, though it is very clear the reporter in question translated his text from a *Belga* report.

While the overdependence of news sites on *Belga*'s wire service for their own reporting might seem striking, these results are not out of the ordinary. Overall results, discussed in section **4.1.2.**, show that of the 3,291 news site reports published (on the same four news sites in the same seven day sample) referring to a minimum of one source, 2,298 articles refer to *Belga* as their first source, 50 as their second source, six as their third source and two as their fourth source. *Belga*, as Belgium's main national agency, does provide in international news, but its core business lies in providing Belgian news in Dutch and French. It has a vast network of correspondents throughout the country and a main desk in Brussels. What it does not have are foreign correspondents in the DR Congo. In fact, *Belga*'s own coverage of the 2011 elections in the DR Congo largely stems from that of the *AFP*. At its main desk *AFP* coverage is translated for a French speaking Belgian audience and (subsequently) for a Dutch speaking Belgian audience.

So before a news report on a news site was published, indicating only *Belga* as a source, first it had gone through several more stages. As an example let us start with the following news report: *VN bezorgd over verloop verkiezingen in Congo* (UN concerned about progress elections in Congo). This report was published on *www.hln.be* and *www.demorgen.be* on December 3rd at 04:06 AM and refers to *Belga* as its one and only source. The Dutch *Belga* report it refers to was published on December 3rd as well and is entitled: *VN ongerust over logistieke moeilijkheden bij Congolese verkiezingen* (UN worried about logistical difficulties in Congolese elections). The Dutch *Belga* report, however, indicates the French agency *AFP* as its source and is itself a translation of the translation made by the French desk at *Belga*'s main office. The French *Belga* report was published before the Dutch report (no exact time known) on the 3rd of December. It is entitled: *RDC/élections: le Conseil de sécurité "inquiet" des difficultés logistiques* (DRC/elections: the Security Council "worried" about logistical difficulties). The French *AFP* report does not refer to any external source and is considered to be the initial report. It has the same title as the French *Belga* report – in fact the French *Belga* report in this case is an exact copy of the *AFP* report – but was published the day before, on December 2nd at 11:12 PM.

Although there are other relationships between source and target texts to be found in the corpus (for example: a Dutch *Belga* report and an update from the French wire being used together to create an update of the original Dutch wire report), the above example can be seen as indicative of relationships in the corpus. All chains leading up to the 17 online news reports and the two newspaper reports were uncovered. 39 individual news wire reports were found. Only in few cases was it impossible to trace a source text. In one instance, for example, a Dutch *Belga* report indicates *Agence Télégraphique Suiss* (*ATS*) and *Deutsche Presse Agentur* (*DPA*), respectively the main Swiss and German press agencies, as its sources. These texts are not part of the corpus because of lack of access to them. The following table gives an overview of the studied news wire reports and the languages in which they are written:

	Belga	AFP	AP	*Total*
Dutch	15	n.a.	n.a.	***15***
French	12	10	n.a.	***22***
English	n.a.	1	1	***2***
Total	***27***	***11***	***1***	***39***

Table 28. News wire reports in the corpus and the languages in which they are written

In total 58 texts became part of the corpus for this particular case study: 39 wire reports, 17 online news reports and 2 newspaper reports. The interchange between these texts provided 43 translation sets to work with: 16 interlingual (i.e. French to Dutch, English to Dutch and one instance of Dutch to French) and 27 intralingual translations (i.e. French to French and Dutch to Dutch).

Overall news report size varies depending on language and source. The following table gives an overview of mean news report size per medium and language:

Medium (Language)	Language	N	Mean (SD)
demorgen.be	Dutch	12	167.50 (054.54)
hln.be	Dutch	12	167.50 (054.54)
nieuwsblad.be	Dutch	5	144.17 (042.13)
standaard.be	Dutch	4	144.60 (046.14)
Het Nieuwsblad	Dutch	1	072.00 (000.00)
Het Laatste Nieuws	Dutch	1	107.00 (000.00)
Belga	Dutch	15	149.93 (062.60)
Belga	French	12	342.17 (151.08)
AFP	French	10	314.50 (144.16)
AP	English	1	129.00 (000.00)
AFP	English	1	294.00 (000.00)

Table 29. Mean news report size per medium and language

Although standard deviations in general are rather high, differences between languages and media are apparent: Dutch news reports for the wire and for news sites count about 150 words, with the two newspaper reports counting even fewer words. The number of words in the one English *AP* report is similar to the number of words in the Dutch reports. The other non-Dutch wire reports (in English and French) have a mean count of at least 294 words. The difference in word count is most striking for Dutch and French news reports released by news agency *Belga*. Even more so because the case study corpus exclusively contains French *Belga* reports that were internally translated by *Belga* into Dutch – or vice versa on one occasion – already indicating that a lot of information was omitted when translating to Dutch.

4.2.5. Quantitative results and analysis

4.2.5.1. General results

2,560 individual formal changes were tagged with RE-action markers (see section **3.2.** for RE-action definitions) across a corpus of 43 translation sets. Of these 2,560 changes 1,750 were also tagged with a functional pragmarker (see section **3.3.** for pragmarker definitions). When no pragmarker was applicable, the ‘n/a’ marker was used, i.e. non-applicable. An overview of how many times the different markers were used can be found in table 30:

REDUCTION	**1611**	**REINFORCEMENT**	**509**	**REPLACEMENT**	**344**	**REARRANGEMENT**	**96**
Audience adaptation	**1**	**Addition**	**413**	**Audience adaptation**	**6**	**Compensation**	**25**
time deixis	1	agency	5	lexical choice	1	direct reported speech	2
Concentration	**10**	anaphor	27	time deixis	5	intertextuality	2
agency	1	booster	7	**Borrowing**	**7**	social actor	3
indirect reported speech	1	cataphor	4	social actor	6	spatial reference	2
lexical choice	2	conjunction	45	voicing	1	temporal reference	2
spatial reference	1	direct reported speech	16	**Editorial correction**	**11**	time deixis	3
temporal reference	3	discourse deixis	1	social actor	3	voicing	3
n/a	2	hedge	12	spatial reference	1	n/a	8
Editorial correction	**5**	indirect reported speech	10	n/a	7	**Interchange**	**27**
social actor	1	intertextuality	13	**Mistake**	**12**	agency	2
n/a	4	lexical choice	4	anaphor	1	conjunction	1
Implicitation	**63**	person deixis	6	social actor	2	intertextuality	3
anaphor	2	social actor	61	spatial reference	1	social actor	7
intertextuality	4	social deixis	2	temporal reference	1	spatial reference	3
lexical choice	5	spatial reference	18	time deixis	2	time deixis	1
social actor	22	temporal reference	11	n/a	5	voicing	3
social deixis	1	time deixis	16	**Modulation**	**147**	n/a	7
spatial reference	13	voicing	5	agency	32	**Recasting**	**44**
temporal reference	4	n/a	150	anaphor	3	agency	7
time deixis	4	**Amplification**	8	conjunction	8	hedge	1
voicing	4	agency	2	direct reported speech	1	intertextuality	3
n/a	4	anaphor	1	discourse deixis	1	social actor	7
Mistake	**1**	conjunction	1	hedge	9	spatial reference	3
direct reported speech	1	indirect reported speech	1	indirect reported speech	6	temporal reference	1
Omission	**1531**	lexical choice	1	intertextuality	2	time deixis	3
agency	7	time deixis	1	lexical choice	43	voicing	4
anaphor	84	n/a	1	social actor	14	n/a	15
cataphor	4	**Audience adaptation**	**13**	social deixis	1		
conjunction	182	anaphor	1	spatial reference	3		
direct reported speech	46	conjunction	1	temporal reference	6		
discourse deixis	4	lexical choice	1	time deixis	7		

hedge	9	social actor	3	voicing	3
indirect reported speech	24	spatial reference	1	n/a	8
intertextuality	39	temporal reference	1	**Transposition**	**161**
lexical choice	10	time deixis	1	agency	19
person deixis	17	n/a	4	anaphor	1
social actor	265	**Editorial correction**	**1**	conjunction	18
social deixis	6	social actor	1	direct reported speech	5
spatial reference	87	**Explicitation**	**70**	discourse deixis	1
temporal reference	84	anaphor	3	hedge	7
time deixis	83	conjunction	3	indirect reported speech	11
voicing	48	lexical choice	5	intertextuality	2
n/a	532	person deixis	1	lexical choice	17
		social actor	24	social actor	11
		spatial reference	8	social deixis	1
		temporal reference	3	spatial reference	7
		time deixis	1	temporal reference	7
		voicing	3	time deixis	11
		n/a	19	n/a	43
		Mistake	4		
		social actor	3		
		n/a	1		

Table 30. Overview of all tagged changes in the corpus

RE-actions

The RE-actions most undertaken when translating news reports on the DR Congo's 2011 elections (1,611). And while a considerable number of reinforcements (509) and replacements (344) were found in the corpus, rearrangements (96) were less common. That rearrangements are less common is only partly due to the fact that the translation unit for compensations and recasting is generally not the phrase, but a larger unit, e.g. the sentence or even the text.

Most common are omissions (1,531). Omission is a particular type of reduction. It is also the most common type of reduction. Second is addition (413), which is a particular type of reinforcement. Additions also are the most common type of reinforcement. Third and fourth are transpositions (161) and modulations (147), which are the most common types of replacement. Recasting (44) is the most common type of rearrangement, but the gap between this type and other types within the category of rearrangement is less pronounced than is the case for the differences in the other categories. There are 27 instances of interchange and 25 of compensation.

These general quantitative results already show that one of the most common changes Belgian journalists made while translating press agency copy about the DR Congo's 2011 elections, was to omit information from a source text in their own reporting, i.e. to choose what part of a text to translate and what part not to translate. The results also tell us that it was not uncommon for journalists to add information that was not in the main source text to their own reporting. This can only be partially explained by the use of multiple source texts. That rearrangements – and especially compensations – are less common is another interesting result, especially since Bielsa and Bassnett have indicated that changing the order of paragraphs is common practice in news translation (2009, p. 64). What we find here, is therefore more in line with the results of Franck (2012), in which it was said that 'the news reports [translated by students] follow the same basic structure as the press releases [they are based upon], though they often compress multiple topics that are spread over different paragraphs in the press release to a single paragraph in the news report. Also, a considerable number of rearrangements can be attributed to differences in information structure and fronting between French, English and Dutch in general.

Pragmarkers

Social actor: Coesemans argues that '[a]n important kind of representation in news discourse is the representation of social actors, as people are a vital ingredient of news' (2012, p. 221). The 'social actor' pragmarker was used to mark every instance in which a change was made regarding a social actor (e.g. a person: Joseph Kabila, Étienne Tshisekedi; an institute: the Céni, the Carter Center; a country or city when it is the subject or object of a clause rather than part of a prepositional phrase). Many changes regarding social actors can be found in the reduction category, especially implicitations (22 out of 63) (e.g. 'L'UDPS' ('the UDPS') being translated as 'de partij' ('the party')) and omissions (265 out of 1,531), but also in the reinforcement category, especially explicitations (24 out of 70) (e.g. 'du parti' ('of the party') being translated as 'van de UDPS' ('of the UDPS')) and additions (61 out of 413). Some of these implicitations or explicitations have to do with a proper name turning into a pronoun used as an anaphor or vice versa (e.g. 'Tschisekedi' being translated as 'Die laatste' ('The latter')), but this practice is far less common than what can be expected according to accessibility theory (Ariel 2001, p. 34).

Changes regarding social actors are less common in the replacement and rearrangement categories, which is not at all surprising. It is easier to leave out a social actor than to replace said actor by another. It is also interesting to see that every act of borrowing but one in the case study corpus can be brought back to using the French name of an organization (e.g. 'Céni') or political party (e.g. 'UDPS') instead of a Dutch alternative. The one other act of borrowing is related to the difference in romanization practices when it comes to Russian names (e.g. 'Tchourkine' or 'Tsjoerkin'). Changes regarding the rearrangement of social actors are mostly interchanges or acts of recasting, which both in their own right mostly happen between two different languages. An example from the corpus: 'le secrétaire géneral du parti, Jacquemain Shabani' ('the secretary general of the party, Jacquemain Shabani') was translated into Dutch as 'Jacquemain Shabani, de secretaris-generaal van de UDPS' ('Jacquemain Shabani, the secretary general of the UDPS'). As described in the above paragraph, the lower phrase pair 'of the party' and 'of the UDPS' was tagged individually as an explicitation as well.

There are 17 editorial corrections to be found across the reduction, reinforcement and replacement categories. Interestingly, when a pragmarker could be applied, this pragmarker was in all but one case the 'social actor' pragmarker (5 out of 17). In one instance a social actor was mistakenly doubled in the ST ('l'arméé congolaise <u>de l'armée congolaise</u>'), and in two cases there was a typographical error in the ST ('11<u>O</u>', 'La Communauté de développement d<u>?</u>Afrique'). In the three other cases a factual error concerning the number of arrestees during a demonstration was corrected (e.g. 'Dix' was translated as 'Een tiental' ('About ten')).

Voicing: here the 'voicing' pragmarker is used to mark changes with regards to those social actors who, quite literally, are voiced directly or indirectly. Not surprisingly there are fewer changes to be found with regards to voicing than with regard to social actors in general – 74 out of 2,560 changes were tagged as such. Most of these changes were omissions (48). Very few were additions (5). Only one added voice seems to stem from a source other than one of the STs used for translation (‘De mensenrechtencommissaris van de Verenigde Naties’ (‘the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights’)). Interestingly, there are quite a few rearrangements that relate to voicing (10 out of 96 rearrangements), indicating that while quotes themselves are often translated directly in subsequent translations, their location and even more so, the location of their utterers, is dealt with in a more liberal way.

Agency: while the social actor and voicing pragmarkers were used to label specific omissions and addition, the agency pragmarker was mostly used for labeling specific types of replacement (51 out of 75 changes), of which 32 are considered acts of modulation (e.g. ‘organiser’ (‘to organize’) being translated as ‘plaatsvinden’ (‘to take place’)) and 19 acts of transposition (‘trouvez’ (‘find’) being translated as ‘te vinden’ (‘to find’)). It also occurred that a change was both a modulation *and* a transposition (e.g. ‘gearresteerd’ (‘were arrested’) being translated as ‘pakt op’ (‘picks up’)). In such cases both the modulation and transposition were tagged with the agency pragmarker. Also, as can be seen in the examples, changes with regard to agency were mostly tagged on the level of the verb phrase.

In some cases the change occurred on the sentential level. When a sentence was recast (a form of rearrangement), the topic of the sentence generally changed as well, influencing the agency attributed to specific social actors. Take a look at the following example of a sentence in a French *Belga* report being translated into two sentences in a Dutch *Belga* report:

> *Les Congolais doivent élire un chef de l'Etat parmi onze candidats, dont le président sortant Joseph Kabila, candidat à sa succession et dix opposants, ainsi que 500 députés parmi 18.835 prétendants lors de scrutins à un seul tour.*
>
> *Elf kandidaten, onder wie Kabila, doen een gooi naar het presidentschap. Bijna 20.000 kandidaten ambiëren een van de 500 zitjes in het nationale parlement.*

In this example, part of the direct object from the French sentence (‘onze candidats, dont le président sortant Joseph Kabila’ (‘eleven candidates, among whom incumbent president Joseph Kabila’)) becomes the subject of the first Dutch sentence (‘Elf kandidaten, onder wie Kabila’ (‘Eleven candidates, among whom Kabila’)). The original subject ‘Les Congolais’ (‘The

Congolese') was omitted in the Dutch translation. Because of this the entire original sentence was recast, and the agency first attributed to the Congolese people befell upon incumbent president Joseph Kabila and, to a lesser extent, the enumeration of other candidates.

Direct and indirect reported speech: most instances of change regarding direct and indirect speech are omissions (i.e. direct reported speech (46) and indirect reported speech (24)). Because of the pragmarkers' interrelatedness to the 'voicing' pragmarker, with voicing referring to changes with regards to the utterer of direct or indirect reported speech, this is within the line of expectations. Looking beyond the numbers, however, the fact that some changes indicate that quotes are sometimes handled more liberally than one would expect – because quotes are generally defined as *exact* representations (or translations) of previous utterances –, was a more striking result. An example: while in one ST an utterance (about the veracity of the first election results) was indirectly reported and attributed to Étienne Tshisekedi by use of the action verb 'a contesté' ('has contested'), the action verb was translated as an instance of direct reported speech in the TT, i.e. 'zei "te betwisten" ('said "to contest"), though Tshisekdi had never explicitly worded his contention as such.

Another interesting finding was that there were also quite a few transpositions to be found (i.e. direct reported speech (5) and indirect reported speech (11)). This was mostly due to action verbs expressing the act of utterance being translated from French or English (e.g. 'a précisé' ('has clarified'), 'a rappelé' ('has reminded'), 'said') into Dutch as adverbs or prepositions which also express the practice of uttering ('aldus' ('thus'), 'volgens' ('according to')). This finding is in line with the differing practices in different languages with regard to source attribution. In French news reporting it is common practice to use several different action verbs in one text for expressing how an utterance is linked to its utterer. This is not the case in English and Dutch news reporting, in which using more neutral ways of expression are more common (see: Agence France-Presse 2010; Associated Press 2011; Asbreuk and de Moor 2007). The use of prepositional phrases, in this respect, is far more common practice in Dutch news reporting than it is in English.

Intertextuality: while direct reported speech and indirect reported speech are specific types of intertextuality, the 'intertextuality' pragmarker was used specifically for the *other* RE-actions that deal with explicit references to previous discourse. There are 68 RE-actions which were tagged with the intertextuality pragmarker. Of those 68 RE-actions, 39 are omissions and 13 are additions. Almost all changes that were tagged with the intertextuality pragmarker can be classified in two categories: (i) additions or omissions of source references (mostly to press agencies); (ii) additions or omissions of references that indicate that an article is part of a set of articles on a specific topic, mostly appearing in (or disappearing from) the title of an article, e.g. 'RDC' ('DRC') or 'Verkiezingen Congo' ('Elections Congo').

Lexical choice: as Coesemans (2012, p. 215) indicates '[a] lot of words in journalistic writing are uncounsciously chosen, while some words are carefully reflected on, but word choice often has an ideological aspect.' It represents changes in point of view, e.g. strengthening or softening a phrase by adding or omitting an adjective ('divisée' / 'danig verdeeld'; 'divided' / 'severely divided') or by explicitizing or implicitizing a prepositional phrase ('qui a ouvert une enquête' / 'dat een onderzoek opende <u>naar de moord</u>'; 'which has opened an investigation'; 'that opened an investigation <u>into the murder</u>). Lexical choice in the corpus is, however, most common as an instance of replacement and especially in the form of modulation (43 out of 148 modulations). This is not surprising, since we have defined modulations as those instances in which 'a translation unit is reformulated from a different point of view'. Two examples from the corpus: (i) 'la Constitution' ('the constitution') in French being replaced by 'de kieswet' ('electoral law') in Dutch. (ii) 'ongerust' ('anxious') being replaced by 'bezorgd' ('concerned').

Temporal reference and time deixis: temporal references (84) and expressions of time deixis (83) were often omitted. A clear case in point is 'donderdag' ('Thursday') being omitted from a Dutch *Belga* report in the sentence, 'Dat heeft ontslagnemend minister van Buitenlandse Zaken Steven Vanackere <u>donderdag</u> in de Kamer gezegd', when it was translated by news sites *www.hln.be* and *www.demorgen.be*. There are instances of addition to be found in the corpus, but they are far from abundant (11 temporal references and 16 expressions of time deixis). All in all there are fewer instances of time deictic changes within the reinforcement category (19) than there are within the replacement category (25). A clear example of a replacement (and of an audience adaption) is 'zaterdag' (Saturday) being replaced by 'gisteren' ('yesterday'). On the other hand, there are slightly more temporal reference changes within the reinforcement category (15) than there are within the replacement category (14). Five of 25 compensations in the case study corpus are rearrangements of temporal references (2) and expressions of time deixis (3), e.g. the temporal reference 'Ces deuxièmes élections après celle de 2006' ('These second elections after those of 2006') found in the second sentence of the first paragraph of a French ST not appearing in that same location of a Dutch TT, but in the first sentence of its fifth paragraph as 'de tweede verkiezingen na 2006' ('the second elections after 2006').

Spatial reference and space deixis: while changes involving expressions of time deixis are common – 139 in the entire case study corpus – there are no changes involving expressions of space deixis in the entire case study corpus to be found, indicating that while temporal coordinates anchored to the place of utterance play a pivotal role in how coverage about the general elections in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is presented, spatial coordinates are not treated in the same manner. There are a decent number of changes to other spatial references to be discerned (148), most of which are once again omissions (87). There are few additions (18), and even fewer modulations (3), transpositions (7) and compensations (2).

Discourse deixis: changes with regard to discourse deixis are uncommon. Only seven were found in the entire case study corpus. Six of these changes involved the practice of using 'Dat' ('That') in Dutch news reports to introduce a sentence which states that the previous statement was made by another source. Example: 'Dat schrijft Het Laatste Nieuws'. Although such a construction can be regarded as "impure discourse deixis" (Lyons 1977, p. 670; Levinson 1983, p. 87), i.e. not quite discourse deictic, not quite anaphoric, RE-actions to such constructions were always labeled as instances of discourse deixis, and not as anaphors. The one other instance is the omission of an entire paragraph that started with the phrase 'Ces déclarations' ('These statements').

Person deixis and social deixis: changes with regard to markers of person deixis and social deixis generally appear in two very specific cases.

The general expectation for the use of person deictic references in news reporting would be a backgrounding of both the utterer or writer and the addressee, and a clear dominance of topic-related third-person references (mostly functioning as anaphors and cataphors). The only time changes with regard to person deictic references did occur is when they were part of quotes, i.e. when the deictic center shifted from the writer to a previous speech situation. Person deictic references were mostly omitted from (17) or added to (6) a quote. Interestingly most of these changes applied to the personal pronoun 'nous' in French or 'we' in Dutch and English. Changes to the personal pronoun 'je' in French, 'ik' in Dutch and 'I' in English hardly occurred – also because most social actors who were voiced by way of direct reported speech were officials who spoke as the representative of a governmental body, and not in their own name.

Ten changes with regard to social deixis were discerned. Nine of these involved the addition to (2), omission from (6) or implicitation from (1) French news reports of the honorific title 'M.' ('Mr.') for men or 'Me' ('Mrs.') for women. The reductions all occurred in translations from French to Dutch. The two additions appeared in translations from French to French. The one other change with regard to social deixis can be found in the translation from the English 'people' to the Dutch 'mannen' ('men'), which could have been translated as 'personen'.

Anaphor and cataphor: changes concerning cataphors did not occur often (eight in the entire case study corpus), while changes vis-à-vis anaphors were more common (123). This difference is of course related to how often these types of reference occur in the corpus, and in discourse in general. Although I expected to see several explicit references (social actors, temporal and spatial references) replaced by pronouns functioning as anaphors or cataphors in subsequent translations because of economic reasons, this hardly occurred. Most changes are once again omissions (84 anaphors and 4 cataphors) and additions (27 anaphors and 4 cataphors). Hardly any modulations (3 anaphors and 0 cataphors) and transpositions (1 anaphor and 0 cataphors were found).

Interestingly the reason for this expectation getting debunked is economy as well. Because so much was often omitted from subsequent translations, the possibility of using anaphors and cataphors also diminished. The information in sentences or even paragraphs that were left out of subsequent reporting often contained less pivotal information, and often literally *followed* the main news. Because of this, references within these sentences and paragraphs, were often anaphoric themselves resulting in the fact that there are many more omissions of this type of references than there are replacements.

Conjunction: Conjunctions connect two words, phrases, clauses or sentences. Examples of conjunctions in English are 'and', 'or' (coordinating), 'either… or', 'just as… so' (correlative), 'though', 'while' and 'after' (subordinating). From a pragmatic perspective conjunction is seen as a marker of cohesion. Cohesion is what keeps a text together and provides it with meaning. Changes in conjunction can therefore help in the study of meaning transformation. In the case study corpus many conjunctions were omitted from (182) or added (45) to target texts. This falls within the general tendency to omit from or add to a target text. It is less common for a conjunction to be replaced by another (26, of which 18 are transpositions), which might seem a bit odd. This is because these 18 instances are all examples of conjunctions being replaced by punctuation marks or vice versa. This type of change often occurred when a longer sentence from a French news report was cut into two sentences for its Dutch counterpart.

Hedge and booster: while boosters are quite rare in the case study corpus (7), hedges are slightly more common (38). This is related to the guise of neutrality that journalists try to uphold when they do not (have the time and/or resources to) check several different sources, as discussed in 2.3.3.. When the truth is uncertain, journalists 'hedge' their discourse. When they are certain of the truth they sometimes 'boost' that truth. This practice is far less common when working from a single source. But truth can also find itself on a different plain than fact, as we also discussed in 2.3.3.. When a journalist translates an indirectly reported statement from the UDPS about Étienne Tschisekedi being 'le vainqueur' ('the winner') of the elections as 'de <u>echte</u> winnaar' ('the real winner'), while Tshisekdi did not *officially* win the elections, the journalist boosts what he regards to be a moral truth. In the case study corpus only examples of boosters being added to a TT were found.

Changes concerning hedges are mostly replacements (9 modulations and 7 transpositions), which means that lexical items were mostly replaced by other lexical items that express more doubt, e.g. the verb phrase 'verzekert […] gaan door' ('assures […] go ahead') from an excerpt of indirect reported speech attributed to Jacques Djoli, vice-president of the independent electoral committee, about the possibility of the elections not being held on the planned date, being replaced by a quote of his, '"voor 99,9 procent zeker"' ('"99.9 percent certain"').

4.2.5.2. Distinctive results

I chose to highlight four distinct cases in this section, i.e. some of the most common source and target text relationships in the corpus, spanning 36 of the 43 translation sets: (i) French *AFP* reports being translated into French *Belga* reports (6 translation sets, intralingual translation, same medium type); (ii) French *Belga* reports translated into Dutch *Belga* reports (11 translation sets, interlingual translation, same medium); (iii) Dutch *Belga* reports translated into Dutch online news reports (17 translation sets, intralingual translation, different medium); (iv) Dutch *Belga* reports translated into Dutch newspaper reports (2 translation sets, intralingual translation, different medium).

Translating French AFP reports into French Belga reports

Six out of 43 translation sets are instances of a French *AFP* report having been translated into a French *Belga* report. Table 31 gives an overview of the tagged formal and functional changes:

REDUCTION	**62**	**REINFORCEMENT**	**57**	**REPLACEMENT**	**12**	**REARRANGEMENT**	**1**
Concentration	**1**	**Addition**	**45**	**Audience adaptation**	**1**	**Recasting**	**1**
agency	1	anaphor	2	lexical choice	1	social actor	1
Editorial correction	**3**	conjunction	5	**Editorial correction**	**3**		
social actor	1	direct reported speech	1	social actor	2		
n/a	2	intertextuality	6	n/a	1		
Implicitation	**1**	social actor	4	**Modulation**	**5**		
spatial reference	1	social deixis	1	agency	3		
Mistake	**1**	spatial reference	7	lexical choice	1		
direct reported speech	1	time deixis	3	n/a	1		
Omission	**56**	n/a	16	**Transposition**	**3**		
anaphor	3	**Audience adaptation**	**7**	lexical choice	2		
conjunction	3	anaphor	1	n/a	1		
indirect reported speech	1	social actor	3				
social actor	15	time deixis	1				

spatial reference	6	n/a	2
temporal reference	3	**Explicitation**	**2**
time deixis	2	social actor	1
voicing	1	time deixis	1
n/a	22	**Mistake**	**3**
		social actor	3

Table 31. Overview of tagged changes for AFP (French) to Belga (French) translation pairs

A total of 132 changes were tagged across the six translation sets. 87 of these RE-actions were also tagged with a pragmarker. In comparison, 2,560 individual formal changes were tagged across the entire corpus of 43 translation sets. So although these six translation sets represent 13.95% of translation sets in the corpus, only 5.16% of the total number of tagged changes are represented here. Considering the fact that French *Belga* reports and French *AFP* reports have the highest mean number of words (342.17 and 314.50 respectively), and considering that most changes (110 out of 132) are limited to two of six translation pairs, it can be argued that changes in these translation sets are minimal and that word for word takeover was high.

Most changes fall within the reduction category (62), but there are almost as many reinforcements (57). There are few replacements (12) and rearrangements (1) are almost non-existent. Omissions (56) and additions (45) are the most common type of changes as was the case for the total corpus. Mostly entire paragraphs were omitted or added. The number of audience adaptations (8) (especially within the reinforcement category (7)) and editorial corrections (6) are relatively high in comparison to the entire case study corpus; there being only 21 audience adaptations (13 in the reinforcement category) and 17 editorial corrections in the entire case study corpus. All audience adaptations are Belgium-specific. An example of a reinforcement: '- dont un C-130 "Hercules" de l'armée belge' ('including a C-130 "Hercules" of the Belgian army) being added to the noun phrase 'plusieurs avions' ('several planes'). An example of a replacement: 'quatre fois la France' ('four times France') being replaced by '80 fois la Belgique' ('80 times Belgium'). An example of an editorial correction in the reduction category would be the omission of the unnecessary repeat in 'l'arméé congolaise~~ de l'armée congolaise~~' ('the Congolese army~~ of the Congolese army~~').

There are no examples of concentration (reduction), amplification (reinforcement) or borrowing (replacement) to be found within these six translation sets. This is because those types of changes are almost exclusive to translation between two different languages, as from French to Dutch or vice versa (see definitions in section **3.2.**). That there are no instances of compensation or interchange to be found is more telling. This indicates that the overall structure of the news reports was kept. Vis-à-vis pragmarkers, changes with regard to social actors are once again common (30 out of 87 RE-actions tagged with a pragmarker). Other pragmarkers only appear rarely within this part of the corpus. There are only a limited number of changes that relate to a shift of the deictic center (with most of these few changes being time deictic). Also there are very few changes with regard to lexical choice (4 instances), once again indicating that word for word takeover was high.

Translating French Belga reports into Dutch Belga reports

Eleven out of 43 translation sets are instances of French *Belga* reports having been translated into Dutch *Belga* reports. Table 32 gives an overview of the tagged formal and functional changes:

REDUCTION	**1095**	**REINFORCEMENT**	**188**	**REPLACEMENT**	**198**	**REARRANGEMENT**	**62**
Concentration	**7**	**Addition**	**143**	**Audience adaptation**	**1**	**Compensation**	**16**
lexical choice	2	agency	2	time deixis	1	direct reported speech	2
spatial reference	1	anaphor	10	**Borrowing**	**6**	intertextuality	2
temporal reference	3	booster	7	social actor	5	social actor	2
n/a	1	cataphor	2	voicing	1	spatial reference	2
Editorial correction	**1**	conjunction	17	**Editorial correction**	**2**	temporal reference	1
n/a	1	direct reported speech	2	social actor	1	time deixis	1
Implicitation	**39**	hedge	8	n/a	1	voicing	1
anaphor	2	indirect reported speech	5	**Mistake**	**7**	n/a	5
intertextuality	1	intertextuality	3	anaphor	1	**Interchange**	**17**
lexical choice	4	lexical choice	1	social actor	1	agency	1
social actor	15	person deixis	1	temporal reference	1	conjunction	1
social deixis	1	social actor	20	time deixis	1	intertextuality	1
spatial reference	7	spatial reference	3	n/a	3	social actor	3
temporal reference	3	temporal reference	5	**Modulation**	**86**	spatial reference	3
time deixis	1	time deixis	5	agency	18	time deixis	1
voicing	2	voicing	2	anaphor	2	voicing	2
n/a	3	n/a	50	conjunction	5	n/a	5
Omission	**1048**	**Amplification**	**3**	direct reported speech	1	**Recasting**	**29**

agency	4
anaphor	59
cataphor	3
conjunction	116
direct reported speech	34
discourse deixis	1
hedge	5
indirect reported speech	15
intertextuality	11
lexical choice	6
person deixis	10
social actor	203
social deixis	6
spatial reference	48
temporal reference	70
time deixis	49
voicing	24
n/a	384
anaphor	1
conjunction	1
time deixis	1
Editorial correction	**1**
social actor	1
Explicitation	**41**
anaphor	3
conjunction	1
lexical choice	4
person deixis	1
social actor	15
spatial reference	3
voicing	2
n/a	12
hedge	5
indirect reported speech	1
intertextuality	2
lexical choice	27
social actor	8
spatial reference	2
temporal reference	3
time deixis	4
voicing	2
n/a	6
Transposition	**96**
agency	9
anaphor	1
conjunction	10
direct reported speech	5
hedge	3
indirect reported speech	3
intertextuality	1
lexical choice	11
social actor	8
social deixis	1
spatial reference	4
temporal reference	3
time deixis	3
n/a	34
agency	4
intertextuality	1
social actor	5
spatial reference	3
time deixis	1
voicing	3
n/a	12

Table 32. Overview of tagged changes for Belga (French) to Belga (Dutch) translation pairs

A total of 1,543 changes were tagged across the eleven translation sets, of which 1,026 were also tagged with a pragmarker. This means the main tally of all formal changes (60.27%) can be located within these eleven translation pairs. 68.05% of all reductions in the case study corpus are found within these eleven translation pairs. On the other hand, there are relatively few reinforcements (36.94%). These results are not that surprising when looking at the mean number of words, which is 342.17 words for French *Belga* reports and 149.93 words for Dutch *Belga* reports. Many of the replacements (57.23%) and rearrangements (64.58%) were also found within this part of the corpus.

Interestingly only a single audience adaptation was found in this part of the case study corpus. Unlike most of the audience adaptations found when a French *AFP* reports for a French audience was translated into a French *Belga* report for a Belgian audience, this audience adaptation was not country specific, but changed a temporal reference into a time deictic reference meaningful for its targeted audience , i.e. 'du 28 novembre' ('of the 28th of November') was translated as 'de maandag' ('the Monday') – the article 'de' ('the') should have been omitted though, but was mistakenly kept in the TT. The reason for the absence of country specific changes is of course related to the fact that both French and Dutch *Belga* reports target a Belgian audience, but on the whole it can be argued that economy plays a larger role in this respect; many of the audience adaptations having been made when a French *AFP* report was translated into a French *Belga* report being left out once again when the French *Belga* report was translated into Dutch. This finding is incompatible with the results stemming from a previous case study, in which I concluded that "[t]he differences most likely to be included in the news reports were changes made because of audience adaptation" (Franck 2012, p. 18).

Results for pragmarkers are in line with the general results. There are of course fewer pragmarkers to be found within the reinforcement category (e.g. only 6 out of 19 changes with regard to time deixis in the reinforcement category are found within this part of the corpus), but this largely has to do with the fact that there are fewer reinforcements to be found in these eleven translation sets in general, as was pointed out earlier. On the other, hand while all omissions of social deictic markers (6) are found within these translation sets, none of the additions of social deictic markers (2) are found in this part of the corpus. As explained previously, this has to do with different uses of honorific titles in French and Dutch.

Translating Dutch Belga reports into Dutch news site reports

Seventeen out of 43 translation sets are instances of a Dutch *Belga* report having been translated into a Dutch news site report. Table 33 gives an overview of the tagged formal and functional changes:

REDUCTION	**81**	**REINFORCEMENT**	**48**	**REPLACEMENT**	**49**	**REARRANGEMENT**	**14**
Audience adaptation	**1**	**Addition**	**36**	**Audience adaptation**	**4**	**Compensation**	**2**
time deixis	1	agency	3	time deixis	4	social actor	1
Editorial correction	**1**	conjunction	2	**Editorial correction**	**4**	n/a	1
n/a	1	direct reported speech	2	n/a	4	**Interchange**	**4**

Implicitation	**4**	discourse deixis	1	**Mistake**	**2**	intertextuality	1
lexical choice	1	hedge	1	n/a	2	social actor	1
social actor	2	lexical choice	1	**Modulation**	**21**	spatial reference	2
spatial reference	1	social actor	10	agency	3	n/a	1
Omission	**76**	spatial reference	4	conjunction	1	**Recasting**	**8**
agency	2	time deixis	2	hedge	1	agency	1
anaphor	2	n/a	10	lexical choice	11	intertextuality	2
conjunction	3	**Audience adaptation**	**6**	social actor	2	spatial reference	1
direct reported speech	2	conjunction	1	spatial reference	1	time deixis	1
discourse deixis	2	lexical choice	1	temporal reference	1	n/a	3
hedge	3	spatial reference	1	time deixis	1		
indirect reported speech	1	temporal reference	1	**Transposition**	18		
intertextuality	24	n/a	2	agency	1		
social actor	4	**Explicitation**	**5**	conjunction	3		
spatial reference	4	lexical choice	2	hedge	1		
temporal referenc	3	social actor	3	indirect reported speech	1		
time deixis	9			intertextuality	1		
voicing	4			lexical choice	2		
n/a	13			social actor	1		
				spatial reference	2		
				temporal reference	1		
				time deixis	2		
				n/a	3		

Table 33. Overview of tagged changes for Belga (Dutch) to news site (Dutch) translation pairs

A total of 192 formal changes were tagged across the seventeen translation sets – 152 of which were assigned with a pragmarker. Although these seventeen translation sets represent 39.53% of translation sets in the case study corpus, only 7.50% of the total number of tagged changes are represented here. This is a very low number of changes. Once again, however, the most common changes are reductions (81), while there are a considerable number of reinforcements (48) and replacements (49). Rearrangements (14) are once again scarce, indicating that structural change was limited. There are only limited differences in the mean number of words for Dutch *Belga* reports (149.93 words) and online news reports (159.72 words; SD=51.92). That the mean number of words for online news report is somewhat higher mostly has to do with one of the online news report not only being based on Dutch *Belga* report, but having expanded the original report with two and a half paragraphs based on an English *AFP* and an English *AP* report. Overall, word for word take-over was high with only few omissions and fewer additions, modulations and transpositions.

There are relatively few instances of implicitation (4) and explicitation (5) to be found within this part of the case study corpus. Reinforcements were generally additions and reductions were mostly omissions. Audience adaptations are well represented here in comparison to the entire corpus. This is interesting since there were not many audience adaptations when translations were made between different languages (i.e. French and Dutch) but within the same medium (*Belga*). Some of the audience adaptations are Belgium specific, e.g. the addition of the sentence ‘Ook in de Brusselse Matongéwijk is het al tot hevige rellen gekomen.’ (‘Also in Brussels’ Matongé quarter [a quarter known for its large population of people of African, and especially Congolese, descent] there have already been hefty riots.’) in a news report about the riots in London after the reelection of Joseph Kabila as president of the DR Congo, but many of the audience adaptations (and especially replacements) have to do with changes in time deixis as well, e.g. ‘zaterdag’ (‘Saturday’) being replaced by ‘gisteren’ (‘yesterday’). These changes were tagged as audience adaptations because they would only make sense to an audience reading the news report online the day after. These types of replacements appear less frequently in the translation of wire reports into other wire reports, because it is uncertain when the coverage would be taken over by other medium journalists for their specific audiences and therefore it would be possible to infer the wrong meaning from a word like ‘yesterday’.

There are relatively few changes with regard to representations of social actors and voicing in comparison to the numbers for the entire corpus. This is especially striking when it comes to reductions. Only 6 out of 81 reductions are related to the representation of social actors, while 4 are related to voicing. In comparison there are as many reductions of time deictic markers (10) as there are of the latter two combined – of which there are relatively many in contrast to the entire corpus. This indicates that, in general, the same social actors and voices that appeared in Dutch *Belga* reports on the DR Congo’s 2011 elections reappear in Dutch online news reports.

Translating Dutch Belga reports into Dutch newspaper reports

Two out of 43 translation sets are instances of Dutch *Belga* reports having been translated into Dutch newspaper reports. Table 34 gives an overview of the tagged formal and functional changes:

REDUCTION	**37**	**REINFORCEMENT**	**21**	**REPLACEMENT**	**11**	**REARRANGEMENT**	**1**
Implicitation	**2**	**Addition**	**18**	**Editorial correction**	**2**	**Interchange**	**1**
social actor	1	conjunction	2	spatial reference	1	agency	1
time deixis	1	direct reported speech	1	n/a	1		
Omission	**35**	hedge	1	**Modulation**	**4**		
agency	1	intertextuality	1	agency	2		
Conjunction	8	lexical choice	1	anaphor	1		
discourse deixis	1	social actor	2	social actor	1		
indirect reported speech	1	spatial reference	1	**Transposition**	**5**		
intertextuality	4	n/a	9	agency	4		
social actor	1	**Explicitation**	**2**	conjunction	1		
spatial reference	12	social actor	2				
time deixis	4	**Mistake**	**1**				
voicing	1	n/a	1				
n/a	2						

Table 34. Overview of tagged changes for Belga (Dutch) to newspaper (Dutch) translation pairs

A total of 70 changes were tagged across these two translation sets, of which 57 were tagged with a pragmarker. As such only 0.03% of all changes in the case study corpus occurred in these two translation sets – which in their turn represent 4.65% of translation pairs under study. Differences between source texts and target texts are notably low, but once again reductions (37) are most common – even though the mean number of words for both source texts is only 67.5 words to begin with. All but two reductions are omissions. The other two reductions are implicitations. One implicitation is an example of a social actor, 'Tschisekedi', being translated as an anaphoric reference containing a pronoun, 'Die laatste' ('This last one'). The other one is the translation of 'zaterdag en zondag' ('Saturday and Sunday') as 'dit weekend' ('this weekend'). Most omissions were tagged with the spatial reference or conjunction pragmarker. This is because an enumeration of the different provinces in the DR of the Congo (locations and commas) in one source text were omitted in its target text.

There are also several reinforcements (21) to be found. This is mostly due to a single sentence being added in one of the two newspaper reports, i.e. 11 out of 18 additions and the one translation mistake made in one of these two translation sets. Only one rearrangement was found and it is an interchange which occurs because a verb phrase is transposed (i.e. 'te betwisten' being translated as 'betwist'), meaning that also here the overall structure of the news reports was kept.

4.2.5.3 Analysis

From the distinctive results it becomes clear that journalists adhered more to a liberal, functional approach to translation when translating between two different languages (e.g. from French to Dutch) and for the same medium (*Belga*). When journalists translated within the same language, their work was mostly limited to word for word take-over, only omitting from or adding to source texts in few cases, though sometimes replacing a word by one of its synonyms – which occurred more often when a Dutch *Belga* report was translated into a Dutch online news report. Structural changes, however, were limited in all intralingual and interlingual cases, which means that source text structure was generally kept.

Interestingly, most audience adaptations were found within intralingual translations. These types of change did not occur as often in interlingual translations. It would therefore be wrong to state that journalists using an interlingual source text are automatically being more creative. When translating a source text interlingually more attention was given to showing the information as concisely as possible, turning a news report of about 350 words into a news report of about 150 words without altering source text structure. When translating a source text intralingually more attention was given to optimizing the source text for specific audiences, without reducing its contents too much.

There were little changes with regard to lexical choice to be found when a French *AFP* report was translated into a French *Belga* report, indicating that word-for-word take-over was especially high in these cases. There were few changes with regard to social actors when a Dutch Belga report was translated into a Dutch online news report, indicating that the same social actors who received a voice in the source texts appeared in the target texts and that they were generally represented in the same manner as in the source texts. Overall, however, changes with regard to lexical choice and social actors, together with changes with regard to conjunctions and time deixis, are amongst the most frequently encountered.

4.2.6. Discourse analysis

Thematically and chronologically, the news reports on the 2011 general elections in the DR Congo that were translated and which are part of the case study corpus can be sorted into three main categories:

1. reports on the difficulties accompanying the organization of the elections;
2. reports on election results;
3. reports on international (post-election) protest.

Two translation sets do not fall within these three main categories. One set focuses on MLC (Movement for the Liberation of Congo) president Jean-Pierre Bemba's voting advice – or lack thereof – for the 2011 general elections.[38] The other set focuses on the murder of an MLC official. Although the MLC figures in both translation sets, their subjects are too different to consider them together as a fourth category.

In the following paragraphs I will focus on how different metamessages are represented throughout these three main categories of articles (as well as in the articles on MLC members) and how these metamessages change or remain in subsequent translations. The different pragmarkers are used as a heuristic tool for uncovering these (hidden) metamessages. In the example articles I have marked changes in red when translation was intralingual (~~reductions~~, additions, replacements; rearrangements were marked as both ~~reductions~~ and additions). For interlingual translations (e.g. from French *Belga* articles to

[38] Bemba did not partake in the 2011 elections on the count of him being imprisoned at Scheveningen, awaiting trial before the International Court of Justice. His party, the MLC, was still the biggest opposition party when the news reports in the two aforementioned translation sets were written/translated, but became politically irrelevant after the 2011 general elections, with only 64 out of 500 seats in the National Assembly.

Dutch *Belga* articles), I decided to only discuss the relevant changes as tagging every change here would make the example text unreadable.

4.2.6.1. The representation of people

Changes with regard to the representation of people were mostly tagged with the 'social actor' pragmarker, sometimes with the 'anaphor' or 'cataphor' pragmarker – when pronouns were involved. Changes concerning a person who was quoted directly or indirectly were tagged with the 'voicing' pragmarker. The 'direct reported speech' and 'indirect reported speech' pragmarkers, and the 'intertextuality' pragmarker are also indicatory with regard to changes in the representation of people and voices; the first ones keeping track of changes with regard to quoted speech; the second one in keeping track of explicit changes in source representation (in the colophon and in text). The 'social deixis' and 'person deixis' pragmarkers were used to tag some very specific changes concerning people, related to the context of situation. Changes with regard to actions were mainly tagged with the 'agency' pragmarker. Changes in agency often involved the addition or omission of social actors and voices.

Deciding which social actors and voices to add to or omit from a report is never without consequence. '[W]hen [journalists] decide which details to include and which to leave out, they produce certain gaps or distortions' (Conway and Vaskivska 2010, p. 251). Deciding whom to represent and whom not to represent is, however, a necessary evil: if only because it is impossible to represent every single voice, because in general journalists only get a limited number of words in which they need to fit their story, and because journalists have to deal with limited resources.

There are some clear differences in the representation of social actors and voices depending on which thematic category a news report is part of. News reports about the difficulties accompanying the organization of the elections tended to focus on voices of official bodies and their representatives, i.e. the UN, the Céni (the Independent National Electoral Commission), Belgium's ministry of foreign affairs. When people representing these bodies were quoted they often referred to themselves with a first-person, plural personal pronoun ('we', 'nous'). Changes in this respect were tagged with the 'person deixis' pragmarker; modulation to another grammatical person did not occur. Most person deictic changes were part of the addition or omission of an entire quote. News reports on election results were heavily polarized: reducing the general elections into a duel between Joseph Kabilla and Étienne Tshisekedi. News reports on international post-electoral violence focused heavily on information stemming from police reports.

Although there are differences in the representation of social actors and voices between these different thematic categories, the representation of the elections as a duel between Joseph Kabila and Étienne Tshisekedi transcends these categories and I would argue that the polarization metamessage is one of the most important metamessages to be discerned in the representation of the 2011 elections.

As an example, let us take a closer look at the interrelated news reports in our corpus on the concerns of the UN Security Council regarding the logistic difficulties encountered during the preparation of the elections. The original news report was published by *AFP* in French on the 2nd of December. It consists of six paragraphs. The four first paragraphs contain what is news in this report, describing the concerns of the UN by mouth of Russian ambassador Vitaly Churkin. The fifth paragraph is about partial results released by the Céni having indicated that Kabila and Tshisekedi were in the lead, contextualizing the news by way of this general polarizing metamessage. The sixth paragraph describes the violence leading up to the elections, voicing Human Rights Watch and contextualizing the concerns of the UN within a setting of (pre-election) violence.

Agence France Presse

2 décembre 2011 vendredi 11:12 PM GMT

RDC/élections: le Conseil de sécurité "inquiet" des difficultés logistiques

LONGUEUR: 274 mots

ORIGINE-DEPECHE: NEW YORK (Nations unies) 2 déc 2011

Le Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU a pris note vendredi "avec inquiétude" des "difficultés logistiques et techniques" rencontrées pendant l'élection présidentielle du 28 novembre en RD Congo et appelé toutes les parties au calme.

Dans une déclaration lue par le président en exercice du Conseil, l'ambassadeur russe à l'ONU Vitali Tchourkine, le Conseil "a rappelé à tous les dirigeants politiques et candidats en République du Congo qu'ils sont responsables du caractère équitable et pacifique du processus électoral".

Les quinze pays membres du Conseil ont "condamné la violence dans certaines parties du pays" et "exhorté toutes les candidats et leurs partisans à se garder de tout acte de violence", soulignant que les auteurs de violence devraient être "traduits en justice".

Les membres du Conseil "notent avec inquiétude le niveau des difficultés logistiques et techniques" rencontrées lors du scrutin.

Le président sortant Joseph Kabila et l'opposant Etienne Tshisekedi devancent nettement les neuf autres candidats à la présidentielle du 28 novembre en RD Congo, selon des résultats partiels annoncés vendredi par la Commission électorale (Céni) et portant sur 15% des quelque 64.000 bureaux de vote. La Cour suprême doit annoncer les résultats définitifs le 17 décembre et le nouveau président prêtera serment le 20.

La décision de la Céni d'accélérer son calendrier témoigne d'une inquiétude grandissante, accentuée vendredi par un rapport de l'ONG Human Rights Watch (HRW) selon lequel au moins 18 civils ont été tués et une centaine grièvement blessés principalement par les forces de sécurité entre le 26 et le 28 novembre, jour du vote.

DATE-CHARGEMENT: 2 décembre 2011

LANGUE: FRENCH; FRANÇAIS

TYPE-PUBLICATION: Dépêche

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On December 3rd a copy of the original *AFP* report appeared on *Belga*’s French wire; the only addition being a reference to *AFP* as the source of the report (which was tagged with the ‘intertextuality’ pragmarker). Two editorial corrections were made: an unnecessary space after the first sentence – which also ends the paragraph – and an unnecessary double space in the final paragraph were omitted.

RDC/élections: le Conseil de sécurité "inquiet" des difficultés logistiques

Belga - 03 Dec. 2011

~~**LONGUEUR:** 274 mots~~

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That same day a heavily shortened translation appeared on *Belga*'s Dutch wire as well. To be precise it was shortened by 121 words and reduced to four paragraphs. The paragraph describing the violence leading up to the elections and any reference to Human Rights Watch were completely left out in this translation. A quote from Vitaly Churkin that could be considered as news was largely omitted as well. Interestingly, the paragraph about Kabila and Tshisekedi being in the lead was kept, though any reference to the Céni was left out.

VN ongerust over logistieke moeilijkheden bij Congolese verkiezingen

Belga - 03 Dec. 2011

(AFP) = De VN-veiligheidsraad toont zich ongerust over de "logistieke en technische moeilijkheden" bij de presidentsverkiezingen in de Democratische Republiek Congo. De leden van de raad manen alle deelnemers aan de stembusgang tot kalmte aan.

In een verklaring wees de voorzitter van de VN-veiligheidsraad, de Russische ambassadeur Vitali Tsjoerkin, de politieke leiders en kandidaten in Congo er vrijdag op dat ze "verantwoordelijk zijn voor het rechtvaardige en vreedzame karakter van het verkiezingsproces".

De VN-veiligheidsraad, die het geweld in delen van het land veroordeelde, toont zich in de verklaring ook ongerust over "de omvang van de logistieke en technische moeilijkheden" waarmee de stembusgang geconfronteerd werd.

Volgens de eerste gedeeltelijke resultaten van de presidentsverkiezingen van 28 november haalden uittredend president Joseph Kabila en opposant Etienne Tshisekedi veruit de meeste stemmen. Op 17 december worden de definitieve resultaten bekendgemaakt.

Almost exact copies of the Dutch *Belga* report appeared on all four news sites; the only difference (textually speaking) being the reference to *AFP* as the original source having been replaced by a reference to *Belga* as the source in the byline, and an author being added in that same byline. This applies to all four news sites. The example below is from *www.nieuwsblad.be*.

Nieuwsblad.be NIEUWS SPORT REGIO EXTRA SHE. VIDEO

VN ongerust over logistieke moeilijkheden bij Congolese verkiezingen

03/12/2011 om 08:13 door bvb | Bron: BELGA

Print Corrigeer

0 shares

De VN-veiligheidsraad toont zich ongerust over de "logistieke en technische moeilijkheden" bij de presidentsverkiezingen in de Democratische Republiek Congo. De leden van de raad manen alle deelnemers aan de stembusgang tot kalmte aan.

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So, although the information about Kabila and Tshisekedi being in the lead was not part of the 'actual news' it was kept in all versions of the report, while information that could be regarded as news was omitted instead; the need for contextualization by polarization outweighing the need for detail.

Because of the importance of the polarizing metamessage, it should not be surprising that of all social actors, ´Joseph Kabila and Étienne Tshisekedi were referred to the most, with a few more references to Kabila. Although longer descriptions can be found in the French news reports – e.g. Tshisekedi being described as '78 ans, opposant emblématique au maréchal Mobutu' ('78 years old, emblematic opponent of Marshal Mobutu') – descriptions of both actors in general tended to be no longer than a few words adjoining their respective names, e.g. 'opposant Tshisekedi' ('opponent Tshisekedi'), 'de 78-jarige Tshisekedi' ('the 78-year old Tshisekedi'). First names mostly appeared once in an article. In French the last name was mostly adjoined by ‘M.’, which is short for ‘*Monsieur*’ (‘Mister’). Honorific titles, like ‘M.’ or ‘Me’ were always omitted when translating to Dutch (a change which was always tagged with the ‘social deixis’ pragmarker). Kabila was mainly described as ‘president’ or ‘leaving president’ and Tshisekedi was mostly described as ‘the opponent’; descriptions which are once again indications of the overarching metamessage of polarization.

Whilst there were 11 presidential candidates only two were put into the spot lights of the media here discussed. The other candidates are mostly collectivized as ‘the other candidates’ or ‘presidential candidates’ or ‘a divided opposition’. This once again sits well in the overarching metamessage of polarization. Another reason why the other candidates are hardly mentioned can be inferred from the following two sentences from a Dutch *Belga* report: ‘De Congolezen duiden in één ronde een opvolger aan voor president Joseph Kabila. Iedereen gaat er echter van uit dat Kabila zichzelf zal opvolgen.’ (‘The Congolese appoint a successor for President Joseph Kabila in one round. Everyone, however, assumes that Kabila will succeed himself.’) According to *Belga* and the news sites that published an almost exact copy of this report, the elections were a done deal before they had even begun. So why focus on all of the other candidates when the victor was already known?

One further illustration:

Kabila est notamment en tête dans les provinces du Katanga, Bandundu, Maniema, Province Orientale, au Nord et au Sud Kivu, des régions traditionnellement favorables.

Tshisekedi mène au Bas Congo, dans l’Equateur, les Kasaï occidental et oriental

The above extract is from a French *Belga* report on preliminary election results. It shows in which provinces Kabila and Tshisekedi were leading. The information it presents, however, is incorrect. Kabila was not leading in Nord Kivu but Antipas Mbusa Nyamwisi was. Tshisekedi was not leading in Équateur but Léon Kengo was. This mistake was not corrected when *Belga* translated the report into Dutch, nor when the news sites *www.hln.be* and *www.demorgen.be* published their accounts, nor when newspaper *Het Laatste Nieuws* published its account – though the newspaper did omit the names of the specific provinces. According to these media what was going on was a duel indeed.

4.2.6.2. The Representation of Places

Changes with regard to the representation of places were generally tagged with the ‘spatial reference’ pragmarker. However, changes with regard to the representation of countries could in some instances also be tagged with the ‘social actor’ pragmarker – mostly when countries had already been ascribed with agency, which often occurred when they took up the subject position in a sentence. A reference to the DR of the Congo was often used as an intertextual marker in the title of the news reports. Changes in this respect were tagged with the ‘intertextuality’ pragmarker. Interestingly, no changes with regard to representation of the place of writing or of publication could be discerned in the texts themselves, which means that changes in space deictic references cannot be further discussed in the following paragraphs.

In a case study on the representation of the 2011 general elections in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in translated news reports, it should not come as a surprise that most spatial references are related to the representation of the Democratic Republic of the Congo itself, and that most changes were related to the representation of the Democratic Republic of the Congo itself as well. Interestingly there are differences in how the country is represented by different media, and especially by media operating from different countries. While it is rare to find references to the DR of the Congo simply as ‘Congo’ in French news reports, it is far from rare in Belgian news reports, and especially in the ones translated into Dutch. There are historical reasons for this; it has to do with different knowledge schemas (see section **3.3.2.** for more on knowledge schemas). There are two countries in central Africa bearing the name ‘Congo’: (i) the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which has Kinshasa as a capital, which is (by far) the largest of the two, and which is a former Belgian colony, (ii) the Republic of the Congo, which has Brazzaville as a capital, which is to the north-west of its larger namesake, and which is a former French colony. While in France (and in French) it is more common to refer to the Democratic Republic of the Congo as ‘RDC’, ‘Congo-Kinshasa’ or ‘RD Congo’ than as ‘Congo’, this is not the case in Belgium (and especially in Dutch speaking Belgium). Dutch speaking Belgians often refer to the Democratische Republiek Congo’ simply as ‘Congo’, although ‘Congo-Kinshasa’, ‘DR Congo’ and ‘DRC’ are also used sometimes. This explains there being a considerable number of changes in which the French reference ‘RD Congo’ was implicitized as ‘Congo’ in Dutch news reports. The same translation procedure was only applied once in a French (*AFP*) to French (*Belga*) translation. So even though there may be differences in knowledge schemas between *AFP*'s French speaking audience and *Belga*'s French speaking audience, these differences do not necessarily translate into word-for-word changes.

While the changes discussed in the above paragraph can be found throughout the whole case study corpus, there are also differences in the representation of spaces between the different thematic categories. References to other countries than the DRC mostly occur in reports on international (post-election) protest, while specific provinces in the DRC are mainly referred to in reports on election results. Many of these spatial references (and/or the details accompanying them) were, however, omitted in subsequent translations. An example: while a French *AFP* report on a London manifestation and its French *Belga* translation specify that the police has closed off 'l'accès à Whitehall, la rue des bâtiments du gouvernement située près des bureaux du Premier ministre David Cameron à Downing Street et à une partie de Trafalgar Square' ('the access to Whitehall, the street with government buildings situated close to the offices of Prime Minister David Cameron in Downing Street, and to a part of Trafalgar Square'), all these spatial details are absent from the Dutch *Belga* translation and ultimately the Dutch online news reports. What remains in the Dutch translations is the general description that the manifestation took place 'In Londen', which, of course, is a far less detailed spatial reference than the one about Whitehall and Trafalgar Square. The reports on *www.demorgen.be* and *www.hln.be* do add another spatial reference though. They add information about 'hevige rellen' ('violent riots') 'in De Brusselse Matongéwijk' ('Brussels' Matongé quarter'), which on the one hand contextualizes the London manifestation within a setting of multiple international 'riots', and on the other hand makes the report relevant for its Belgian audience by comparing the news to an event that occurred at a local (relatable) place. Other examples of information loss in the form of less specific spatial references can be seen in the translation of a Dutch *Belga* news report into a Dutch newspaper report for *Het Laatste Nieuws*.

Verkiezingen Congo: favorieten gaan gelijk op

Belga - 03 Dec. 2011

(AFP) = Uittredend president Joseph Kabila en oppositieleider Etienne Tshisekedi blijven gelijk opgaan en laten de negen andere presidentskandidaten steeds verder achter zich, zo blijkt uit zaterdag door de kiescommissie Céni vrijgegeven deelresultaten van de deze week in de Democratische Republiek Congo gehouden presidentsverkiezing.

Na telling van 33 procent van de kiesbureaus leidt Kabila met 51% (3.275.125 stemmen), gevolgd door Tshisekedi met 34% (2.233.447).

Kabila leidt in zes provincies (Bandundu, Katanga, Maniema, Orientale, Noord- en Zuid-Kivu), Tshisekedi in de vijf andere (Neder-Congo, Evenaarsprovincie, West- en Oost-Kasaï en Kinshasa).

Tshisekedi zei zaterdag de eerste resultaten “te betwisten”; hij “waarschuwde” zowel Kabila als (hoofd van de kiescommissie) Ngoy Mulunda om “bij het bekendmaken van de resultaten de wil van het Congolese volk te eerbiedigen”.

Congo: Nek-aan-nekrace tussen Kabila en Tshisekedi

Het Laatste Nieuws - 05 Dec. 2011, page 11

~~(AFP) =~~De spanning over de verkiezingsuitslag in Congo loopt hoog op. Uittredend president Joseph Kabila en oppositieleider Etienne Tshisekedi liggen nek aan nek en laten de negen andere presidentskandidaten steeds verder achter zich, zo blijkt uit ~~zaterdag~~ door de kiescommissie Céni vrijgegeven deelresultaten ~~van de deze week in de Democratische Republiek Congo gehouden presidentsverkiezing~~. Na telling van 33% van de kiesbureaus leidt Kabila met 51% (3.275.125 stemmen), gevolgd door Tshisekedi met 34% (2.233.447). Kabila leidt in zes provincies ~~(Bandundu, Katanga, Maniema, Orientale, Noord- en Zuid-Kivu)~~, Tshisekedi in de vijf andere ~~(Neder-Congo, Evenaarsprovincie, West- en Oost-Kasaï en Kinshasa)~~. ~~Tshisekedi zei zaterdag~~ Die laatste ~~zei~~“betwist” de eerste resultaten ~~“te betwisten”;~~, hij “waarschuwde” zowel Kabila als ~~(~~het hoofd van de kiescommissie~~)~~ Ngoy Mulunda om “bij het bekendmaken van de resultaten de wil van het Congolese volk te eerbiedigen”.

In this example the names of the specific provinces where Kabila and Tshisekedi are ‘supposedly’ in the lead after 33% of the votes had been counted, appearing in the third paragraph of the ST, are omitted from its translation.[39] And even though we are dealing with a Dutch to Dutch translation, the spatial reference ‘in de Democratische Republiek Congo’ (‘in the Democratic Republic of the Congo’) is implicitized as ‘Congo’ in the added first

[39] As noted earlier: the information in these reports is incorrect. Kabila was not leading in Nord Kivu but Antipas Mbusa Nyamwisi was. Tshisekedi was not leading in Équateur but Léon Kengo was.

sentence of the TT, which functions as a (partial) compensation for the omitted information that is present at the end of the first paragraph of the ST.

All in all it can be argued that spatial information is often condensed in subsequent translations in such a way that in the final online news reports and newspaper reports not much more remains than the general idea of something having happened, not in a specific locale, but just ‘somewhere in the Congo’.

4.2.6.3. The Representation of Time

Time reference related changes were tagged with the ‘temporal reference’ pragmarker or the ‘time deixis’ pragmarker, depending on whether the changes involved temporal information only inferable from the context of situation or not. While no examples of space deictic references could be traced within the case study corpus, time deictic references, and changes to them in the process of translation, are very common. This is, of course, partially related to the languages under study (French, Dutch and English). Action, expressed by a verb, is always temporally anchored to the context of situation in these languages by way of verb tenses (present, future, past). The same cannot be said for the anchoring of spatial relations to the context of situation (although some verbs do express direction – though not by way of tense).

There were no striking differences between changes in the representation of time for the different thematic categories. Just like detailed spatial references, detailed temporal references (including time deictic expressions) were often omitted from subsequent translations throughout the entire case study corpus. Let us take another look at the translation of a Dutch *Belga* report into a Dutch newspaper report which also functioned as an example in our discussion of the representation of places.

Verkiezingen Congo: favorieten gaan gelijk op

Belga - 03 Dec. 2011

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The three time deictic expressions from the ST, ‘zaterdag’ (‘Saturday’), ‘zaterdag’ (‘Saturday’) and ‘deze week’ (‘this week’) were omitted from the TT. The first ‘Saturday’ is part of a larger prepositional phrase in the ST that also contains other information, including the spatial reference ‘in de Democratische Republiek Congo’ (‘in the Democratic Republic of the Congo’). Unlike the spatial reference, the omission of the time deictic information is not compensated for in the added first sentence of the first paragraph in the TT. While the ST presents the information in the prepositional phrase as an event which has passed, 'deze week […] gehouden' ('held this week'), the information in the added sentence is presented as an event which is ongoing, 'loopt hoog op' ('is running high'), i.e. the present tense, the same tense which is used in the second sentence of the TT or the first part of the first paragraph in the ST. This change in tense is not at all uncommon in the case study corpus. Information which is presented in the past tense in a ST is sometimes (when possible) transposed to the present tense, e.g. 'was' or 'était' being translated as 'is', 'had' being translated as 'heeft' ('has'), 'heeft gezegd' ('has said') being translated to 'Dat zegt' ('So says'). Also, it is far more likely for information being presented in the present tense to be kept than information presented in the past tense. This is, of course, related to what 'news' in essence is and to how it is generally represented in news reports. The further in the past an event took place, the less likely it is to still become news. Also, news reports generally start by presenting the news in the present tense (generally perfect or continuous) before switching to the past tense for further information. The further away from the description of the news event, the likelier the information will be omitted from the translated report.

That the omission of 'deze week' is not compensated for in the TT can also be explained by the fact that the deictic center had shifted by the time the article was published in the newspaper. The original *Belga* report dates from Saturday, December 3rd 2011, while the newspaper report was published on Monday, December 5th 2011. This means that by the time the article was published in the newspaper the meaning of 'deze week' had shifted along the temporal axis. So when the translated news report was published in the newspaper the presidential elections did not take place 'this week', but 'last week', i.e. the meaning of 'this week' had become obsolete.

The two omissions of 'zaterdag' ('Saturday') in the newspaper report also deserve some further examination. Mostly because while the references seem out of place in the ST they would have fit perfectly in the TT. Indeed, it can be regarded as odd that the *Belga* report speaks of the Céni having released partial election results on 'zaterdag' ('Saturday') and Tshisekedi contesting the results on 'Saturday' while the report itself dates from that very same Saturday. From the context of situation, one would expect to read that said particular events took place 'today'. Then why was 'Saturday' used in the *Belga* report instead of 'today'? Why does the deictic center seem to be shifted for these particular expressions? Well, first of all it needs to be mentioned that no explicit time deictic expressions (not including verb tenses) were used in the original (French) *AFP* report, of which the Dutch *Belga* report is a translation. The two references to 'Saturday' and the reference to 'this week' were added by a *Belga* journalist. As such, stating 'Saturday' instead of 'Today' can in this example be interpreted as an act of "preformulation" – a term coined by Geert Jacobs. When one preformulates a text, one does not just "meet the journalists' and the newspaper readers' requirements, but actually anticipates the way news reports are formulated" (1997, p. 75). Indeed, as Victor (the *Belga* correspondent interviewed for section **2.3.**) confirmed during one of our talks, *Belga* journalists always keep in mind that their reports will be used by newspaper journalists. They formulate their texts in such a way as to ease the transition from wire report to newspaper report. When I asked him if they also "preformulated" their texts for news sites, he answered that they considered newspapers to be their main clients. While Jacobs argues that what makes press releases "unique", "is that their only *raison d'être* is to be retold […] that they are meant to be 'continued' as accurately as possible, preferably even verbatim, in news reporting", the same can actually be argued for wire reports coming from a national news agency like *Belga*. The reasons for this "unique" trait being somewhat different though. While press releases are there mostly to present a favorable view on a situation, a company, a product, etcetera, wire reports are there as a (paid) service which prioritizes to reduce their clients' required efforts. Then why was 'Saturday' omitted twice from the TT? Because for newspapers textual economy is more important than what information was adapted for them specifically. Also, from the current case study it seems that spatial and temporal details are among the first to be omitted when push comes to shove.

For the sake of completeness, let us take a quick look at how the Dutch *Belga* report was translated by news sites *www.hln.be* and *www.demorgen.be*.

Kabila en Tshisekedi gaan gelijk op bij verkiezingen Congo

www.hln.be/www.demorgen.be - 03 Dec. 2011, 21h01

~~(AFP) =~~ **Uittredend president Joseph Kabila en oppositieleider Etienne Tshisekedi blijven gelijk opgaan en laten de negen andere presidentskandidaten van de deze week in de Democratische Republiek Congo gehouden presidentsverkiezing steeds verder achter zich, zo blijkt uit ~~zaterdag~~ door de kiescommissie Céni vrijgegeven deelresultaten ~~van de deze week in de Democratische Republiek Congo gehouden presidentsverkiezing~~.**

Na telling van 33 procent van de kiesbureaus leidt Kabila met 51 procent (3.275.125 stemmen), gevolgd door Tshisekedi met 34 procent (2.233.447).

Kabila leidt in zes provincies (Bandundu, Katanga, Maniema, Orientale, Noord- en Zuid-Kivu), Tshisekedi in de vijf andere (Neder-Congo, Evenaarsprovincie, West- en Oost-Kasaï en Kinshasa).

Tshisekedi zei vandaag de eerste resultaten “te betwisten”; hij “waarschuwde” zowel Kabila als (hoofd van de kiescommissie) Ngoy Mulunda om “bij het bekendmaken van de resultaten de wil van het Congolese volk te eerbiedigen”. (belga/adb)

The report was published online on the same date as the ST was put on the newswire, Saturday the 3rd of December 2011. This entailed that if all time deictic references in the *Belga* report had been anchored to December 3rd, no changes would have had to be made. The reference to ‘deze week’ (‘this week’) was kept in this translation, though the sentence was recast. Indeed, the meaning of this reference was still relevant at the time the report was posted online. One reference to ‘Saturday’ was omitted from the TT and the other was modulated to ‘vandaag’ (‘today’) which, as we discussed earlier, is more in line with what we would expect from the context of situation.

4.2.6.4. The representation of (personal) opinion

In the 2006 elections Kabila had mainly won in the east of the country, while Bemba had triumphed in the west. Van Reybrouck (2013, p. 528) indicates that this division between east and west Congo almost coincides with the division between Lingala and Swahili, and that peopled feared a macro-ethnical conflict because of it.

2011 saw a similar divide with Kabila mainly winning in the east once again and Tshisekedi mainly winning in the west (Bandundu excluded). However, not a single reference was found referring to ethnicity: not when post-electoral violence broke out; not in any other context either; a find which contrasts nicely with Coesemans' (2012) results for Kenya's post-election crisis which in the media was often described as the result of tribal disputes. The reason why I chose to highlight this absence of references to ethnicity is because lexical choice mostly becomes interesting when dealing with themes that are sensitive or sensational and that the absence of such a theme is often the result of choice as well.

Many of the lexical choices in the corpus have to do with the representation of violence. There are, however, easily as many instances of lexical choice that have nothing to do with violence. Replacing 'pagina' ('page') by 'bladzijde' (literally 'sheet side') is also an instance of lexical choice, but it does not have the same direct impact as replacing 'Parijs roept op tot kalmte' ('Paris calls for calm') by 'Parijs roept op geen geweld te gebruiken' ('Paris calls to use no violence') or adding this sentence at the end of an online news report: 'De stembusslag gaat gepaard met vrij veel geweld.' ('The ballot box battle is accompanied by considerable amounts of violence.'), which not only states that there are actual spurts of violence, but also uses a violent metaphor, 'ballot box battle', for the voting procedure. One more example, once again from the *Belga* to *Het Laatste Nieuws* translation of a report on partial election results released by the Céni: the addition of the following sentence to the beginning of the TT: 'De spanning over de verkiezingsuitslag in Congo loopt hoog op.'. ('The tension for the election results in Congo is running high.') While some of the elements in this added sentence can be regarded as compensations for later omissions (which have been discussed earlier, e.g. 'Congo'), nowhere in the ST is there any indication of 'tension running high' in the DR Congo.

Most lexical changes with regard to violence in the corpus are found in those instances where a news wire report was translated into a news site report or a newspaper report. This may be surprising, but it is not. This result is very much in line with what Victor, Henry and Caleb explained during our round table discussion (see section **2.3.**): that Western agencies adhere more to a neutral news style,"'which represents a kind of standard form of language (cf. Vehmas-Lehto 1989)" (Hursti 2001), and that news site and newspaper journalists get the opportunity to make these reports their own.

However, it proved to be impossible to discern any further recurring general patterns when it comes to changes in lexical choice. In some cases news sites added a reference to violence, e.g. above, and in some cases they omitted them, e.g. in the translation of an English *AFP* report about the murder of Marius Gangale by the news sites *www.nieuwsblad.be* and *www.standaard.be* the adverbial clause 'when they were attacked' was omitted from a sentence about Gangale and his wife being in a crime-ridden neighborhood. So it is not that news sites and newspapers *necessarily* focus more on violence than news wires.

When we discussed changes in the representation of people, we saw that a paragraph adding a metamessage of polarization to a news report about the UN's concerns was kept in favor of a paragraph situating the news report in a context of (pre-election) violence. However, and especially in the news reports about international post-election protest, such a violence metamessage was not always lost in translation. Let us discuss another set of news reports; this time about a post-election manifestation in London. A first report by *AFP* appeared on the news wire in French on December 10th at 9:47 PM, boasting six paragraphs. The first four paragraphs are based on the police report and describe the manifestation. The fifth paragraph is a reaction from one of the protesters. The sixth paragraph is background information, stating that post-election violence has already cost the lives of at least four people in Kinshasa.

Agence France Presse
10 décembre 2011 samedi 9:47 PM GMT

Manifestation à Londres contre Kabila: une dizaine d'arrestations

LONGUEUR: 249 mots

ORIGINE-DEPECHE: LONDRES 10 déc 2011

Dix personnes ont été arrêtées samedi à Londres au cours d'une manifestation ayant rassemblé quelque 500 personnes protestant contre la réélection contestée du président Joseph Kabila en République démocratique du Congo (RDC), a annoncé la police.

Les protestataires sont sortis de la zone autorisée pour la manifestation, ce qui a amené la police à bloquer brièvement l'accès à Whitehall, la rue des bâtiments du gouvernement située près des bureaux du Premier ministre David Cameron à Downing Street, et à une partie de Trafalgar Square.

Selon un porte-parole de Scotland Yard, la manifestation a rassemblé entre 400 et 500 personnes. "Une dizaine de personnes approximativement ont été arrêtées pour obstruction de la voie publique" et pour avoir enfreint une loi régissant les manifestations.

Les manifestants brandissaient des pancartes proclamant que le candidat de l'opposition en RDCongo, Etienne Tshisekedi, était le vainqueur de l'élection présidentielle du 28 novembre, et rejetant l'annonce par la commission électorale que M. Kabila avait remporté le scrutin.

Ils ont exprimé leur colère contre le président sortant. "C'est un assassin. Personne n'a voté pour lui. Nous ne voulons pas de lui au Congo", a déclaré à l'AFP Edwige, une étudiante de 22 ans.

Des violences post-électorales ont fait au moins quatre morts à Kinshasa où la situation reste tendue après la réélection contestée de Joseph Kabila et les menaces du pouvoir contre Etienne Tshisekedi qui s'est autoproclamé président.

DATE-CHARGEMENT: 10 décembre 2011

LANGUE: FRENCH; FRANÇAIS

TYPE-PUBLICATION: Dépêche

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A word for word copy of said article appeared on *Belga*'s French news wire the day after and was also translated into Dutch. The Dutch translation of the news wire report counts 74 words, which is 166 words less than the French version, and only counts 3 very short paragraphs. All details describing the manifestation were omitted, as well as the paragraph with the protestor's reaction. The information from the last paragraph, about post-election violence in Kinshasa, was kept.

Verkiezingen Congo: Tiental mensen gearresteerd bij betoging in Londen

Belga - 11 Dec. 2011

(AFP) = Een tiental mensen is zaterdag in Londen door de politie opgepakt tijdens een manifestatie tegen de herverkiezing van de Congolese president Kabila. Een vijfhonderdtal mensen nam deel aan de betoging, zo meldt de politie.

Volgens de betogers is Etienne Tshisekedi de echte winnaar van de Congolese presidentsverkiezingen van 28 november.

In Kinshasa vielen al zeker vier doden bij geweld na de gecontesteerde verkiezingsuitslag.

An update of the French *AFP* report was published on December 10th at 11:03 PM, adding three paragraphs of description before the final two paragraphs which remained unchanged, and upping the number of arrestees from about ten to 143.

Agence France Presse

10 décembre 2011 samedi 11:03 PM GMT

Manifestation à Londres contre Kabila: 143 arrestations

LONGUEUR: 352 mots

ORIGINE-DEPECHE: LONDRES 10 déc 2011

Cent quarante-trois personnes ont été arrestation samedi à Londres au cours d'une manifestation ayant rassemblé quelque 500 personnes protestant contre la réélection contestée du président Joseph Kabila en République démocratique du Congo (RDC), a annoncé la police.

"Un total de 143 personnes ont été arrêtées au cours d'une manifestation dans le centre de Londres aujourd'hui", a déclaré la police dans un communiqué, précisant que 110 de ces personnes avaient été arrêtées pour bagarre.

Des protestataires sont sortis de la zone autorisée pour la manifestation, bloquant une avenue située près des bureaux du Premier ministre David Cameron à Downing Street, avant de causer des dégâts à des voitures et des magasins et de menacer des personnes dans le public, a précisé la police.

Après être restés rassemblés pendant plusieurs heures au même endroit, les manifestants se sont dirigés vers Whitehall, la rue des bâtiments du gouvernement, en direction de Trafalgar Square, bloquant la voie.

"Un groupe a quitté à ce moment le gros du rassemblement et a commencé à causer des dégâts à des biens dont des voitures et des magasins et à menacer des personnes dans le public", a indiqué la police. "11O personnes ont alors été arrêtées sous le soupçon de bagarre", a-t-elle ajouté.

La manifestation, à laquelle ont participé de 400 à 500 personnes, selon les estimations de la police, avait débuté d'une manière pacifique.

Les manifestants brandissaient des pancartes proclamant que le candidat de l'opposition en RDCongo, Etienne Tshisekedi, était le vainqueur de l'élection présidentielle du 28 novembre, et rejetant l'annonce par la commission électorale que M. Kabila avait remporté le scrutin.

Ils ont exprimé leur colère contre le président sortant. "C'est un assassin. Personne n'a voté pour lui. Nous ne voulons pas de lui au Congo", a déclaré à l'AFP Edwige, une étudiante de 22 ans.

Des violences post-électorales ont fait au moins quatre morts à Kinshasa où la situation reste tendue après la réélection contestée de Joseph Kabila et les menaces du pouvoir contre Etienne Tshisekedi qui s'est autoproclamé président.

DATE-CHARGEMENT: 10 décembre 2011

LANGUE: FRENCH; FRANÇAIS

TYPE-PUBLICATION: Dépêche

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A copy of the news report, with a few editorial corrections and some intertextual references, was published the day after on *Belga*'s French wire.

RDC/présidentielle: manifestation à Londres contre Kabila: 143 arrestations (update)

Belga - 11 Dec. 2011

(AFP) = Cent quarante-trois personnes ont été arrêtées samedi à Londres au cours d'une manifestation ayant rassemblé quelque 500 personnes protestant contre la réélection contestée du président Joseph Kabila en République démocratique du Congo (RDC), a annoncé la police.

"Un total de 143 personnes ont été arrêtées au cours d'une manifestation dans le centre de Londres aujourd'hui", a déclaré la police dans un communiqué, précisant que 110 de ces personnes avaient été arrêtées pour bagarre.

Des protestataires sont sortis de la zone autorisée pour la manifestation, bloquant une avenue située près des bureaux du Premier ministre David Cameron à Downing Street, avant de causer des dégâts à des voitures et des magasins et de menacer des personnes dans le public, a précisé la police.

Après être restés rassemblés pendant plusieurs heures au même endroit, les manifestants se sont dirigés vers Whitehall, la rue des bâtiments du gouvernement, en direction de Trafalgar Square, bloquant la voie.

"Un groupe a quitté à ce moment le gros du rassemblement et a commencé à causer des dégâts à des biens dont des voitures et des magasins et à menacer des personnes dans le public", a indiqué la police. "110 personnes ont alors été arrêtées sous le soupçon de bagarre", a-t-elle ajouté.

La manifestation, à laquelle ont participé de 400 à 500 personnes, selon les estimations de la police, avait débuté d'une manière pacifique.

Les manifestants brandissaient des pancartes proclamant que le candidat de l'opposition en RDCongo, Etienne Tshisekedi, était le vainqueur de l'élection présidentielle du 28 novembre, et rejetant l'annonce par la commission électorale que M. Kabila avait remporté le scrutin.

Ils ont exprimé leur colère contre le président sortant. "C'est un assassin. Personne n'a voté pour lui. Nous ne voulons pas de lui au Congo", a déclaré à l'AFP Edwige, une étudiante de 22 ans.

Des violences post-électorales ont fait au moins quatre morts à Kinshasa où la situation reste tendue après la réélection contestée de Joseph Kabila et les menaces du pouvoir contre Etienne Tshisekedi qui s'est autoproclamé président.

None of the additions were, however, translated into the updated version of the Dutch news wire report – apart from the updated number of arrestees, of course.

Verkiezingen Congo: 143 mensen gearresteerd bij betoging in Londen (update)

Belga - 11 Dec. 2011

(AFP) = In Londen zijn~~Een tiental mensen is~~ zaterdag ~~in Londen~~143 mensen door de politie opgepakt tijdens een manifestatie tegen de herverkiezing van de Congolese president Kabila. Een vijfhonderdtal mensen nam deel aan de betoging, zo meldt de politie.

Volgens de betogers is Etienne Tshisekedi de echte winnaar van de Congolese presidentsverkiezingen van 28 november. Een aantal van hen verliet de zone waarbinnen de betoging toegelaten was en beschadigde wagens en winkels. Ook werden voorbijgangers bedreigd, aldus de politie. In Kinshasa vielen al zeker vier doden bij geweld na de gecontesteerde verkiezingsuitslag.

Two sentences were added to the previous version of the Dutch news report, but these were already in the original *AFP* report. The sentences focused on the violent part of the manifestation – though only a small group of protesters had turned to violence. Also in this version contextualizing information about post-election violence in Kinshasa was kept. The news sites only translated from the updated version of the Dutch news report. But while *www.nieuwsblad.be* and *www.standaard.be* left the news report unchanged (apart from a small change in the title), the version published on *www.demorgen.be* and *www.hln.be* not only altered the title slightly, but also added a sentence to the first paragraph, stating that 'Ook in de Brusselse Matongéwijk is het al tot hevige rellen gekomen.' ('Also in Brussels' Matongé quarter [a quarter known for its large population of people of African, and especially Congolese, descent] there have already been hefty riots.' This audience adaptation contextualizes the news about the manifestation in London – which for the most part was peaceful – even more so in a violent setting; the adverb 'Also' indicating that there had supposedly also been hefty riots in London.

HLN.BE 24U NIEUWS & SPORT | NIEUWS | REGIO | SPORT | SHOWBIZZ | NINA | MEER HLN

NIEUWS > BUITENLAND > LONDEN

Londense politie pakt 143 Congolezen op bij manifestatie

Aanbevelen | Delen 0 | Tweet 0 | G+1 0

Door: redactie
11/12/11 - 09u38

BEWAAR ARTIKEL

© reuters.

In Londen zijn gisteren 143 mensen door de politie opgepakt tijdens een manifestatie tegen de herverkiezing van de Congolese president Kabila. Een vijfhonderdtal mensen nam deel aan de betoging, zo meldt de politie. Ook in De Brusselse Matongéwijk is het al tot hevige rellen gekomen.

Volgens de betogers is Etienne Tshisekedi de echte winnaar van de Congolese presidentsverkiezingen van 28 november. Een aantal van hen verliet de zone waarbinnen de betoging toegelaten was en beschadigde wagens en winkels. Ook werden voorbijgangers bedreigd, aldus de politie.

In Kinshasa vielen al zeker vier doden bij geweld na de gecontesteerde verkiezingsuitslag. (belga/sq)

GERELATEERD NIEUWS

- Weer auto in brand in Matongewijk
- Burgemeester aangevallen tijdens Congolees protest
- 262 mensen opgepakt na rellen in Matongéwijk

Meer over Londen , Verenigd Koninkrijk , Congo

MEER VAN HLN

- Ze stappen in snelle wagen voor rit naar afterparty maar dan stopt hij de auto abrupt
- 'Moslim Merkel' maakt Duitsers woedend
- Activiste moest van organisatie zwijgen over verkrachting door groepje vluchtelingen
- Een owngoal is altijd wat lullig, maar deze wil niemand op zijn geweten hebben

aanbevolen door Outbrain

4.2.7. Conclusion

From this case study on the translation of news wire reports about the 2011 general elections in the DR Congo, it became apparent that journalists adhered more to a liberal, functional approach to translation when translating between two different languages. When journalists translated within the same language, their work was mostly limited to word for word take-over. This is because the journalists who translated interlingually and those who translated intralingually had different foci. When translating a source text interlingually more attention was given to showing the news as concisely as possible without altering source text structure. When translating a source text intralingually more attention was given to optimizing the source text for specific audiences, without reducing its contents too much and without altering the overall structure.

Belgian press agency *Belga* often fulfilled an intermediary role, translating French *AFP* reports into Dutch for Belgian media with a Dutch speaking audience. It is in these translations that most formal changes were detected with an emphasis on text reduction that favors the simplification of news within larger situational contexts. Lexical changes, on the other hand occurred more often when a news wire report was turned into a news site or newspaper report. Three metamessages were discerned throughout the case study corpus that often became more and more pronounced in the cycle from original news report to final product, whether *Belga* had played an intermediary role or not:

(i) Polarization: this metamessage was discerned mostly by looking at how people were represented in the case study corpus, and how their representation changes throughout subsequent translations. News on the 2011 general elections in the DR Congo was mostly portrayed as a duel between two men: Joseph Kabila and Étienne, i.e. 'the president' and his 'opponent'. And this while there were, in fact, 18,835 candidates for the parliamentary elections and 11 candidates for the presidential elections.

(ii) Simplification: this metamessage was discerned mostly by looking at the representation of time and places, and changes to these representations in subsequent translations, but the polarization metamessage can, of course, also be regarded as a specific act of simplification. Spatial details were often omitted from subsequent translations, favoring the idea of 'something having happened in the Congo'. The same holds for the representation of time with specific temporal adverbs making way for general past, present, future representations by use of verb tenses.

(iii) Violence: this metamessage was mostly discerned by looking at the representation of personal opinion, and changes to these representations in the process of subsequent translations. Many lexical changes in the corpus involved the representation of violence. Most of these changes occurred, however, when a news wire report was translated into a news site report or newspaper report, and contextualized the elections in a more outspoken context of violence than their source texts had.

I always turn to the sports section first. The sports section records people's accomplishments; the front page nothing but man's failures.
(Earl Warren, quoted in *Sports Illustrated*, 1968 July 22nd)

4.3. Case Study 2: The Run-up to the 2012 Summer Olympics in London

4.3.1. Introduction

With the above words, Earl Warren (who was the 30th Governor of California and the 14th Chief Justice of the United States) brought up an interesting thought: the idea that there may be a fundamental difference between sports news and what one finds in the general news section of a paper, the idea that sports news deals more often with people's accomplishments, while hard news focusses more on humankind's failures. Of course it should be noted that Warren uttered these words during an interview conducted by one of the world's biggest sport weeklies, *Sports Illustrated*, and should therefore be taken with a grain of salt. Indeed, when man landed on the moon almost exactly a year after the publication of the interview (on July 21st 1969) it was most definitely front page news, and most definitely considered an accomplishment, rather than failure. Also, not only hard news graces the front page of newspapers, sports news can also occasionally be found on page 1, e.g. in newspaper *Het Laatste Nieuws*' November 25th 2011 edition one of the front page articles is about the soccer transfer market: 'D'Onofrio regelt transfers Anderlecht' (D'Onofrio organizes transfers Anderlecht). Nonetheless, Warren's thought remains an interesting one, and he is not the only one in the history of mankind to bring it up either. For example, in the preface to the book *Media, Sports, & Society* communication scholar Lawrence A. Wenner wrote:

> "I'm a sports fan. In reading the morning paper, I'm one of those people who can't quite face the worldly troubles of the front page over my morning coffee. I put the deficit, the homeless, and the latest flare-up in the Middle East aside and head for the somehow more satisfying world of sports." (Wenner 1989a, p. 7)

Wenner goes on to say that there are days when he thinks he "should be concerned with "serious" media issues like news and politics or violence" (1989a, p. 7), but, as others have indicated, the world of sports is not necessarily free from politics or violence either (Blain et al. 1993; Whannel 1992; Bryant 1989). Indeed, sports and its mediatization deserve to be scrutinized somewhat more often – which is exactly what I will be doing in this case study on the translation of sports news.

More specifically, I have chosen to take a closer look at the run-up to the 2012 Summer Olympics in London and the various reports published by the media under study on the subject in the constructed week running from November 14th until December 12th 2011 (see section **3.1.2.** for more information about the constructed week). Not only because of what Earl Warren said, but for several reasons. First of all, as has been brought up before, "[i]n dealing with translating written media, we [researchers] do very often focus on political news, international relations, wars, etc." (Gambier 2006, p. 9). Indeed, not many studies exist on the translation of sports news (but do see Luo 2015; Liu 2008 and Huang 2007). I have touched upon the reasoning behind this bias in the previous case study (see section **4.2.1.**).

A second reason for studying the subject has to do with what we learned from the metadata that were collected when creating the research corpus. In fact, for many of the media under study, the sports section saw the highest article count of any section (section **4.1.1.**). Also, many of the articles found in the different sports sections referred to sources (**4.1.2.**), correspondingly reflected in the high number of articles many sports journalists (had to) produce on a daily basis (**4.1.3.**).

Thirdly, just like the 2011 elections in the DR Congo, the 2012 London Summer Olympics were not a minor event to say the least – especially considering that the Olympic Games themselves are (only) the culmination of a four-year Cultural Olympiad. In fact, while about 10,500 athletes from 204 National Olympic Committees took part in the actual London Games across 302 medal events in 26 sports, featuring 39 disciplines, there were a great many more athletes who had tried to qualify for the actual event in the weeks, months and even years prior to it. According to the official website of the London 2012 Olympic games (OLYMPIC.ORG 2017), there were also 2,961 technical officials and 5,770 team officials. Around 200,000 people (including more than 6,000 staffs, 70,000 volunteers and 100,000 contractors) had been put to work not only between the Opening Ceremony (on July 27th

2012) and the Closing Ceremony (on August 12th 2012), but well before and after those dates as well to ensure the event's success. Over 21,000 accredited media communicated the Games – which they did for a potential worldwide audience of 4 billion people. Not a small event, indeed.

Furthermore, I have chosen to focus on the translation of sports news concerning the run-up to the 2012 Summer Olympics because said topic allowed me to bundle a plethora of news bulletins concerning very different sports, as well as news reports on the organization of the event itself, which was starting to ramp up at the time.

Specific questions for this study are: how did journalists working for different media and from different languages translate news wire reports concerning the run-up to the 2012 Summer Olympics in London? Are there differences depending on what medium is translated from/for or the language that was translated from/into? How is news concerning the run-up to the 2012 Summer Olympics in London represented? Are there differences in the representation of people, places and time because of translation? What metamessages can be discerned?

Some additional questions are formulated at the end of section **4.3.2.** (which discusses the language of sports) and at the end of section **4.3.3.** (which discusses the relationship between sports, economics, politics and society).

4.3.2. The language of sports

It can be argued that different sports, and sport in general, have their own specific language – just like it can be argued that every medium has its specific language (as proven by the number of style guides out there (e.g. Agence France-Presse 2010, Associated Press 2011) – and that "[w]ithin sports language, obviously, several other special-language levels could be reckoned with, such as the special language of ball games or perhaps, from a different angle, the language of team sports; cf. e.g. Tingbjörn (2003, p. 8)" (Bergh and Ohlander 2012, p. 16; also see: Bernard 2008; Beard 1998; Leith 1998; Dankert 1969). Of course, sports languages are not situated on the same level as general languages (e.g. Dutch, English, French). When talking about sports, one generally uses the grammatical structure of a higher level language, as well as many words from the lexicon of that general language. The most distinguishing trait of these sports languages is their lexicon. According to Lavric et al. (2008, p. 5), "[t]he language of football is first and foremost terminology." Bergh and Ohlander (2012, p. 25) agree with Lavric in that they "expected that the core of a research project on football language should be of a lexicological nature", but they also add that "the specialness of football language is apparent in literally thousands of facts and features, lexical and grammatical, that set it apart from general language" (p. 40). They exemplify this by taking a closer look at the sentence: "*The striker was awarded a last-minute penalty but failed to convert*", which they say

> "is virtually incomprehensible from a strictly general-language point of view, i.e. to speakers of English with no, or insufficient, knowledge of football and its language. Not only does it contain special terms like *striker*, *penalty* and *convert*; it also deviates from normal collocational and grammatical patterns, with regard to the verb *award* in relation to *penalty* as well as the use of the verb *convert* without an object or other complement." (p. 40; italics in original)

On the other hand, one can also argue that because of sports' omnipresence in society, many of the specific terms and constructions originally exclusive to the world of sports have become part of the general lexicon. Indeed, the language of sports is not exclusively used for describing and discussing sport. "Sports themes are commonly used metaphorical devices in both the rhetoric of politics (Balbus 1975) and the reporting of politics (Carey, 1976)" (Wenner 1989b, p. 159). Nonetheless, while the popularity of sports like soccer – it is the most popular sport in Belgium (HLN.be 2013; GVA.be 2012) – may have ensured that many of the game's specific terms have become part of the general lexicon, the same cannot be said for some of the other Olympic sports (e.g. volleyball, windsurfing) and their specific terms (also see: Wiredu and Anderson 2008; Leigh and Woodhouse 2004; Vandenberghe et al. 1997).

Also, the language of sports is not void of terms, constructions and metaphors generally associated with other fields. Bryant (1989), for instance, describes the presence of violence in (the language of) sports:

> "From an examination of the glossary of sports terms in *The Sports Writing Handbook* (Fensch, 1988), it is clear that sports and violence have become almost inseperable. Baseball has its "bean ball" or "knockout pitch", which has resulted in player death (p. 189). Basketball's complex system of "personal fouls" (p. 195) includes regulations to control unwarranted physical contact, such as excessive pushing, tripping, and hitting. In boxing, a "bleeder" is "a fighter who cuts easily" (p. 198); a "cauliflower ear" is "a deformed ear; caused by too many blows to the ear" (p. 198); "to knock out an opponent with one blow" is to "coldcock" him (p. 198); a "haymaker" is "a knockout punch" (p. 198); and being "punch-drunk" is "to suffer the effects of taking too many punches to the head" (p. 200). The list could go on and on." (Bryant 1989, p. 270)

Bryant (1989, p. 271-273) later also describes how violence specifically plays a role in what journalists write about the world of sports. More precisely, he writes about how they contextualize their articles within a context of violence by choosing certain titles, (e.g. "Playing for blood", "Ball games or brawl games?", "The pain is plain", "A bloody mess"). War metaphors are also used often when describing sports games (Blain et al. 1993, p. 77-82) and especially the "language of television sports is dominated by a sense of immediacy and actuality" with announcers talking "incessantly about "event coverage," "showing us the game live," or "taking us to the stadium"." (Gruneau 1989, p. 134; also see Gerhardt 2014, pp. 38-41).

Specific questions dealing with the language of sports for this case study are: Are there differences in how journalists translate reports on more popular as opposed to less popular sports? How do journalists deal with the lexicon of particular sports?

4.3.3. Sports, economics, politics and society

We have already discussed that for many of the media under study, the sports section saw the highest article count of any section. The popularity of sports (in) media is, however, not exclusive to my research corpus.

> "Today many people engage with professional sport principally via media coverage of sporting events. The depth and range of audience reached by sports journalism is immense." (Blain et al. 1993, p. 11)

Because of the large audience media coverage knows to attract, it should not be surprising that today sport "has become intertwined with advertising, marketing and corporate business (Whannel, 1992)" (Blain et al. 1993, p. 12). As Beard (1998, p. 7) puts it: "Sport is big business".

Wenner (1989c) gives a more detailed account of what the relationship between sports content produced by media and consumption may look like:

> "it seems clear that the mediated version of sport is "entertaining" – it certainly is not work – and holds a two-pronged press to consume. Not only is mediated sport content designed to be pleasurably consumed, it is packaged as a vehicle that carries messages promoting the consumption of products." (Wenner 1989c, p. 21)

He goes on to state that "[t]he content per se is not what is being sold; rather it is the audience for that content that is being sold to advertisers" (Wenner 1989c, p.22). Indeed, in his history of sports coverage in the United States of America, McChesney (1989, p. 62) points out that "the most critical factor was that certain advertisers discovered that sports provided access to a very desirable market – not only for "blue-collar" products like beer and razor blades, but for big-ticket items like automobiles and business equipment" and that "especially the major team sports plus golf, tennis, and Olympic sports – tended to attract the types of educated, affluent, and consumption-oriented audiences that many major advertisers fantasize about" (p. 66).

Another reason why mediatized sports are interesting to companies is because of the perception that sports take place in "an apolitical arena, a space where people and countries come together in friendship" (Blain et al. 1993, p. 15). Indeed, sports "may be one of those arenas that is relatively free from real contestation" (Jhally 1989, p. 77), and as Gerhardt (2014, p. 38) argues, "in contrast to media texts such as political feature programmes, the immediate "meaning" (or dominant reading) of what is witnessed on the screen by the viewers, namely player moves, is largely indisputable" (also see Gerhardt 2010; Gerhardt

2008). But while sports themselves can (to a certain degree) be regarded as apolitical, their place within society and how they are used by and through media cannot:

> "This mass-communicated and highly commercialized sports culture is easily related to myriad issues concerning socialization, interpersonal communication, value formation, racial and gender assessments, and the balance of political and economic power." (Wenner 1989, p. 16)

The most obvious illustration of the relationship between sports and politics can be seen in how sports are used by politicians as propaganda, with Leni Riefenstahl's film of the 1936 Olympics (*Olympia*) being a prime example. Alain Tomlinson (1999, p. 220; also see Tomlinson and Young 2006) evaluates her work as "unashamedly ideological" because in the film she "reworked Olympic icons – statues, ruins, physical grace – to fit an elitist politics of racist superiority" and used images of "medieval spires and the outdoor camaraderie of the body in political camp or sporting village shrouding the facts of modern Germany, in which modern industrial production was geared to ambitions of world conquest."

Of course, the relationship between sports and political thought is not always a clear cut as presented above and propaganda can take very many forms. As said before, sports themes are often used as metaphors in political discourse. The presence of politicians and royals during sports events can be another example. When a politician shows up for a game in which a city team plays against another team he may be there because he actually enjoys watching the game, but he may as well be there as to become associated with said city and its team, and become more popular with its constituency. When the king shows up for a game in which the national team plays against another team he may be there because he actually enjoys the game, but also because sports play an important role in upholding feelings of national unity. A national team's performance may even affect people's perceptions of how a nation is doing as a whole. When soccer crazy Brazil had to leave the 1990 FIFA World Cup early (after losing from Argentina no less!), the disqualification was depicted by domestic (as well as foreign) media as reflecting (or even being due to) larger societal (economic and political) problems in the country (Blain et al. 1993).

According to Blain et al. (1993) the "idea of the nation as one is the *leitmotiv par excellence* of World Cup reporting" (p. 81) and throughout "European journalism on the

World Cup there runs a subterranean current of football as a 'substitute war'" (p. 77) between the different nations which are often represented in a stereotypical manner (also see: Billings et al. 2010; Billings and Tambosi 2004; Alabarces et al. 2001; Bairner 1996). They state that, to a certain extent, this also holds up for reporting on the Olympic Games:

> "the television presentation of the [1992] Olympic Games [in Barcelona] represented a crushing victory for those advocating a unitary conception of Spain. Spaniards (and indeed viewers from other countries) were treated to numerous shots of the Spanish King Juan Carlos embracing Spanish medal winners irrespective of which Spanish region they came from. […] The sound of the Spanish national anthem resounded through Spanish living rooms everywhere as Spain went on to win 13 gold medals in the Games." (Blain et al. 1993, p. 169)

Unlike the World Cup though, the particular nature of the Olympics

> "led to discourse of national character and identity being concentrated on (1) the host country Spain (and to a lesser extent Catalonia) [in 1992], and (2) above all on each country's home team. In other words, the British media concentrated heavily on British athletes, the French media on French athletes, the Portuguese media on Portuguese athletes and so on." (Blain et al. 1993, p. 159)

Indeed, they argue that, while the representation of the other is (almost) as important during a World Cup soccer game as the representation of the unified "us", the representation of the other is far less outspoken during many Olympic events – which is due to, among others, the differences between team and individual events, and the focus on medal events, rather than on sudden death rounds.

Another idea which apparently comes to the fore in sports writing, related to the representation of "us" against "them", is the concept of success.

> "Sports journalism is the primary vehicle through which these maxims about winning (and their attendant stories) are passed from generation to generation; indeed, most sports[ ]writing consists of dramatic narratives that recount the successes and failures of sports events, participants, and organizations. These dramatic narratives, however, do not merely catalog catchy slogans; they also re-present and reconstruct

> sport reality, providing an interpretive frame that readers use to understand the significance of success or failure on and off the field." (Vande Berg and Trujillo 1989, p. 204)

The above quote once again mirrors the idea put to the fore by Earl Warren with which I started this case study. Indeed, the representation of success over failure may be entertaining, but it is not an apolitical matter. Vande Berg and Trujilo (1989) argue that there is a difference between "winning by being one's best" and "winning at all costs" which media often fail to depict, and that "the emphasis on wins and losses often corresponds to a lack of emphasis on the process of playing". They conclude that [c]heerleading about victories or whining about losses may provide emotional relief, but such journalism does little to educate readers about sport in society" (p. 222).

Additional questions with regards to the relationship between sports, politics and society for this case study are: Do representations of success and failure change in the process of translation? How are social actors represented? Do representations of nationhood play a role in these representations?

4.3.4. Case study corpus

During the seven days in our constructed week, 61 articles that mention the 2012 Summer Olympics in one way or another were published by the news sites under study and 47 by the newspapers linked to these news sites.

Sixteen articles appeared on news sites *www.demorgen.be*, *www.hln.be* and *www.nieuwsblad.be*. Thirteen articles appeared on *www.standaard.be*. The first two news sites are maintained by *De Persgroep NV*, the latter two by *Corelio NV* – which now is part of the larger corporate group *Het Mediahuis NV*. While all four newspaper editorial rooms have their own offices, this is not the case for the news sites. As has been discussed in the previous case study, company *De Persgroep NV* has most of its online editorial staff working on one floor. First and foremost it is their job to create content for *www.hln.be*, the company's main online platform. The sports section is one of the most vital sections for the news site, which can already be seen in the sheer number of sports articles the news site pumps out on a daily basis (e.g. 35 out of 102 articles that appeared on the news site on Sunday December 11th 2011 can be found in the sports section). Also, in 2015 the company launched its first online subscription service. Unlike many other online pay to read services, the company chose to put part of a single section of *www.hln.be* behind a paywall, i.e. the sports section. They labeled the subscription service *HLN Sport Plus*. After a test period, they expanded their pay to read services to incorporate various topics, renaming the service to *HLN Plus*.

All sixteen sports articles mentioning the Summer Olympics that were published on *www.hln.be* also appeared on *www.demorgen.be*. No differences whatsoever. Even the time of publication is identical for all articles. This does not mean that both news sites are completely the same. Sometimes sports articles that appear on *www.hln.be* do not appear on *www.demorgen.be*. It is far less likely to happen the other way around though, which has to do with the *www.demorgen.be* not having its own sports reporters.

The thirteen news reports which were featured on *www.standaard.be* were also featured on *www.nieuwsblad.be*. Three reports which appeared on *www.nieuwsblad.be* did not appear on *www.standaard.be*. There is no obvious reason for why some of these articles did not appear on *www.standaard.be*. Other content produced by the (different) journalists of these articles regularly appeared on both news sites. Of course, sports news is one of two major pillars on which the '*Nieuwsblad*' brand is built (the other one being regional news), while it is less associated with the '*Standaard*' brand. This explains why more sports articles appeared on *www.nieuwsblad.be*, but not why certain articles are included and others excluded specifically. The far from perfect synchronization between news sites *www.nieuwsblad.be*, *www.standaard.be* and *www.sportwereld.be* may also have been a deciding factor in news site inconsistencies. Indeed, back in 2011 when you clicked on a sports article on both *www.nieuwsblad.be* and *www.standaard.be*, you were often (though remarkably not always) redirected to sister news site *www.sportwereld.be*, a separate news site which was dedicated specifically to sports news. Today, however, sports news site *www.sportwereld.be* is no longer a separate medium. Instead you are redirected to *www.nieuwsblad.be/sportwereld* when trying to access the URL. Indeed, now more than ever it is associated with the '*Nieuwsblad*' brand, while news site *www.standaard.be* has received its own onsite sports section, simply called *sport*. The current formal independence of both news sites from one another (with regards to sports news), has had no notable impact on content though. Sports articles found on *www.standaard.be* are still largely written by journalists who produce content for *www.nieuwsblad.be* as well.

Seven articles appeared in newspaper *De Morgen*, ten in *Het Laatste Nieuws*, fifteen in *De Standaard* and seventeen in *Het Nieuwsblad*. Unlike in the case study about the 2011 elections in the Democratic Republic of the Congo the difference in articles published on this topic cannot be entirely explained by the differences between the newspapers themselves, as sketched in section **3.1.1.**. Newspapers *Het Laatste Nieuws* and *Het Nieuwsblad* are generally known to bring more news about sports than their sister newspapers. Something which also holds up with regards to news on the Summer Olympics. What is striking, however, is that these differences between the different newspapers are not as outspoken as were expected. Furthermore, for the days in the constructed week, I found more articles concerning the run-up to the 2012 Summer Olympics in newspaper *De Standaard* than in newspaper *Het Laatste Nieuws*, while the latter has more than twice the number of articles in its sports section across the entire corpus. The reason behind the relatively high number of articles in which the 2012 Summer Olympics are mentioned in newspaper *De Standaard* can be explained by the high number of in depth sports interviews that appear in both *De Standaard* and *Het Nieuwsblad* (though often under different titles). Many of these interviews were conducted by sports journalist Hans Jacobs, who mainly works for newspaper *Het Nieuwsblad*, where he is responsible (among others) for coverage on Olympic disciplines.

Of the 61 articles found on news sites, 50 refer to at least one source in the byline. Because of the overlap in articles posted on news sites maintained by the same company, we are left with 26 unique articles that refer to at least one source in the byline: 13 published on sister news sites *www.demorgen.be* and www.hln.be, eleven on news sites *www.nieuwsblad.be* and *www.standaard.be*, and two exclusively on *www.nieuwsblad.be*. An additional two articles published on *www.demorgen.be* and *www.hln.be* refer to a source in the main text. Two further *www.nieuwsblad.be* articles that do not refer to a source (one of which also appeared on *www.standaard.be*) were also considered as translations, because they were almost word for word copies of *Belga* reports. Newspapers refer far less often to sources than news sites, but while there was only one in 25 newspaper articles that referred to a source for the previous case study, eleven out of 47 newspaper articles in this case study refer to a source. Two articles in *De Morgen* refer to at least one source, four in *De Standaard* and five in *Het Nieuwsblad*. As discussed in 3.1.2. newspaper *Het Laatste Nieuws* generally does not refer to sources. Because of close comparison to possible source texts, four of the newspaper's articles were, however, recognized as translations. An additional article in *De Morgen* and two articles in *De Standaard* were also recognized as translations.

In 22 out of 28 unique online news reports that refer to a source, Belgian press agency *Belga* was referred to as a first source. It was always referred to as the only source as well. Three articles refer to *Deutsche Presse Agentur* (*DPA*) as a primary source, one article refers to *Agence France-Presse* (*AFP*) as a source, one to *The Guardian* and one to *SkyNews*. Ten of the eleven newspaper articles that refer to a source also quote *Belga* as being its primary source. One of these articles lists the American agency *Associated Press* (*AP*) as a second source, and one article refers to *Deutsche Presse Agentur* (*DPA*) as its primary source.

News sites' and newspapers' dependence on national press agency *Belga* is not surprising. As stated before, for the entire corpus, 2,298 of 3,291 online news reports that refer to sources and 208 out of 333 newspaper reports that refer to sources indicated *Belga* as a primary source. Furthermore, the agency does not only provide media with domestic sports news articles, produced by its own correspondents, but also with international sports news articles which may or may not be translated from articles provided to them by international agencies. Also, some of the content produced by their French speaking correspondents is translated into Dutch, and vice versa.

Indeed, while many sports articles are written by *Belga*'s own journalists, other articles are themselves translations, meaning that news reports could have gone through several more stages before they were turned into news site or newspaper content. As an example let us take a look at an article on swimmer Michael Phelps' many victories during the 2011 Grand Prix of Minnesota which appeared on all four news sites and in two of the newspapers under study. Said article was published on *www.standaard.be* and *www.nieuwsblad.be* as 'Ongenaakbare Michael Phelps klaar voor Olympische Spelen' ('Invincible Michael Phelps ready for Olympic Games') on November 14th at 9:14 AM. It appeared on news sites *www.hln.be* and *www.demorgen.be* as 'Michael Phelps wint al zijn wedstrijden in GP Minnesota' ('Michael Phelps wins all his contests in GP Minnesota') on the same day, but slightly earlier, at 8:24 AM. A day later, on November 15th articles were published in newspaper *Het Laatste Nieuws* and *Het Nieuwsblad*. The article titles were 'Phelps op dreef' ('Phelp on a roll') and 'PHELPS' respectively. Only the article in *Het Laatste Nieuws* does not refer to news agency *Belga* as its source – though word for word comparison shows that *Belga* was its source. The Dutch *Belga* report was released on the same date as the news site articles, and was titled 'Foutloos rapport voor Michael Phelps in GP Minnesota' ('Flawless report card for Michael Phelps in GP Minnesota'). It indicates agency *Agence France-Presse* (*AFP*) as its source, though it was actually translated internally from the French *Belga* report it had already produced, which also quotes *AFP* as its source. The French *Belga* report was titled: 'Michael Phelps reçu cinq sur cinq au GP du Minnesota' ('Michael Phelps got five out of five in the GP of Minnesota'). The original French *AFP* report published on November 14th as well at 5:22 AM was titled: 'Grand Prix du Minnesota: Michael Phelps reçu cinq sur cinq' ('Grand Prix of Minnesota: Michael Phelps got five out of five').

This is, of course, only one example of how different texts in the corpus can relate to one another. Most news on athletes preparing, (not-)qualifying or (not) being selected for the Summer Olympics was domestic news, meaning it was not first translated from international coverage. News on different organizational aspects of the Summer Olympics, on the other hand, was mostly translated from international coverage (first by *Belga* translators or directly by news site or newspaper journalists). All chains leading up to the 28 unique news site articles and eleven newspaper articles that refer to a source were uncovered, as well as the chains leading up to the additional two news site articles and the seven additional newspaper articles that were recognized as translations but did not refer to a source. 25 unique news wire reports were found, as well as two news site articles, that had functioned as a source text in these chains. Four articles that were explicitly referred to in these chains were not found: one article attributed to *Associated Press* (*AP*), one attributed to *Belga* and two attributed to *Deutsche Presse Agentur* (*DPA*). Two of these attributions (the ones to *AP* and *Belga*) come from the same article, namely from the article titled 'D[d]ubbeldekkers voor Spelen' ('D[d]ouble deckers for Olympics') published in the

November 15th edition of newspaper *De Standaard*. It is remarkable that I was not able to find these source texts, as I had access to the entire *Belga* and *AP* archives. For *DPA* I only had access to its English wire, not its other language wires, which explains why I did not find two particular source texts, one which deals with the Nigerian national football team not being allowed to go to the 2012 Summer Olympics and one about runners Michael Johnson and Usain Bolt. The following table gives an overview of the studied source texts and the languages in which they were written:

	Belga	AFP	DPA	SkyNews	The Guardian	*Total*
Dutch	15	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	***15***
French	4	3	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	***7***
English	n.a.	n.a.	3	1	1	***5***
Total	***19***	***3***	***3***	***1***	***1***	***27***

Table 35. News wire reports in the corpus and the languages in which they are written

In total 74 unique texts became part of the corpus for this particular case study: 25 wire reports, 32 online news reports and 17 newspaper reports. The interchange between these texts provided 58 translation sets to work with: 12 interlingual (i.e. French to Dutch, English to Dutch) and 46 intralingual translations (i.e. French to French and Dutch to Dutch).

Overall news report size varies depending on language and source. The following table gives an overview of mean news report size per medium and language:

Medium (Language)	Language	N	Mean (SD)
demorgen.be	Dutch	15	191.60 (069.50)
hln.be	Dutch	15	191.60 (069.50)
nieuwsblad.be	Dutch	15	175.00 (040.23)
standaard.be	Dutch	12	170.92 (032.54)
De Morgen	Dutch	3	115.00 (035.04)
Het Laatste Nieuws	Dutch	4	129.50 (017.41)
Het Nieuwsblad	Dutch	5	95.60 (042.22)
De Standaard	Dutch	5	86.80 (020.62)
Belga	Dutch	15	169.27 (040.87)

Belga	French	4	233.00 (046.65)
AFP	French	3	296.67 (117.35)
DPA	English	3	271.00 (128.50)
The Guardian	English	1	1,097.00 (000.00)
SkyNews	English	1	537.00 (000.00)

Table 36. Mean news report size per medium and language

Standard deviations in general are not as high as they were in the previous case study, indicating that the represented numbers on the whole are more representative for the case study corpus. Differences between languages and media are apparent: Dutch news reports for the wire and for news sites count between 150 and 200 words. Translated Dutch newspaper reports only count between 60 and 140 words. Other language media reports tend to be longer (generally being over 200 words long) than the Dutch reports that used them as sources, already indicating that content was far more often cut from reports than added to them. The difference in word count between Dutch and French news reports released by news agency *Belga* is indicative for this preliminary finding, as only French *Belga* reports that were internally translated by *Belga* into Dutch are part of the case study corpus.

4.3.5. Quantitative results and analysis

4.3.5.1. General results

4,075 individual formal changes were tagged with RE-action markers across a corpus of 58 translation sets. Of these 4,075 changes 3,066 were also tagged with a functional pragmarker. When no pragmarker was applicable, the ‘n/a’ marker was used, i.e. non-applicable. An overview of how many times the different markers were used can be found in table 37:

REDUCTION	**2,732**	**REINFORCEMENT**	**573**	**REPLACEMENT**	**581**	**REARRANGEMENT**	**189**
Concentration	**71**	**Addition**	**482**	**Audience adaptation**	**5**	**Compensation**	**90**
anaphor	1	agency	5	social actor	1	agency	2
cataphor	1	anaphor	35	time deixis	3	anaphor	1
indirect reported speech	2	booster	5	n/a	1	conjunction	16
lexical choice	2	cataphor	12	**Editorial correction**	**11**	intertextuality	3
social actor	14	conjunction	101	intertextuality	2	lexical choice	8
spatial reference	15	direct reported speech	15	social actor	2	social actor	29
temporal reference	6	discourse deixis	1	spatial reference	5	spatial reference	9
time deixis	3	hedge	4	temporal reference	1	temporal reference	1
voicing	1	indirect reported speech	7	Voicing	1	time deixis	1
n/a	26	intertextuality	19	**Mistake**	**20**	voicing	12
Editorial correction	**8**	lexical choice	33	agency	1	n/a	8
conjunction	3	person deixis	7	booster	5	**Interchange**	**45**
intertextuality	2	social actor	38	indirect reported speech	1	agency	2
spatial reference	2	spatial reference	27	person deixis	2	direct reporetd speech	1
n/a	1	temporal reference	17	social actor	2	indirect reported speech	1
Implicitation	**56**	time deixis	19	temporal reference	1	social actor	7
Intertextuality	1	voicing	15	time deixis	2	spatial reference	2
lexical choice	14	n/a	121	voicing	1	time deixis	1
social actor	21	**Amplification**	**28**	n/a	5	voicing	5
spatial reference	11	agency	1	**Modulation**	**298**	n/a	26
temporal reference	2	time deixis	1	agency	33	**Recasting**	**54**
voicing	4	social actor	7	anaphor	9	agency	12
n/a	3	spatial reference	5	booster	2	anaphor	2
Mistake	**4**	temporal reference	1	conjunction	11	conjunction	3
anaphor	1	voicing	3	direct reported speech	2	intertextuality	2
lexical choice	1	n/a	10	hedge	6	social actor	12
spatial reference	1	**Audience adaptation**	**1**	indirect reported speech	20	spatial reference	2
n/a	1	voicing	1	lexical choice	122	temporal reference	1
Omission	**2,593**	**Editorial correction**	**5**	person deixis	1	time deixis	4
agency	9	conjunction	3	social actor	31	voicing	3
anaphor	120	n/a	2	spatial reference	17	n/a	13
booster	15	**Explicitation**	**57**	temporal reference	10		
cataphor	32	anaphor	1	time deixis	10		
conjunction	596	cataphor	1	Voicing	7		
direct reported speech	77	intertextuality	1	n/a	17		
discourse deixis	3	lexical choice	13	**Transposition**	**247**		
hedge	26	person deixis	1	agency	38		
indirect reported speech	67	social actor	15	conjunction	42		
intertextuality	49	spatial reference	8	direct reported speech	8		
lexical choice	34	temporal reference	1	hedge	5		
person deixis	58	time deixis	1	indirect reported speech	11		
social actor	277	voicing	8	lexical choice	50		
space deixis	6	n/a	6	social actor	10		

spatial reference	158	spatial reference	20
temporal reference	97	temporal reference	7
time deixis	133	time deixis	24
voicing	98	voicing	1
n/a	738	n/a	31

Table 37. Overview of all tagged changes in the corpus

RE-actions

The RE-actions most undertaken when translating other media reports about the run-up to the 2012 Summer Olympics in London are reductions (2,732). This was also the case when the media under study translated reports on the 2011 elections in the DR Congo, as discussed in the previous case study. Reinforcements (573), replacements (581) and rearrangements (189) are all far less common than reductions.

Omissions (2,593) are once again most common. Omission is a particular type of reduction. Second is addition, which is a type of reinforcement. Third and fourth are modulations (298) and transpositions (247), which are the most common types of replacement. Fifth are compensations (90), which are a specific type of rearrangement.

Just as with the case study on the 2011 elections in the DR Congo, the general quantitative results here show that the most common change made by Belgian journalists was to omit information present in the source texts they used from their own reporting. The low number of rearrangements (especially recasting (54) and interchanges(45)) show that overall article structure was generally kept. Unlike in the previous case study though, there are a relatively high number of compensations – indicating that even though general paragraph and sentence structures were generally kept, information from other (often omitted – as we will come to see) paragraphs was sometimes reused in a different place than in the source texts.

Pragmarkers

Social actor: The social actor pragmarker was used to mark every instance in which the representation of a social actor was not the product of word for word translation in any given target text. Social actors in the case study corpus were, among others, individual athletes (Michael Phelps, Usain Bolt, Evi Van Acker), sports teams (the Belgian 4x400m team, Los Angeles Galaxy), companies (Dow Chemical Company, G4S), government agencies (the FBI, the Ministry of Defense) and countries (when subject or object of a clause rather than part of a prepositional phrase). Many changes regarding social actors are found in the reduction category, especially implicitations (21 out of 56) (e.g. 'van Amerikaanse atleten' ('of American athletes') being translated as 'hun atleten' ('their athletes') after coreference to America had already been established) and omissions (277 out of 2,593).

In the reinforcement category, many of the explicitations (15 out of 57) were tagged with the social actor pragmarker (e.g. 'America' being translated as 'de VS' ('the US')), as well as a substantial number of additions (38 out of 482). Replacements were also quite common, especially modulations (31 out of 298). This is somewhat surprising as it is easier to leave out or add a social actor than it is to replace one with another. Most modulations, however, do not actually replace one person with another, but alter the descriptions or modifiers which distinguish them (e.g. 'leur entraîneur Jacques Borlée' ('their trainer Jacques Borlée') being translated as 'hun coach Jacques Borlée' ('their coach Jacques Borlée'). Interestingly, no examples were found of borrowing for this case study. This, of course, has to do with the topic under study and the way in which I defined 'borrowing'. While some organization names in the DR Congo can be translated from French to Dutch (e.g. Céni, UDPS), there is, for instance, no accepted Dutch alternative for the English acronym LOCOG (which stands for, London Organising Committee of the Olympic Games and Paralympic Games) – meaning it could not be regarded as a RE-action.

Quite a few rearrangements revolved around social actors: 7 out of 45 interchanges, 12 out of 54 examples of recasting and 29 out of 90 compensations. The higher number of recasting examples can be somewhat explained by the fact that social actors are often the subject of a clause. Recasting a clause often involves changing its subject – as can also be learned from the higher number of recasting examples being tagged with the (related) agency pragmarker. The high number of compensations mostly come from two specific translations in which the same enumeration of team member names was lifted from one paragraph (the rest of which was omitted) and added descriptively to a noun phrase in a previous paragraph.

Voicing: voicing was used to mark changes to social actors whose speech was represented directly or indirectly in the reports under study. Since there are generally fewer social actors who get voiced in an article than that there are social actors in general, it is not surprising to see fewer changes annotated as such. Most changes were once again omissions (98). Second were additions (15). Few additions can, however, be attributed to the use of external sources. Most of them are related to different forms of rearrangement, which are also quite commonly associated with voicing (12 compensations, 5 interchanges and 3 recastings). This means that while quotes themselves do get translated, their location within a text is prone to change. There are not many replacements (10 in total). Unlike with social actors in general, social actors who are voiced are generally represented with a proper noun rather than with a complex noun phrase (i.e. with modifiers).

Agency: While changes with regards to social actors (and voicing) were generally omission and additions, very few changes with regards to agency fall within these categories (9 omissions and 5 additions). Most changes here are replacements, 33 of which are modulations (e.g. ‘op te lossen’ (‘to solve’) being translated as ‘te vermijden’ (‘to avoid’) and 38 of which are transpositions (e.g. ‘was taken over’ being translated as ‘nam over’ (‘took over’)). Many of the examples are both modulation and transposition though (e.g. ‘gepland staat’ (‘is planned’) being translated as ‘werkt af’ (‘finishes’)) and as such were tagged as both.

Most changes were tagged on the level of the verb phrase, though there were also a decent number of changes tagged on the clause level, mostly examples of recasting (12). Indeed, when the verb phrase within a clause was changed this often went hand in hand with changes to the subject (often a social actor) of said clause, as well as other changes to said clause. As an example let us take a look at how the title of one specific *Belga* report on former Olympic champion Michael Johnson inviting the Belgian 4x400m team in his training center to prepare for the upcoming Olympics was translated by newspapers *Het Nieuwsblad* and *De Standaard*:

Michael Johnson nodigt Belgisch 4x400m-team uit in trainingscentrum (*Belga*)

4x400-ploeg traint bij Michael Johnson (*De Standaard*)

4x400-ploeg gaat trainen bij Michael Johnson (*Het Nieuwsblad*)

The direct object (‘Belgisch 4x400m-team’ (‘Belgian 4x400m team’)) from the *Belga* report title became the subject in both newspaper article titles (‘4x400-ploeg’ (‘4x400 squad’) – be it with some alterations to it (‘Belgisch’ and ‘m’ being omitted, and ‘team’ being modulated). The subject (‘Michael Johnson’) from the *Belga* report became a prepositional phrase indicating location in the newspaper titles. The prepositional phrase indicating location from the original report was omitted, also because part of the noun in it was transposed (‘training’) into a verb (‘traint’ (‘trains’) in *De Standaard* and ‘gaat trainen’ (‘will train’) in *Het Nieuwsblad*. The verb ‘to train’ ascribes agency to the Belgian 4x400m team, while ‘nodigt uit’ (‘invites’) ascribed agency to Michael Johnson. As can be seen in this example, changes with regard to agency can greatly impact several phrases within a sentence.

Direct and indirect reported speech: Most changes with regard to the representation of direct and indirect reported speech were once again omissions (i.e. direct reported speech (77) and indirect reported speech (67)). There are some additions as well (i.e. direct reported speech (15) and indirect reported speech (7)). Interestingly, these additions of reported speech do not necessarily come from another text than the source text. For example the clause ‘The US has raised repeated concerns’ in an article published on *www.guardian.co.uk* on Olympic venue security was translated by press agency *Deutsche Presse Agentur* as ‘The United States have raised “repeated concerns”’, adding quotation marks to the direct object which were not present in the original. Indeed, adding quotation marks to or omitting them from reported speech happens regularly. As a matter of fact, when that same *DPA* clause ‘The United States have raised “repeated concerns”’ was subsequently translated by press agency *Belga* the quotation marks once again disappeared: ‘Amerika heeft herhaaldelijk zijn bezorgdheid uitgedrukt’ (‘America has repeatedly expressed its concerns’).

Another interesting finding has to do with the number of modulations (i.e. direct reported speech (2) and indirect reported speech (20)) and transpositions (i.e. direct reported speech (8) and indirect reported speech (11)). These changes mostly occur when translating an action verb expressing the act of utterance from one language into another, and mostly when used in combination with indirect reported speech. Although there are fewer examples of French to Dutch translations in this case study than in the previous one, the examples here do show the same tendency to translate the diverse action verbs used in French to more neutral ones in Dutch (e.g. ‘a indiqué’ (‘has indicated’) being translated as ‘zei’ (‘said’); ‘a assuré’ (‘has assured’) as ‘laat weten’ (‘to let know’)). Interestingly, we see the exact opposite when translating the English action verb ‘said’ into Dutch. Among its translations we find the prepositions ‘volgens’ (‘according to’) and verbs like ‘schrijft’ (‘writes’), ‘laat weten’ (‘to let know’), ‘stelde gerust’ (‘reassured’). This was somewhat different in the previous case study where translations from English into Dutch in this respect tended to be word for word translations. The difference is that translations from English to Dutch in the previous case study were made by press agency *Belga* which tries to cater to as many media as possible by writing in a neutral manner, while some of the translations from English to Dutch in this case study were made by news site journalists as well. Indeed, the examples here presented all come from translations made by news sites.

Intertextuality: There are 79 RE-actions which were tagged with the intertextuality pragmarker. Of those 79 RE-actions, 49 are omissions and 19 are additions. Almost all changes that were tagged with the intertextuality pragmarker can be classified in two categories: (i) additions or omissions of source references (mostly to press agencies); (ii) additions or omissions of references that indicate that an article is part of a set of articles on a specific topic, mostly appearing in (or disappearing from) the title of an article, e.g. ‘ATLETIEK’ (‘ATHLETICS’), ‘Volleybal’ (‘Volleyball’).

Lexical choice: Mostly modulations (122) and transpositions (50) were tagged with the lexical choice pragmarker. This is not surprising, since modulations and transpositions are by definition reformulations. Some examples from the corpus: ‘de Olympische Spelen’ (‘the Olympic Games’) being translated as ‘de Spelen’ (‘the Games’); ‘appartements royaux’ (royal apartments’) als ‘optrekje’ (‘little condo’).

Temporal reference and time deixis: temporal references (97) and expressions of time deixis (133) were often omitted, and far less often added to target texts (17 and 19 instances respectively). Overall, there are more changes to be discerned within the replacement category than within the reinforcement category. An example of a modulation is ‘next Summer’ being translated as ‘tijdens de Spelen’ (‘during the Games’). An example of a transposition is ‘a précisé’ (‘has made clear’) being translated as ‘verduidelijkt’ (‘makes clear'). Indeed, many of the transpositions found in the case study corpus have to do with verb tenses changing in translations. Three mistakes were made in translating temporal references. For instance, 'pendant la période des jeux olympiques' ('during the period of the Olympic Games') was translated as 'tijdens de duur van de olympiade' ('through the duration of the Olympiad'). The Olympiad lasts four years. The Olympics do not.

Spatial reference and space deixis: Changes involving expressions of space deixis are rare in the case study corpus (6), but not as rare as in the case study on the 2011 elections in the DR Congo, where there were literally no changes to be found. All changes are omissions. They mostly relate to the adverb 'there' being omitted from quotes found in the longer English articles – with 'there' not having an in-text referent. There was one instance in which the adverb 'nationally' was omitted because it had lost its meaning when the text was transferred from a British to an international audience. Changes to spatial references are far more common than changes involving expressions of space deixis. They are mostly omissions (158). Additions (27), modulations (17) and transpositions (20) are also quite common.

Discourse deixis: Only four cases involving changes in the expression of discourse deixis were tagged. Three of which are omissions. In these three instances, references that link what is being said to previously given information could no longer fulfil said task on the count of the given information having been omitted as well. One case was an addition in which a reference was added between brackets to an accompanying photo.

Person deixis and social deixis: As stated previously, the general expectation for the use of person deictic references in news reporting would be a backgrounding of both the utterer or writer and the addressee, and a clear dominance of topic-related third-person references (mostly functioning as anaphors and cataphors). This expectation was once again met in this case study. Changes with regard to person deictic references only appeared when said references were part of a quote, i.e. when the deictic center shifted from the writer to a previous speech situation. Person deictic references were mostly omitted from (58) and sometimes added to (7) a quote. Interestingly, while most of the changes are still related to the personal pronoun 'we' in this case study, far more examples were found in which changes were made to the personal pronoun 'I' than in the previous case study. This is related to the social actors who are given a voice in sports news as opposed to news on elections. In sports news individual athletes represent themselves while being interviewed, while representatives for any type of organization (or a team for that matter) generally do not speak in their own name when interviewed. There were no changes with regard to social deixis discerned.

Anaphor and cataphor: changes concerning cataphors did not occur often (46 in the entire case study corpus), while changes vis-à-vis anaphors were more common (170). None of the changes concerning cataphors and only 9 changes concerning anaphors were modulations. No transpositions were tagged with the anaphor and cataphor pragmarker. In other words, just like in the previous case study, few explicit references (social actors, temporal and spatial references) were replaced by pronouns functioning as anaphors or cataphors in subsequent translations. The same explanation given in the previous case study holds up here. Because so much information is omitted from the source texts when they are translated, as also seen in the mean word counts presented in table 36, very little space is left for anaphoric or cataphoric reference.

Conjunction: conjunctions play a major role in text cohesion; they literally bind clauses together. The fact that many of them were omitted (596) is, of course, related to the amount of information being omitted in general. The relatively high number of additions (101) shows that journalists did work to make their target texts cohesive in spite of all the omissions. The 42 marked transpositions are all examples of conjunctions being replaced by punctuation marks or vice versa. This mostly happened when longer sentences were cut into two sentences. There were six editorial corrections related to conjunctions. The additions are all examples of a punctuation mark that was forgotten in the ST being added to the TT. The omissions are all examples of the opposite situation in which a superfluous punctuation mark that was in the ST was left out of the TT.

Hedge and booster: 27 changes in the case study corpus were tagged as concerning boosters, 41 were tagged as concerning hedges. Most of these changes were omissions (15 and 26 respectively). Many of the replacements are related to substituting the future tense for the conditional tense and vice versa. When this happened between two different languages it was considered a mistake. Let us take a closer look at one particular sentence that was translated from an article published on *news.sky.com* by a journalists working for news sites *www.demorgen.be* and *www.hln.be*.

> *Surface-to-air missiles could be used to protect athletes and visitors during the London Olympics next year, according to the Defence Secretary Philip Hammond.*
>
> *Grond-luchtraketten zullen in stelling gebracht worden om atleten en bezoekers te beschermen tijdens de Olympische Spelen in Londen, zo maakte de Britse minister van Defensie Philip Hammond bekend.*

In the example the conditional 'could be used' was wrongly translated as 'zullen in stelling gebracht worden' ('will be put in position'), making it seem like the situation was a *fait accompli*. Choosing to replace 'according to' by 'made known' when attributing the utterance (indirectly) to the British Defense Secretary also works to this effect, making it sound like the decision was already made – which was not the case.

The practice of substituting future and conditional tenses was not exclusive to interlingual translations, however – though it were mostly future tenses that were turned into conditional tenses when Dutch news reports were translated into other Dutch news reports, e.g. 'zal lopen' ('will run') being translated as 'zou deelnemen aan' ('would take part in').

4.3.5.2. Distinctive results

I chose to highlight six distinct source and target text relationships in this section, spanning 54 of 58 translation sets: (i) French *AFP* reports being translated into French *Belga* reports (2 translation sets, intralingual translation, same medium type); (ii) English *DPA* reports being translated into Dutch *Belga* reports (3 translation sets, interlingual translation, same medium type); (iii) French *Belga* reports being translated into Dutch *Belga* reports (4 translation sets, interlingual translation, same medium); (iv) Dutch *Belga* reports being translated into Dutch online news reports (27 translation sets, intralingual translation, different medium); (v) Dutch *Belga* reports being translated into Dutch newspapers reports

(17 translation sets, intralingual translation, different medium); (vi) a *news.sky.com* report being translated into an *www.hln.be* and *www.demorgen.be* report (1 translation set, interlingual translation, same medium type).

Translating French AFP reports into French Belga reports

Two out of 58 translation sets are instances of French *AFP* reports having been translated into French *Belga* reports. Table 38 gives an overview of the tagged formal and functional changes:

REDUCTION	**120**	**REINFORCEMENT**	**5**	**REPLACEMENT**	**1**	**REARRANGEMENT**	**1**
Omission	**120**	**Addition**	**3**	**Editorial correction**	**1**	**Recasting**	**1**
anaphor	8	intertextuality	3	temporal reference	1	intertextuality	1
cataphor	4	**Explicitation**	**2**				
conjunction	32	lexical choice	2				
direct reported speech	2						
indirect reported speech	1						
Intertextuality	1						
person deixis	3						
social actor	12						
spatial reference	10						
temporal reference	12						
time deixis	5						
voicing	2						
n/a	28						

Table 38. Overview of tagged changes for AFP (French) to Belga (French) translation pairs

A total of 127 changes were tagged across the two translation sets. 99 of these RE-actions were also tagged with a pragmarker. In comparison, 4,075 individual formal changes were tagged across the entire corpus of 58 translation sets. These two translation sets represent 3.45% of translation sets in the case study corpus, and 3.12% of the total number of changes found for the case study corpus are depicted in the above table. Taking into account the rather high mean lengths of French *AFP* articles (296.67 words) and French *Belga* reports (233.00 words), it can be argued that not much changes when translating a French *AFP* report into a French *Belga* report.

Furthermore, almost all changes are omissions (120 out of 127), and especially conjunctions were omitted (32 out of 120 omissions). Mostly entire paragraphs were omitted from TTs. When paragraphs were translated, word for word takeover was high – as is also reflected in the very low numbers of reinforcements (5), replacements (1) and rearrangements (1). What is more, almost all these changes (excluding the omissions) were found in the translation of a title for one of the articles, i.e. 'A louer: appartements royaux, pendant les JO' ('To let: royal apartments, during the OG') being translated as 'GB: des appartements royaux à louer pendant les Jeux Olympiques' ('GB: royal apartments to let during the Olympic Games'). The two explicitations in the table (marked as examples of lexical choice) are 'JO' ('OG') being translated as 'Jeux Olympiques' ('Olympic Games') and the addition of an indefinite article to 'appartements royaux' ('royal apartments') – something which is, of course, impossible in English. The addition of 'GB:' to the beginning of the title was done to indicate that the article is part of a set of articles on a specific topic (namely, Great-Britain) and was therefore marked as an example of intertextuality. The addition also led to the recasting of the title, with the intertextual marker appearing as topic rather than the verb phrase, and the subject also appearing in front of said verb phrase. The comma disappearing from the title is an example of an omission (marked as a conjunction) not related to the deletion of entire paragraphs, which are somewhat more rare.

The other two additions marked with the intertextuality pragmarker are source references to *AFP* which appear in the first paragraph of both translations. In one instance the course time in which Michael Phelps had completed a swimming event was written down differently in ST '(1 min 57 sec 58/100)' and TT '(1:57.58)'. It was considered an editorial correction (marked as a temporal reference) because every subsequent course time in both ST and TT was represented in the latter format.

There are no audience adaptations found in these translations. Contrastingly, when French *AFP* reports concerning the 2011 elections in the DR Congo were translated into French *Belga* reports there were quite a few audience adaptations – 8 out of 21 total audience adaptations for said case study were found in these translations.

Translating English DPA reports into Dutch Belga reports

Three out of 58 translation sets are instances of English *DPA* reports having been translated into Dutch *Belga* reports. Table 39 gives an overview of the tagged formal and functional changes:

REDUCTION	281	REINFORCEMENT	103	REPLACEMENT	77	REARRANGEMENT	22
Concentration	**11**	**Addition**	**89**	**Audience adaptation**	**1**	**Compensation**	**7**
anaphor	1	anaphor	4	n/a	1	social actor	3
indirect reported speech	1	booster	1	**Editorial correction**	**1**	voicing	3
lexical choice	1	cataphor	3	voicing	1	n/a	1
n/a	8	conjunction	20	**Mistake**	**3**	**Interchange**	**10**
Implicitation	**5**	hedge	3	social actor	1	direct reported speech	1
lexical choice	1	intertextuality	3	n/a	2	indirect reported speech	1
social actor	2	lexical choice	2	**Modulation**	**39**	social actor	3
voicing	2	social actor	11	agency	4	voicing	2
Mistake	**1**	spatial reference	6	hedge	1	n/a	3
lexical choice	1	temporal reference	7	indirect reported speech	10	**Recasting**	**5**
Omission	**264**	time deixis	4	lexical choice	15	conjunction	1
anaphor	17	voicing	1	social actor	2	social actor	1
booster	1	n/a	24	spatial reference	1	time deixis	1
cataphor	5	**Amplification**	**7**	temporal reference	2	voicing	1
conjunction	53	social actor	3	time deixis	1	n/a	1
direct reported speech	9	spatial reference	1	voicing	2		
hedge	3	voicing	1	n/a	1		
indirect reported speech	14	n/a	2	**Transposition**	**33**		
intertextuality	3	**Explicitation**	**7**	agency	6		
person deixis	2	social actor	3	conjunction	6		
social actor	29	spatial reference	1	hedge	1		
spatial reference	19	voicing	2	indirect reported speech	5		
temporal reference	6	n/a	1	lexical choice	3		
time deixis	11			social actor	1		
voicing	16			temporal reference	1		
n/a	76			time deixis	3		
				n/a	7		

Table 39. Overview of tagged changes for DPA (English) to Belga (Dutch) translation pairs

A total of 483 changes were tagged across three translation sets, of which 356 were also tagged with a pragmarker. The three sets represent 5.17% of sets in the case study corpus, and 11.85% of all changes are found within these translations. There are once again a high number of reductions here (281 out of 483 changes in the three sets, 281 out of 2,732 reductions in the case study corpus), but more interesting are the high number of reinforcements found in these translations (103 out of 573 reinforcements in the case study corpus). This is especially remarkable when looking at the mean word counts for English DPA articles (271.00 words) and Dutch *Belga* articles (169.27 words).

The high number of reinforcements (and especially additions (89)) cannot be explained by the use of multiple sources. The additions are there to compensate for information loss from omitted ST paragraphs (as partially reflected in the number of compensations (7)), and to make the texts more cohesive by using more conjunctions (20 additions were tagged as such). Indeed, while in many cases it are the last few paragraphs of an article which are omitted, making it unnecessary to add extra cohesive elements to a text, this was not the case when English *DPA* reports were translated into Dutch *Belga* reports. Many of the latter paragraphs in the *DPA* reports have quotes in them, which were used in the Dutch *Belga* reports. To connect the news from the earlier paragraphs to the quotes from the latter paragraphs journalists had to be more resourceful, which explains the high number of added conjunctions, e.g. ‘echter’ (‘though), ‘Bovendien’ (‘Furthermore’), ‘dan ook’ (‘thus also’), ‘en’ (‘and’), ‘maar’ (‘but’). It also explains the compensations related to voicing (3) and social actors (3). The fact that there were no additions related to the representation of reported speech itself can be seen as another indication that the additions are not due to the use of multiple sources.

While there were no amplifications and concentrations found in the French *AFP* reports that were translated into French *Belga* reports, some amplifications (7) and concentrations (11) were found in the translations of English *DPA* reports to Dutch *Belga* reports. This is not surprising, as amplifications and concentrations are usually limited to interlingual translations. That there are more concentrations than amplifications should also not come as a surprise, and can largely be explained by differences in the representation of compounds between Dutch and English. In English, compounds are generally written in their separate parts (i.e. separate words), while in Dutch, compounds are generally written as one word, e.g. ‘security staff’ being translated as ‘veiligheidsagenten’ (‘security agents’), ‘security roles’ being translated as ‘veiligheidstaken’ (‘security tasks’). Another language difference which incites concentration is the representation of infinitive verbs. In English sentences, the to-infinitive is used quite often, while in Dutch we mainly see a zero infinitive, e.g. ‘to sponsor’ being translated as ‘sponsoren’ (‘sponsor’). Amplifications were mostly seen when an article was warranted in front of a noun in Dutch or in the representation of governmental bodies, e.g. ‘federal Sports Minister’ being translated as ‘de federale minister van Sport’ (‘the federal minister of Sports’), ‘the British Home Office’ being translated as ‘het Britse ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken’ (‘the British ministry of Internal Affairs’).

There was only one audience adaptation found, related the representation of large numbers. While the ST used the American style, i.e. ‘10.000’, the TT used the style more common in the rest of the world, i.e. ’10,000’. This is interesting to see, as there were also no audience adaptations found when French *AFP* reports were translated into French *Belga* reports for this case study. Indeed, audience adaptations for the entire case study corpus are much lower in comparison to the previous case study corpus.

Translating French Belga reports into Dutch Belga reports

Four out of 58 translation sets are instances of French *Belga* reports having been translated into Dutch *Belga* reports. Table 40 gives an overview of the tagged formal and functional changes:

REDUCTION	**217**	**REINFORCEMENT**	**71**	**REPLACEMENT**	**105**	**REARRANGEMENT**	**28**
Concentration	**49**	**Addition**	**48**	**Editorial correction**	**3**	**Compensation**	**7**
lexical choice	1	anaphor	10	social actor	2	agency	1
social actor	12	booster	2	spatial reference	1	anaphor	1
spatial reference	14	cataphor	2	**Mistake**	**3**	voicing	1
temporal reference	5	conjunction	9	temporal reference	1	n/a	4
time deixis	3	direct reported speech	1	time deixis	1	**Interchange**	**13**
voicing	1	indirect reported speech	1	n/a	1	agency	1
n/a	13	lexical choice	3	**Modulation**	**47**	lexical choice	1
Implicitation	**9**	person deixis	1	agency	5	social actor	2
social actor	1	social actor	3	anaphor	3	spatial reference	**2**
spatial reference	4	spatial reference	2	conjunction	1	time deixis	1
temporal reference	1	temporal reference	2	direct reported speech	1	n/a	6
voicing	1	time deixis	2	lexical choice	18	**Recasting**	**8**
n/a	2	voicing	2	social actor	6	agency	2
Omission	**159**	n/a	8	spatial reference	2	intertextuality	1
agency	2	**Amplification**	**13**	temporal reference	2	social actor	2
anaphor	8	agency	1	time deixis	3	spatial reference	1
cataphor	3	lexical choice	1	n/a	6	time deixis	1
conjunction	47	social actor	3	**Transposition**	**52**	n/a	1

direct reported speech	2	spatial reference	3	agency	10
discourse deixis	1	temporal reference	1	conjunction	12
indirect reported speech	3	n/a	4	direct reported speech	1
intertextuality	1	**Explicitation**	**10**	lexical choice	5
lexical choice	7	cataphor	1	social actor	2
person deixis	1	lexical choice	2	spatial reference	7
social actor	12	social actor	3	temporal reference	3
spatial reference	18	spatial reference	1	time deixis	4
temporal reference	15	temporal reference	2	n/a	8
time deixis	8	n/a	1		
voicing	3				
n/a	28				

Table 40. Overview of tagged changes for Belga (French) to Belga (Dutch) translation pairs

A total of 421 changes were tagged across the four translation sets, of which 339 were also tagged with a pragmarker. The four sets represent 6.90% of sets in the case study corpus, and 10.33% of all changes are found within these translations. There are once again a high number of reductions here (217 out of 421 changes in the four sets, 217 out of 2,732 reductions in the case study corpus). And while reinforcements were quite common in the translations of English *DPA* reports into Dutch *Belga* reports (103), they appeared far less often in the translation of French *Belga* reports into Dutch *Belga* reports (71). Replacements, on the other hand, were more common when translating from French *Belga* reports (105) as opposed to translating from English *DPA* reports (77).

Some of these replacements are editorial corrections (3) and mistakes (3). Two of the editorial corrections have to do with social actors, which does not happen often – in fact these are the only two examples in the entire case study corpus. In one example a Dutch speaking Belgian athlete's name was wrongly represented in the French language ST (i.e. 'Sven Vanhaeren'). His name was corrected in the Dutch TT (i.e. to 'Stef Vanhaeren'). In the other example 'Construit par Henri VII' ('Built by Henry VII') was translated as 'werd gebouwd in opdracht van koning Hendrik VII' ('was built by commission of king Henry VII'). Though the first formulation is not entirely wrong, its translation is a far more accurate description – as the king did, of course, not build any palace himself. On the other hand, the *factual* mistake in the original formulation was never corrected, as the palace in question was not built by commission of king Henry VII, but by commission of king Henry VIII. Some of the mistakes have been discussed before. One relates to a conditional tense having been translated into a future tense, another to ‘jeux olympiques’ (Olympic Games) having been translated into ‘Olympiade’ (‘Olympiad’). The third mistake is a typographical error, ‘ndlr’ (‘ed. note’) being translated as ‘nvlr’ when it should have been ‘nvdr’.

There are also quite a few concentrations (49) of which 14 were marked with the spatial reference pragmarker and 12 with the social actor pragmarker. Amplifications are once again less common. This situation largely reflects the differences between the French and Dutch languages in some respects. For instance, the use of articles is far more constricting in French than it is in Dutch. For example, countries (which could be marked as spatial reference in some case, as social actors in others) in French generally are presided by an article, e.g. ‘la Belgique’, ‘la Pologne’ (literally: ‘the Belgium’ and ‘the Poland’) which is not the case in Dutch. Interestingly, many of the amplifications also relate to differences between the languages in the use of articles, with the French ‘des’ (‘of the’) being translated into ‘van de’, and the necessity in Dutch to add a definite article in front of swimming events (which is not necessary in French), e.g. ‘sur 100 m dos’ (‘on 100 m backstroke’) being translated as ‘op de 100m rug’ (‘on the 100m backstroke’), ‘200 m papillon’ (‘200 m butterfly’) being translated as ‘de 200m vlinder’ (‘the 200m butterfly’).

There were no audience adaptations, something which falls within the realm of expectations after the previous case study, and results for pragmarkers are in line with the general results. The changes relating to social deixis found in the previous case study when translating from French to Dutch were not seen in this case study. Indeed, while the honorific titles ‘Mister’ or ‘Madam’ (i.e. ‘M.’ or ‘Mme’ in French) were given to some people in the French articles on the 2011 elections in the DR Congo, they were not given to anybody in the French articles related to the run-up to the 2012 London Summer Olympics. This has to do with the social actors represented in the articles. Many of the social actors in the French articles are royalty, e.g. ‘la reine’ (the Queen’), ‘Lord’. Their honorific titles were always translated word for word. Athletes, on the other hand, were never given an honorific title to begin with, and were never referred to as ‘Mister’ or ‘Madam’.

Translating Dutch Belga reports into Dutch news site reports

Twenty-seven out of 58 translation sets are instances of a Dutch *Belga* report having been translated into a Dutch news site report. Table 41 gives an overview of the tagged formal and functional changes:

REDUCTION	**149**	**REINFORCEMENT**	**89**	**REPLACEMENT**	**46**	**REARRANGEMENT**	**4**
Editorial correction	**3**	**Addition**	**85**	**Audience adaptation**	**3**	**Recasting**	**4**
conjunction	3	agency	1	time deixis	3	agency	2
Implicitation	**5**	anaphor	3	**Modulation**	**11**	spatial reference	1
lexical choice	1	booster	1	agency	2	n/a	1
social actor	2	conjunction	18	hedge	1		
spatial reference	1	direct reported speech	4	indirect reported speech	1		
voicing	1	indirect reported speech	1	lexical choice	3		
Omission	**141**	intertextuality	1	social actor	3		
agency	2	lexical choice	3	n/a	1		
anaphor	1	person deixis	6	**Transposition**	**32**		
booster	1	social actor	2	agency	3		
cataphor	4	spatial reference	7	conjunction	1		
conjunction	30	temporal reference	2	direct reported speech	2		
direct reported speech	4	time deixis	3	hedge	1		
hedge	1	voicing	2	indirect reported speech	1		
indirect reported speech	4	n/a	31	lexical choice	17		
intertextuality	28	**Editorial correction**	**3**	social actor	2		
lexical choice	2	conjunction	1	spatial reference	1		
social actor	8	n/a	2	time deixis	1		
spatial reference	5	**Explicitation**	**1**	n/a	3		
temporal reference	3	voicing	1				
time deixis	6						
voicing	4						
n/a	38						

Table 41. Overview of tagged changes for Belga (Dutch) to news site (Dutch) translation pairs

A total of 288 formal changes were tagged across the twenty-seven translation sets – 212 of which were assigned with a pragmarker. Although these 27 translation sets represent 46.55% of translation sets in the case study corpus, only 7.08% of the total number of tagged changes are represented here. This is a very low number of changes. Once again, however, the most common changes are reductions (149), while there are also a considerable number of reinforcements (89). There are very few replacements (46), and rearrangements (4) are almost inexistent. Structural changes were therefore almost inexistent as well. The mean number of words for articles appearing on news sites in Dutch (191.60 words for *www.hln.be*/*www.demorgen.be*; 175.00 words for *www.nieuwsblad.be*; 170.92 for *www.standaard.be*) is somewhat higher than the mean number of words for articles released by press agency *Belga* in Dutch (169.27 words). This can largely be explained by the presence of two larger articles published on *www.demorgen.be* and *www.hln.be* that were (partially) translated from English language news sites. The slightly higher mean number of words is largely due to the fact that some *Belga* articles with lower word counts were not picked up by the news sites for translation.

The larger number of omissions tagged with the intertextuality marker (28) all relate to the in-text representation of sources. While news wire *Belga* refers to its sources (or itself) in-text at the beginning of the first paragraph, the news sites under study refer to their sources in the byline, which formally speaking falls outside of the text. The larger number of omissions tagged with the conjunction marker (30) indicate that there were quite a few clauses (or entire paragraphs) left out when translating. Most of these omissions (and other omissions), though, are found in the translation of one particular article on venue security. This is because the article published on news sites *www.demorgen.be* and *www.hln.be* did not only use the *Belga* report as a source text, but an article which appeared on *www.theguardian.co.uk* as well. The higher number of additions (85) also mainly relate to one particular translation set. While the original *Belga* report was used to relate how sailor Evi Van Acker came in second during a medal race in Australia for the first part of the article, quotes from an interview with the disappointed athlete were added subsequently.

There were three audience adaptations, all replacements, all related to time deixis, i.e. ‘Zondag’ (‘Sunday’) being translated as ‘Gisteren’ (‘Yesterday’), ‘vrijdag’ (‘Friday’) being translated as ‘vandaag’ (‘today’) and ‘zondag’ (‘Sunday’) being translated as ‘vanochtend’ (‘this morning’). These changes were tagged as audience adaptations because they would only make sense to an audience reading the news reports online on a specific day, namely the day of publication. Indeed, especially in the last two examples, it may strike people as odd reading that something happened on ‘Friday’ or ‘Sunday’ when ‘today’ is that ‘Friday’ or ‘Sunday’. Wire services generally restrain from using time deictic expressions that are as proximate as ‘today’ and ‘yesterday’ because the content they produce is meant for different media that publish on different moments in time (e.g. morning newspapers can only publish the news the day after at the earliest). For this reason, these types of audience adaptations also appear less frequently when wire reports are translated into other wire reports.

Translating Dutch Belga reports into Dutch newspaper reports

Seventeen out of 58 translation sets are instances of Dutch *Belga* reports having been translated into Dutch newspaper reports. Table 42 gives an overview of the tagged formal and functional changes:

REDUCTION	**624**	**REINFORCEMENT**	**114**	**REPLACEMENT**	**191**	**REARRANGEMENT**	**102**
Editorial correction	**5**	**Addition**	**94**	**Editorial correction**	**6**	**Compensation**	**72**
intertextuality	2	agency	3	intertextuality	2	agency	1
spatial reference	2	anaphor	11	spatial reference	4	conjunction	16
n/a	1	cataphor	1	**Modulation**	**125**	intertextuality	3
Implicitation	**31**	conjunction	18	agency	10	lexical choice	8
intertextuality	1	direct reported speech	2	anaphor	6	social actor	26
lexical choice	9	intertextuality	11	booster	2	space deixis	9
social actor	15	lexical choice	18	conjunction	5	spatial reference	1
spatial reference	5	social actor	9	hedge	3	time deixis	1
temporal reference	1	space deixis	1	indirect reported speech	1	voicing	6
Mistake	**1**	spatial reference	3	lexical choice	55	n/a	1
spatial reference	1	time deixis	1	social actor	15	**Interchange**	**4**
Omission	**587**	voicing	2	spatial reference	13	social actor	2
agency	4	n/a	14	temporal reference	4	n/a	2
anaphor	40	**Editorial correction**	**2**	time deixis	2	**Recasting**	**26**
booster	10	conjunction	2	voicing	3	agency	8
cataphor	2	**Explicitation**	**18**	n/a	6	anaphor	2
conjunction	121	lexical choice	6	**Transposition**	**60**	conjunction	2
direct reported speech	7	social actor	4	agency	11	social actor	**5**
discourse deixis	2	spatial reference	5	conjunction	4	temporal reference	1
hedge	14	voicing	1	direct reported speech	4	time deixis	2
indirect reported speech	6	n/a	2	hedge	3	n/a	6
intertextuality	14			lexical choice	10		
lexical choice	18			social actor	4		
person deixis	9			spatial reference	10		
social actor	51			temporal reference	3		
spatial reference	70			time deixis	5		
temporal reference	39			n/a	6		
time deixis	27						
voicing	8						
n/a	145						

Table 42. Overview of tagged changes for Belga (Dutch) to newspaper (Dutch) translation pairs

A total of 1,031 changes were tagged across these seventeen translation sets, of which 848 were tagged with a pragmarker. The translation sets represent 29.31% of the case study corpus, and 25.30% of all changes are found within them. Differences between source and target texts are notably high. Once again, changes generally fall within the reduction category (624) and were mostly omissions (587). This is reflected in the low mean word counts for articles on the run-up to the 2012 Olympics in the newspapers that can also be considered translations (i.e. 115.00 words for articles in *De Morgen*; 129.50 words for articles in *Het Laatste Nieuws*; 95.60 words for articles in *Het Nieuwsblad*; 86.80 words for articles in *De Standaard*) as opposed to the mean word count for Dutch *Belga* articles (169.27 words).

Implicitations often involved social actors (15 out of 31). In most of the examples athletes' names which were written in full in the ST, were shortened down to the surname after the initial appearance, e.g. 'Usain Bolt' being translated as 'Bolt' after the first use, 'Sigrid Rondelez' being translated as 'Rondelez'. This practice was far more common than replacing a name by a personal pronoun, as is partially reflected by the low count of replacements relating to anaphora (6, of which none actually are related to the representation of social actors). The large number of omissions reflects the large quantity of information which is left out of the TTs, i.e. the high number of paragraphs which were omitted as a whole. Some information from omitted paragraphs, which was deemed important, was fit into the existing structure by way of compensations (72 in total). This practice was quite common when newspapers translated agency copy on the run-up to the 2012 Olympics – though numbers are slightly inflated because of one particular enumeration of athletes from a *Belga* report which was compensated for in two separate newspaper articles.

The low number of reinforcements relating to social actors and voicing indicate that what was added, was generally not new information. Because of the high number of omissions and compensations, cohesive markers (e.g. conjunctions, anaphora) needed to be added. In one instance found in newspaper *Het Laatste Nieuws*, not omitting enough information from a sentence (or failing to add the right cohesive markers) led to that sentence becoming incoherent (and formally wrong):

> *Rondelez eindigde ~~met haar dertigste plaats~~ in de individuele rangschikking op de 18^e^ plaats in de landenrangschikking en dat is voldoende om een ticket voor Londen te mogen boeken.*
>
> (*Rondelez ended ~~with her thirtieth spot~~ in the individual ranking on the 18th spot in the country ranking and that is enough to be allowed to book a ticket for London.)*

Replacements were often due to editorial preference (which are not corrections), e.g. '16e' ('16th') being translated as 'zestiende' ('sixteenth'), but were also often related to neutralizing personal opinion occasionally found in news wire copy. This is seen in the examples marked as boosters, hedges or as lexical choice, e.g. translating 'optrekje' ('little condo') as 'paleis' ('palace'). Also note that while hedges (14) and boosters (10) were sometimes omitted, they were never added. Newspapers also sometimes replaced the future tense by the conditional tense, hedging the certitude of things to happen, e.g. 'zal deel uitmaken van' ('will be part of') being translated as 'zou in aanmerking komen voor' ('would be in the running for'). The last example was part of an article set on British soccer player David Beckham's chances of being part of the Olympic team. As time has told, the newspapers in question were right to hedge the statement on his participation.

There were also quite a few editorial corrections found in these translations (13). Most of these are related to the incorrect use of quotations marks in the STs or of punctuation marks (which were forgotten or falsely added in the STs). The mistake of translating 'ndlr' ('ed. note') as 'nvlr' was corrected in three different ways by the three different newspapers who used the article as a source. In *Het Laatste Nieuws* the typographical error was corrected as 'red.' ('ed.'), in *Het Nieuwsblad* it was corrected as 'nvdr' ('ed. note') and in *De Standaard* the note was simply left out of the article entirely. Interestingly, the original error remained in the translations published on the four news sites.

Translating an English article from sky.news.com into a Dutch news site report

Only one translation set is represented here, but I included it because it is the only example of a single foreign language news site article being translated into a Dutch news site article. In one other case an article from www.theguardian.co.uk was translated, but said article was not the only article which was translated from in that set. Table 43 gives an overview of the tagged formal and functional changes:

REDUCTION	483	REINFORCEMENT	62	REPLACEMENT	69	REARRANGEMENT	11
Concentration	**3**	**Addition**	**50**	**Mistake**	**7**	**Interchange**	**7**
social actor	1	agency	1	booster	1	social actor	1
temporal reference	1	anaphor	2	person deixis	2	n/a	6
n/a	1	booster	1	social actor	1	**Recasting**	**4**
Implicitation	**3**	cataphor	1	time deixis	1	social actor	2
lexical choice	1	conjunction	12	voicing	1	voicing	1
social actor	1	direct reported speech	2	n/a	1	n/a	1
spatial reference	1	Hedge	1	**Modulation**	**32**		
Mistake	**2**	lexical choice	3	agency	5		
anaphor	1	social actor	8	conjunction	4		
n/a	1	spatial reference	2	direct reported speech	1		
Omission	**475**	temporal reference	1	hedge	1		
agency	1	time deixis	3	indirect reported speech	2		
anaphor	19	voicing	1	lexical choice	12		
booster	1	n/a	12	social actor	2		
cataphor	2	**Amplification**	**3**	temporal reference	1		
conjunction	112	social actor	1	time deixis	3		
direct reported speech	17	spatial reference	1	n/a	1		
hedge	2	n/a	1	**Transposition**	**30**		
indirect reported speech	15	**Explicitation**	**9**	agency	6		
lexical choice	1	anaphor	1	conjunction	9		
person deixis	14	lexical choice	2	direct reported speech	1		
social actor	62	person deixis	1	indirect reported speech	2		
space deixis	1	social actor	2	lexical choice	7		
spatial reference	13	space deixis	1	social actor	1		
temporal reference	6	time deixis	1	time deixis	3		
time deixis	30	n/a	1	n/a	1		
voicing	25						
n/a	154						

Table 43. Overview of tagged changes for a sky.news.com (English) to news site (Dutch) translation pair

A total of 625 changes was tagged in this one translation set, of which 445 were tagged with a pragmarker. While the one set represents 1.72% of sets in the case study corpus, 15.34% of all changes were found in it – indicating that a lot was changed. Looking at the table, however, we see that it are once again mostly omissions that occurred (475), and that there were few reinforcements (62), replacements (69) and especially rearrangements (11) in comparison. The large number of omissions can be explained, once again, by the absence of many of the ST paragraphs in the TT. Indeed, while the ST has 22 paragraphs and counts 537 words, the TT has 5 paragraphs and counts 207 words. As the low number of rearrangements indicates, structural change was limited in this respect.

Paragraphs in the ST were mostly limited to a single sentence. This was not the case in the TT, meaning that ST paragraph 1 was translated into TT paragraph 1, ST paragraphs 3 and 4 were translated into TT paragraph 2, ST paragraphs 6, 7 and 8 were translated into TT paragraph 3, ST paragraphs 9, 10 and 11 were translated into TT paragraph 4, and ST paragraph 12 was translated into TT paragraph 5. The sequence of sentences from the ST was kept in the process.

Twelve of the 50 additions were tagged with the conjunction pragmarker. Indeed, also here conjunctions were added to provide cohesion to a text from which a lot of information was omitted. The replacements are often due to lexical choice (19), but may as well be related to limited knowledge of the source language. Seven replacements were considered to be mistakes.

All in all, quite a few mistakes (9) were made in the translation of this article, e.g. 'up to 1,000 agents' being translated as 'niet minder dan duizend eigen agenten' ('no less than a thousand agents of their own'), 'did not say' being translated as 'wilde niet onthullen' ('did not want to reveal'), 'could send' being translated as 'stuurt' ('sends'), 'will be needed' being translated as 'zullen ingezet worden' ('will be deployed'). Similarly, many mistakes showed up when an English www.theguardian.co.uk article was translated into a Dutch *www.demorgen.be*/*www.hln.be* report. Some of the mistakes found in that translation are: 'one security official' being translated as 'een woordvoerder' ('a spokesman'), 'obvious targets' being translated as 'zeker een doelwit' ('obviously a target'), 'earlier this year' being translated as ‘vorig jaar’ (‘previous year’), ‘up to 21.000 agents’ being translated as ‘op 21,000 agenten’ (‘on 21,000 agents’).

4.3.5.3. Analysis

From the case study on the 2011 elections in the DR Congo, it became clear that journalists adhered more to a liberal functional approach to translation when translating between two different general languages (e.g. from French to Dutch) and especially when doing so for the same medium (i.e. *Belga*). When journalists translated within the same language, their work was mostly limited to word for word take-over. On the whole, structural changes were limited in both intralingual and interlingual translations.

Much of what we saw in the previous case study is applicable to this case study. Most changes still occurred when translating news reports from one general language into another, structural changes were still limited, and word for word take-over remained especially high in many of the same language translations.

There are some interesting differences opposed to the previous case study, though, mostly relating to the translation of Dutch *Belga* reports into Dutch newspaper reports, indicating that apart from ‘language’, ‘medium’ is also an important variable to be reckoned with. Indeed, while word for word take-over was high when sentences were translated, far more sentences (and entire paragraphs) were omitted than when translating for the web. Space constraints play an important part in this, as newspaper journalists often get told the number of words allotted for any article before they start working on it. The article needs to fit within the specific template reserved for it – something which online journalists do not have to deal with. Structural changes to articles were also more frequently seen when Dutch *Belga* reports were translated into Dutch newspaper reports. Most of these changes were defined as compensations though, meaning that the same rationale (i.e. considering allotted space) factors into these changes.

Mistakes were made more often when translating from one general language into another, though far more often when translation was done by news site journalists than by news wire journalists. This is related to what the main tasks are for any particular journalist working for a specific medium. As Henry, who produces sports news for one of the news sites under study, explained he has very many tasks, and for many of those tasks, foreign language proficiency is not a requisite (see 2.3.). This is markedly different for *Belga* journalists working at the main desk in Brussels, where a high proficiency in multiple languages, especially French and Dutch, is a necessity. Apart from language aptitude, time constraints also factor into the equation. As we have seen in 4.1. news site journalists are expected to produce a very large number of articles on a daily basis. Though I have no exact data for news wire journalists, this was markedly different for newspaper journalists – which in return also partially explains why there were more editorial corrections found in newspaper translations.

Another reason for there being more editorial corrections in newspaper translation is the presence of sub-editors and correctors at newspaper desks whose main task is the detection and correction of formal and factual mistakes in articles, while news site journalists are expected to do their own sub-editing (see: Vandendaele et al. 2015, Vandendaele and Jacobs 2014, for more on the sub-editing process).

There were very few audience adaptations compared to the previous case study. This is, of course, related to the fact that most news in the previous case study was originally produced by international wire services, while most news in this case study was originally produced by a national wire service. Audience adaptations where therefore largely limited to the representation of time and where mostly seen when Dutch *Belga* reports were translated into Dutch news site reports. While wire services generally restrain from using time deictic expressions that are as proximate as ‘today’ and ‘yesterday’, news sites include these expressions because they are more meaningful to their audience than more distal temporal expressions like ‘Friday’ – especially when ‘Friday’ equals ‘today’.

4.3.6. Discourse analysis

Thematically the news reports on the run-up to the 2012 London Summer Olympics that were translated and which are part of the case study corpus can be sorted into three main categories:

1. Athletes qualifying or not qualifying for the Olympics
2. Athletes preparing or not preparing for the Olympics
3. The logistics of the event

In the following paragraphs I will focus on how different metamessages are represented throughout these three main categories of articles and how these metamessages change or remain in subsequent translations. The different pragmarkers are used as a heuristic tool for uncovering these (hidden) metamessages.

4.3.6.1. The Representation of People

Changes with regard to the representation of people were mostly tagged with the 'social actor' pragmarker, sometimes with the 'anaphor' or 'cataphor' pragmarker – when pronouns were involved. Changes concerning a person who was quoted directly or indirectly were tagged with the 'voicing' pragmarker. The 'direct reported speech' and 'indirect reported speech' pragmarkers, and the 'intertextuality' pragmarker are also indicatory with regard to changes in the representation of people and voices; the first ones keeping track of changes with regard to quoted speech; the second one in keeping track of explicit changes in source representation (in the colophon and in-text). The 'social deixis' and 'person deixis' pragmarkers were used to tag some very specific changes concerning people, related to the context of situation. Changes with regard to actions were mainly tagged with the 'agency' pragmarker. Changes in agency often involved the addition or omission of social actors and voices.

There are some clear differences in the representation of social actors and voices depending on which thematic category a news report is part of. News reports about the logistics of the Olympics tended to focus on voices of official bodies and their representatives, i.e. the British Home Office, the London Organising Committee of the

Olympic and Paralympic Games (LOCOG), Buckingham Palace. When people representing these bodies were quoted they often referred to themselves (or rather the body they represent) with a first-person, plural personal pronoun ('we') in English or Dutch or an indefinite third person, singular pronoun ('on' – which can be translated as 'one') in French. Changes in this respect were tagged with the 'person deixis' pragmarker. Almost all these changes in the case study corpus were omissions. There was only one modulation in which the French 'on' was translated as 'we' in Dutch. Representatives also referred to the body they represent with an even more distal third person reference, e.g. an official statement from the US embassy in London stating that: 'The United States embassy has the utmost confidence in the British government's arrangements to ensure safety and security for the Olympic Games.' Jacobs (1997) has argued (for press releases) that companies and official bodies refer to themselves in the third person to anticipate the way news reports are formulated. He added that "hardly any traditional semantic mapping of the writers of the press releases onto 'I' or 'we' could be found" (p. 85). Indeed, when quotes were clearly lifted from official written statements, third person references were abundant. When quotes came from spoken interviews the personal pronoun 'we' and its other language counterparts were often used as well. No general pattern could be discerned, however, on whether quotes with third person references or quotes with first person references were favored in subsequent translations. One example of the personal pronoun 'they' being translated as a third person reference, e.g. 'De Amerikanen' ('The Americans'), was found when direct reported speech was turned into indirect speech. Translation of third person references into pronouns occurred slightly more often, but was rare as well – as I stated when previously discussing anaphora.

Very few references to athletes occurred in reports concerning logistics. Only four references were found in the original STs. In one *DPA* article on an Indian state minister suggesting his country to boycott the London Olympics because of a certain sponsorship deal, the following sentence appeared: 'At least 21 Indian Olympians have endorsed the petition urging the organizing committee to scrap the sponsorship deal with Dow.' It appeared in the 10th paragraph of the ST and ascribes agency to the athletes. Said sentence was completely omitted from every subsequent translation. Two other representations come from two separate accounts dealing with venue safety, one on the US sending its own security agents and one on the possible deployment of surface-to-air missiles. In the first instance measures 'to provide protection for America's contestants and diplomats' (www.*theguardian.co.uk*, paragraph 1) are discussed, in the second instance measures 'to protect athletes and visitors' (*news.sky.com*, paragraph 1). Interestingly, both these references to athletes and other possible victims appeared in their entirety in every subsequent translation. In the previous case study we discussed simplification as being one of the main metamessages seen throughout the translation process. Because so much information is omitted from STs one can expect information which is non-essential to the understanding of a sentence (i.e. prepositional phrases, sub-clauses) to be omitted. The fact that these prepositional phrases remained means that they were considered important – though not important enough to give a voice to the social actors represented in them, nor to ascribe agency to them. The fact that both representations appeared in the first paragraph of the STs also plays an important part in the fact that they were translated, as the first paragraph of a news report usually contains what is considered the most important news. The fourth representation was also found in the original article published on *www.guardian.co.uk* about the US sending its own security agents. It appeared in paragraph 10 of the article and was not used by *DPA* in its translation, nor by *Belga* when it translated the *DPA* account. It was added to an article published on *www.hln.be* and *www.demorgen.be*, which uses both the *Belga* and *www.theguardian.co.uk* articles as sources. Let us take a closer look at how exactly it was translated by the journalist working for the news sites:

> *They know it is possible that al-Qaida, or one of its affiliates, may attempt to disrupt the Olympics, with members of the US team being obvious targets.*
>
> *"Het is geen geheim dat al-qaida de Spelen wel eens zou kunnen verstoren, en dan zijn Amerikaanse atleten zeker een doelwit", aldus een bron.*
>
> *("It is no secret that al-qaida could disrupt the Games, and then American athletes are obviously a target", according to a source.)*

The translation of said sentence is an interesting one, to say the least. In the ST there is coreference between 'They' and 'western intelligence agencies', which appears at the end of the previous sentence (not shown in the example). Although it may seem that the above statement comes directly from these non-disclosed 'western intelligence agencies' because of the action verb 'to know' following the anaphoric reference, it does not. The guise of indirect reported speech was used in the article to hedge speculation. Speculation which almost became a given in the translation, with 'possible' being modulated and transposed to 'no secret', 'obvious' being wrongly interpreted as 'obviously' and the guise of indirect reported speech being translated as a direct reported speech situation in which an undisclosed intelligence source is quoted. Indeed, because of the way in which American athletes are represented here and even more so in the translation, with no agency ascribed to them, they come across even more as the hapless, innocent victims of a 'plausible' terrorist attack.

In the articles about athletes qualifying or preparing for the Olympics, they were of course represented less often as victims. In fact, descriptions about athletes appearing in the news reports mostly (and contrastingly) heralded their individual accomplishments, e.g. 'Michael Johnson' being described as 'een van de beste sprinters aller tijden' ('one of the best sprinters of all time'), Michael Phelps being described as 'veertienvoudige olympische kampioen' ('fourteen fold olympic champion'), Evi Van Acker being described as 'Europees kampioene' ('European champion'), stating about Sigrid Rondelez that she already took part in the Olympics twice, 'in 2000 in Sydney en vier jaar later in Athene' ('in 2000 in Sydney and four years later in Athens'). Not only previous accomplishments are heralded, but also current ones, as can be learned from who is represented in subsequent translations. Let us take a closer look at one translation set which focuses on a series of victories by swimmer Michael Phelps at the Grand Prix of Minnesota. I have bolded the proper names in all article versions, and have marked changes in red when translation was intralingual (~~reductions~~, additions, replacements; rearrangements were marked as both ~~reductions~~ and additions). For the interlingual translation from the French *Belga* article to the Dutch *Belga* article, I decided to only discuss the relevant changes as tagging every change here would make the example text unreadable.

The original *AFP* report was published on Monday November 14th 2011 in French. It consists of nine paragraphs. The first paragraph contains the news about Phelps' latest victory. The second paragraph talks about his previous victories that weekend. The third contextualizes these victories as a feat after having been quite irregular up to that point. The fourth is a quote from the athlete himself. Paragraphs five to seven discuss Ryan Lochte's dwindling results in the GP and paragraphs eight and nine talk of Allison Schmitt's results (who has the same trainer as Phelps) in the GP.

Agence France Presse

14 novembre 2011 lundi 5:22 AM GMT

Grand Prix du Minnesota: Michael Phelps reçu cinq sur cinq

LONGUEUR: 426 mots

ORIGINE-DEPECHE: minneapolis (Etats-Unis) 13 nov 2011

A moins de huit mois des jeux Olympiques de Londres, l'Américain **Michael Phelps** a montré qu'il était sur le bon chemin en remportant les cinq courses qu'il a disputées de vendredi à dimanche à Minneapolis dans le cadre du Grand Prix de natation du Minnesota.

Phelps a parachevé son week-end par un succès probant dimanche dans le 200 m 4 nages (1 min 57 sec 58/100) avec quatre secondes d'avance sur le Sud-Africain **Darian Townsend** (2:01.55). Vendredi, il avait gagné sur 200 m libre et 100 m papillon avant de s'imposer samedi sur 100 m dos et 200 m papillon.

Le nageur aux 14 titres olympiques a indiqué qu'il avait retrouvé "ce bon vieux feeling", lui qui a été très irrégulier depuis sa reprise de la compétition en mai 2009 dans la foulée d'un long break après son exploit des JO-2008 (8 médailles d'or) et l'épisode médiatisé de la pipe à cannabis, au point d'être supplanté par son compatriote **Ryan Lochte** en 2010 et 2011.

"Cela fait du bien de voir que les choses prennent de nouveau la bonne direction, a-t-il indiqué. Cela faisait longtemps que je n'avais pas nagé aussi décemment à ce moment de la saison. Il reste huit mois (avant Londres) mais ça va aller très vite. Je suis heureux d'être capable de nager comme avant".

Phelps, qui a débuté sa saison par les Coupes du monde (petit bassin) de Berlin et Moscou et sortait d'un cycle de deux semaines et demie d'entraînement en altitude, a pris plusieurs longueurs d'avance sur **Lochte**, qu'il retrouvait pour la première fois depuis les Mondiaux de Shanghai.

Le quintuple médaillé d'or de Shanghai a été décevant de bout en bout et son meilleur résultat aura été une 4e place (100 m dos) en six courses. Dimanche, il a signé le meilleur temps des séries du 200 m dos et le 3e temps de celles du 200 m 4 nages mais il a ensuite décidé de ne pas courir les finales.

Lochte a indiqué que ces résultats étaient simplement la conséquence d'une grande fatigue après un cycle d'entraînement très intense et qu'il ne s'était jamais senti aussi bien physiquement auparavant dans sa carrière.

La prodige américaine **Missy Franklin**, 16 ans, est montée cinq fois sur le podium mais c'est sa compatriote **Allison Schmitt** qui a marqué les esprits en nage libre: 1re sur 200 m et 400 m, 2e sur 100 m (derrière Franklin) et 3e sur 800 m (derrière la Française **Camille Muffat** et l'Américaine **Chloe Sutton**).

Schmitt est entraînée à Baltimore par **Bob Bowman**, qui s'occupe aussi de **Phelps**. "Cette réunion a été un déclic pour elle, a dit **Bowman**. Elle n'a jamais été aussi bonne à l'entraînement, elle ne fait qu'aller de l'avant".

DATE-CHARGEMENT: 14 novembre 2011

LANGUE: FRENCH; FRANÇAIS

TYPE-PUBLICATION: Dépêche

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Within a few hours the translation by *Belga* appeared on its French wire; the only addition being a reference to *AFP* as the source of the report (which was tagged with the 'intertextuality' pragmarker). The title was slightly rearranged so that the intertextual topic became a prepositional phrase representing location at the end of it, implicitizing 'Grand Prix' to 'GP'. One editorial correction was made: an inconsistency in the representation of course time was resolved by choosing one notation over the other. More interesting than these few changes, though, is the omission of paragraphs five to nine. Because of these omissions almost all information about contestants other than Michael Phelps and, runner-up in the latest event, Darian Townsend, was left out. One reference to Ryan Lochte remained, but has nothing to do with his (dwindling) performance during the GP. It is only in the text to explain how Phelps' current streak of victories relates to his previous irregular results.

~~Grand Prix du Minnesota:~~ Michael Phelps reçu cinq sur cinq au GP du Minnesota

Belga – 14 Nov. 2011

~~**LONGUEUR:** 426 mots~~

~~**ORIGINE-DEPECHE:** minneapolis (Etats-Unis) 13 nov 2011~~

(AFP) = A moins de huit mois des jeux Olympiques de Londres, l'Américain **Michael Phelps** a montré qu'il était sur le bon chemin en remportant les cinq courses qu'il a disputées de vendredi à dimanche à Minneapolis dans le cadre du Grand Prix de natation du Minnesota.

Phelps a parachevé son week-end par un succès probant dimanche dans le 200 m 4 nages (1:~~min.~~57.~~sec~~58~~/100~~) avec quatre secondes d'avance sur le Sud-Africain **Darian Townsend**

(2:01.55). Vendredi, il avait gagné sur 200 m libre et 100 m papillon avant de s'imposer samedi sur 100 m dos et 200 m papillon.

Le nageur aux 14 titres olympiques a indiqué qu'il avait retrouvé "ce bon vieux feeling", lui qui a été très irrégulier depuis sa reprise de la compétition en mai 2009 dans la foulée d'un long break après son exploit des JO-2008 (8 médailles d'or) et l'épisode médiatisé de la pipe à cannabis, au point d'être supplanté par son compatriote **Ryan Lochte** en 2010 et 2011.

"Cela fait du bien de voir que les choses prennent de nouveau la bonne direction, a-t-il indiqué. Cela faisait longtemps que je n'avais pas nagé aussi décemment à ce moment de la saison. Il reste huit mois (avant Londres) mais ça va aller très vite. Je suis heureux d'être capable de nager comme avant".

Also that same morning *Belga* put its Dutch translation (based on the French *Belga* report) on the wire. Once again the article was shortened in the process of translation. Some repetition was left out, e.g. the French article started by stating that there were less than eight months left before the Olympics began, something which was repeated in the last paragraph in the quote attributed to Michael Phelps. Only the temporal reference in the quote was kept. Though no paragraphs were omitted in their entirety, a few clauses were. The clause containing the one remaining reference to Ryan Lochte was one of those clauses. The quotes were put together in one paragraph, and the personal pronouns anaphorically referring to Phelps were replaced by a proper name, his surname.

Foutloos rapport voor Michael Phelps in GP Minnesota

Belga – 14 Nov. 2011

(AFP) = **Michael Phelps** heeft op de Grote Prijs van Minnesota in Minneapolis alle vijf wedstrijden waaraan hij deelnam gewonnen. Zondag toonde hij zich ook op de 200 meter wisselslag de beste. Hij haalde het in 1:57.58 en had vier seconden voorsprong op het nummer twee, de Zuid-Afrikaan **Darian Townsend** (2:01.55).

Vrijdag had de veertienvoudige olympische kampioen de 200m vrij en de 100m vlinder gewonnen, zaterdag had hij op de 100m rug en de 200m vlinder de beste chrono.

Na de meeting zei **Phelps** dat hij "zijn goede gevoel van vroeger" had teruggevonden. "Het doet goed te zien dat het opnieuw de goede richting uitgaat. Het is lang geleden dat ik nog zo beslissend zwom op dit moment in het seizoen", vervolgde **Phelps**. "Het is nog acht maanden tot Londen, maar dat zal heel snel gaan. Ik ben blij dat ik weer kan zwemmen zoals vroeger."

Still that same morning, almost exact copies of the Dutch *Belga* reports appeared on all four news sites. In all cases the source reference to *AFP* was changed to *Belga*. Titles were also altered, as can be seen in the example from *www.nieuwsblad.be* and *www.standaard.be*. In the version that appeared on said news sites, quotation marks were transposed from double to single marks. No further alterations were made though.

~~Foutloos rapport voor~~Ongenaakbare Michael Phelps ~~in GP Minnesota~~klaar voor Olympische Spelen

www.nieuwsblad.be – 14 Nov. 2011

- *Maandag 14 november 2011 Om 09u14*
- *Door md*
- *Bron: Belga*

~~(AFP) =~~ **Michael Phelps** heeft op de Grote Prijs van Minnesota in Minneapolis alle vijf wedstrijden waaraan hij deelnam gewonnen. Zondag toonde hij zich ook op de 200 meter wisselslag de beste. Hij haalde het in 1:57.58 en had vier seconden voorsprong op het nummer twee, de Zuid-Afrikaan **Darian Townsend** (2:01.55).

Vrijdag had de veertienvoudige olympische kampioen de 200m vrij en de 100m vlinder gewonnen, zaterdag had hij op de 100m rug en de 200m vlinder de beste chrono.
Na de meeting zei **Phelps** dat hij 'zijn goede gevoel van vroeger' had teruggevonden. 'Het doet goed te zien dat het opnieuw de goede richting uitgaat. Het is lang geleden dat ik nog zo beslissend zwom op dit moment in het seizoen', vervolgde **Phelps**. 'Het is nog acht maanden tot Londen, maar dat zal heel snel gaan. Ik ben blij dat ik weer kan zwemmen zoals vroeger.'

The next day, on Tuesday November 15th, other translations of the Dutch *Belga* article appeared in newspapers *Het Laatste Nieuws* and *Het Nieuwsblad*. Especially the version which appeared in *Het Nieuwsblad* was heavily shortened, as exemplified below. Many sentences were omitted in their entirety from the article, including the sentence with the reference to the runner-up in the final race, Darian Townsend, meaning that the only social actor remaining in the article was the victor, Michael Phelps. In fact, the article also omits all information about the final race (i.e. the news from the original report) in favor of stressing the fact that Phelp had won all races in which he took part. Any reference to the London Olympics was also omitted from the article, though Phelps' previous accomplishment of winning fourteen Olympic titles was kept, be it in a different location than where the reference was used in the Dutch *Belga* report – which itself had been used in a different location than where it was used in the French *Belga* report – indicating once more how important these past achievements are in contextualizing sports news.

~~**Foutloos rapport voor Michael Phelps in GP Minnesota**~~

ZWEMMEN

Het Nieuwsblad – 15 Nov. 2011, page 13 (Sportwereld)

~~(AFP) =~~ **PHELPS** Op de Grote Prijs van Minnesota heeft **Michael Phelps** ~~op de Grote Prijs van Minnesota~~ de vijf wedstrijden waaraan hij deelnam, gewonnen. ~~Zondag toonde hij zich ook op de 200 meter wisselslag de beste. Hij haalde het in 1:57.58 en had vier seconden voorsprong op het nummer twee, de Zuid-Afrikaan **Darian Townsend** (2:01.55).~~

~~Vrijdag had de veertienvoudige olympische kampioen de 200m vrij en de 100m vlinder gewonnen, zaterdag had hij op de 100m rug en de 200m vlinder de beste chrono.~~

~~Na de meeting zei **Phelps** dat hij "zijn goede gevoel van vroeger" had teruggevonden. "Het doet goed te zien dat het opnieuw de goede richting uitgaat.~~ 'Het is lang geleden dat ik nog zo beslissend zwom op dit moment van het seizoen', vertelde de veertienvoudige olympische kampioen. ~~"Het is nog acht maanden tot Londen, maar dat zal heel snel gaan.~~ 'Ik ben blij dat ik weer kan zwemmen zoals vroeger.' (blg)

More than a metamessage of polarization, with equal attention to winners and losers, we see a metamessage of accomplishment which is strengthened throughout the process of translation. It favors champions over participants, victors over losers, stressing both past and present accomplishments.

Apart from descriptions about accomplishments, origination is another important variable in defining athletes. Already in the *AFP* report above, for instance, we come across the following descriptions: 'l'Américain Michael Phelps' ('the American Michael Phelps'), 'le Sud-Africain Darian Townsend' (the South-African Darian Townsend'), 'son compatriote Ryan Lochte' ('his compatriot Ryan Lochte'), 'américaine Missy Franklin' ('American Missy Franklin'), 'sa compatriote Allison Schmitt' ('her compatriot Allison Schmitt'), 'la Française Camille Muffat et l'Américaine Chloe Sutton' ('the Frenchwoman Camille Muffat and the American Chloe Sutton'). The only person not defined by her or his origin is trainer Bob Bowman, whose (American) origin is implicated in the description of his trainees (Michael Phelps and Missy Franklin). Most of these descriptions, however, disappear together with the social actors themselves in the subsequent translations. The description of Michael

Phelps as 'the American' was omitted when the French *Belga* report was translated into Dutch, while the description of Darian Townsend as 'the South-African' remained. This may be due to the journalist in question considering Phelps' origin to be common knowledge for sports news readers, while not considering Townsend's origin to be common knowledge. Indeed, the representation of winners rather than participants may have such a lasting effect.

As discussed previously, Blain et al. (1993, p. 159) have argued that in news on the Olympics it are the host country and each country's home team which are represented most often. Indeed, most articles in the case study corpus are about Belgian athletes (not) qualifying for the Olympics and the organization of the event in Great-Britain. However, the "idea of the nation as one" (p. 77) which they argue should come to the fore in media representations on the Olympics, does not really become apparent from the STs in my case study corpus, nor from their translations. When individual Belgian athletes were represented they were mostly not referred to as 'the Belgian'. A more localized description was used (sometimes adjoined by the age of the person), e.g. 'Evi Van Acker' being described as 'De 26-jarige Oost-Vlaamse' ('the 26-year old East-Flemish woman'), François Heersbrandt being described as 'de 21-jarige Brusselaar' ('the 21-year old person from Brussels'), Sigrid Rondelez as 'De West-Vlaamse' ('the West-Flemish woman'). All of these descriptions were kept in subsequent translations. Newspaper *Het Laatste Nieuws* and *Het Nieuwsblad* also added information about Sigrid Rondelez' age which was not present in the ST. These more local descriptions did not appear in articles on national teams (not) qualifying, though – something which is, of course, related to individual team members generally not being named in the first place. When a national team (in any sport) played against another national team, the name of the country they represent was, not surprisingly, kept in subsequent translations. Belgian teams were often referred to as the national team, but also as their coach's team, e.g. 'Vrijdag om 20u00 spelen de mannen van bondscoach Claudio Gewehr tegen de Tsjechen om de groepswinst.' (Friday at 20h00 the men of national coach Claudio Gewehr play against the Czechs to win the group.')

Also, while many articles may discuss the organization of the Olympics in the host country, this does not necessarily mean that these articles, and especially their translations, focus on British social actors. Indeed, while the British government and LOCOG figure heavily and are voiced most often in the original English source texts from *www.theguardian.co.uk*, *news.sky.com* and *DPA*, many references to these institutions were omitted from the translations made by *Belga* and the news sites under study. Interestingly, references to the US government were more likely to be kept than references to the UK government. Also, while news on athletes qualifying or preparing for the Olympics is mostly domestic, American (star) athletes, like Michael Phelps, were also given considerable attention. The only British athlete who was mentioned by name in the case study corpus was soccer player David Beckham – who did play in the U.S. (for Los Angeles Galaxy) at the time though.

4.3.6.2. The Representation of Places

Changes with regard to the representation of places were generally tagged with the 'spatial reference' pragmarker. However, changes with regard to the representation of countries could in some instances also be tagged with the 'social actor' pragmarker – mostly when countries had already been ascribed with agency, which often occurred when they took up the subject position in a sentence. A reference to Great-Britain was often used as an intertextual marker in the title of news reports, mostly in reports by international press agencies. Changes in this respect were tagged with the 'intertextuality' pragmarker. Representations of the place of writing or of publication were only found in *AFP* reports, and only in the bylines. Not in the texts themselves. As discussed before, there were very few changes relating to space or discourse deixis.

In a case study on the representation of the run-up to the 2012 London Olympics in translated news reports, it should not come as a surprise that many spatial references are related to the city of London, and that changes to spatial references often involved The City as well. References to London were mostly general references, i.e. mostly no further details about the city were given. When a specific location in London was mentioned, it was mostly a general reference to the Olympics site – notwithstanding the fact that there were many different Olympic sites in and outside the city,[40] e.g. 'at the London Olympic site'. One

[40] The main sporting facilities were the Olympic Stadium, the Aquatics Centre, the Velodrome, the BMX Circuit and the hockey, handball, water polo and basketball arenas. The Olympic Village, where athletes and officials resided during the Olympics, was located to the east of the Olympic Park. Some sport events took place at different venues across and outside of The City. For instance, football was organized at Wembley Stadium,

original English ST (*www.theguardian.co.uk*) refers to 'the 32 sites across the country' at one point in the article. The reference was represented word for word in the *DPA* translation and was subsequently translated by *Belga* into Dutch as 'de 32 sites' ('the 32 sites'), omitting information about there being sites outside of London. The references to 'the 32 sites' was kept in the news report which appeared on *www.nieuwsblad.be* and *www.standaard.be*, but was modulated to 'de verschillende sites' ('the different sites') on *www.hln.be* and *www.demorgen.be*, which is even less specific. London was also mentioned sometimes as being the British capital, but such references always disappeared in the process of translation e.g. 'dans la capitale britannique' ('in the British capital') being translated as 'in Londen' ('in London'), 'in de Britse hoofdstad Londen' ('in the British capital London') being translated as 'In Londen' ('in London'). In fact, no other allusions to Britain (or England) were found in the representations of spatial references than the ones presented here – though references to Britain or England were sometimes (part of) references to social actors (e.g. the British royals), and mostly when referring to a national team.

While the changes discussed in the above paragraph can be found throughout the whole case study corpus, there are also differences in the representation of spaces between the different thematic categories. Spatial references other than the ones referring to London and the Olympic venues were found more often in articles on athletes (not) preparing or qualifying for the Olympics than in articles on the organization of the Olympics. These references mostly added details about where an athlete had qualified or was preparing, e.g. the GP of Minnesota in Minneapolis for Phelps, or added information about specific competitions, distances or rankings, e.g. the RS:X class, the 100 meters backstroke, coming in second. Such details were often left unchanged in subsequent translations. Sometimes they were tinkered with, though, because of editorial preferences or because terms were used which do not accommodate non-initiates. Sometimes they were left out due to medium constraints as can be seen in the translation of a *Belga* report on Michael Phelps into a newspaper report above.

Let us take a look at another *Belga* article that was turned into newspaper reports in which most of the changes discussed above, as well as some other changes, can be

tennis at the All-England Club in Wimbledon, archery at Lord's Cricket Ground and beach volleyball at the Horse Guards Parade.

exemplified. The articles in the set talk of Belgian windsurfer Sigrid Rondelez qualifying for the Olympic Games. Different versions of the original *Belga* article appeared in the four newspapers under study. I have used the same annotations to indicate change as before, though I did not bold any reference this time around.

Windsurfster Sigrid Rondelez mag dan toch naar Olympische Spelen

Belga - 11 Dec. 2011

(BELGA) = Windsurfster Sigrid Rondelez heeft zich na haar dertigste plaats in de RS:X op het WK zeilen in het Australische Fremantle dan toch geplaatst voor de Olympische Spelen van volgende zomer in de Britse hoofdstad Londen.

Rondelez eindigde met haar dertigste plaats in de individuele rangschikking op de 18e plaats in de landenrangschikking en dat is voldoende om een ticket voor Londen te mogen boeken. De West-Vlaamse nam al twee keer deel aan de Olympische Spelen, in 2000 in Sydney en vier jaar later in Athene. Ze eindigde toen in de Mistral-klasse 16e en 18e. Haar carrière lag twee jaar stil door de geboorte van een dochter. In januari van dit jaar hervatte ze de trainingen.

Windsurfen ~~Sigrid~~ Rondelez mag ~~dan toch~~ naar Olympische Spelen

De Morgen - 12 Dec. 2011, page 22

~~(BELGA) =~~ Windsurfster Sigrid Rondelez heeft zich na haar dertigste plaats in de RS:X op het WK zeilen in het Australische Fremantle dan toch geplaatst voor de Olympische Spelen ~~van volgende zomer in de Britse hoofdstad Londen~~. Rondelez eindigde met haar dertigste plaats in de individuele rangschikking op de 18e plaats in de landenrangschikking en dat is voldoende om een ticket voor Londen te mogen boeken. De West-Vlaamse nam al twee keer deel aan de Olympische Spelen, in 2000 in Sydney en vier jaar later in Athene. Ze eindigde toen in de Mistral-klasse 16de en 18de. Haar carrière lag twee jaar stil door de geboorte van een dochter. In januari van dit jaar hervatte Rondelez de trainingen.

Windsurfster Sigrid Rondelez ~~mag dan toch~~ naar Olympische Spelen

Het Laatste Nieuws - 12 Dec. 2011, page 37

~~(BELGA) =~~ Windsurfster Sigrid Rondelez heeft zich na haar dertigste plaats in de RS:X op het WK zeilen in het Australische Fremantle ~~dan toch~~ geplaatst voor de Olympische Spelen van volgende zomer in ~~de Britse hoofdstad~~ Londen. Rondelez eindigde ~~met haar dertigste plaats~~ in de individuele rangschikking op de 18de plaats in de landenrangschikking en dat is voldoende om een ticket voor Londen te mogen boeken. De West-Vlaamse nam al twee keer deel aan de ~~Olympische~~ Spelen, in 2000 in Sidney en vier jaar later in Athene. Ze eindigde toen in de Mistral-klasse 16de en 18de. Haar carrière lag twee jaar stil door de geboorte van een dochter. In januari van dit jaar hervatte ze de trainingen.

Ook windsurfster Sigrid Rondelez mag ~~dan toch~~ naar ~~Olympische~~ Spelen

Het Nieuwsblad - 12 Dec. 2011, page 10 (Sportwereld)

~~(BELGA) =~~ De 40-jarige Sigrid Rondelez (foto) heeft ~~zich na~~ haar ~~dertigste plaats~~ ticket voor de Olympische Spelen in Londen beet. De windsurfster plaatste zich in de RS:X-klasse op het WK ~~zeilen~~ in ~~het Australische~~ Fremantle ~~dan toch geplaatst voor de Olympische Spelen van volgende zomer in de Britse hoofdstad Londen~~. Rondelez eindigde als dertigste in de individuele rangschikking, goed voor een achttiende stek in het landenklassement. Dat laatste leverde haar het ticket voor haar derde Spelen op. De West-Vlaamse was er al ~~twee keer~~ bij in 2000 ~~in~~ (Sydney) en 2004 ~~in~~ (Athene). Ze eindigde toen in de Mistralklasse respectievelijk als zestiende en achttiende.

De carrière van Rondelez lag twee jaar stil door de geboorte van haar dochter. In januari van dit jaar hervatte ze de trainingen. (blg)

Windsurfen

Sigrid Rondelez ~~dan toch~~ geplaatst voor Olympische Spelen

De Standaard - 12 Dec. 2011, page 32

~~(BELGA) =~~ De 40-jarige Sigrid Rondelez heeft ~~zich na~~ haar ~~dertigste plaats~~ ticket voor de Olympische Spelen in Londen beet. De windsurfster plaatste zich in de RS:X-klasse op het WK ~~zeilen~~ in ~~het Australische~~ Fremantle ~~dan toch geplaatst voor de Olympische Spelen van volgende zomer in de Britse hoofdstad Londen~~. Rondelez eindigde als dertigste in de individuele rangschikking, goed voor een achttiende stek in het landenklassement. Dat laatste leverde haar het ticket voor haar derde Spelen op.

De West-Vlaamse was er al ~~twee keer~~ bij in 2000 ~~in~~ (Sydney) en 2004 ~~in~~ (Athene). Ze eindigde toen in de Mistralklasse respectievelijk als zestiende en achttiende. Rondelez' carrière lag twee jaar stil door de geboorte van haar dochter. In januari van dit jaar hervatte ze de trainingen. (belga)

In the original *Belga* text we see references to four distinct cities which are considered relevant for the representation of the athlete: (i) Fremantle, where the Sailing World

Championships were taking place at the time and where she qualified for the Olympics; (ii) London, where the Olympics would be held for which she qualified; (iii and iv) Sydney and Athens, where the Olympics were held in which she previously participated. In all but one example, all these references were kept. Only in the version that was published in newspaper *De Morgen* was the reference to London omitted – though the adjoining reference to the Olympics which would be held there remained. Previously we discussed that references to London as the British capital were always omitted in the process of translation. This is nicely reflected in the above examples. In two translations, the reference to Fremantle as being Australian was also omitted (in *Het Nieuwsblad* and in *De Standaard*). In one translation 'Sydney' was mistakenly substituted by 'Sidney'.

Another change to a spatial reference is two newspapers omitting 'zeilen' ('sailing') from 'op het WK zeilen' ('from the WC sailing'). Economy can be seen as a reason for this change, but the original formulation may also be somewhat confusing for non-sailing experts. Rondelez took part in the RS:X race, which is a race for sailboards and not for sailboats. While races with sailboats are more commonly associated with 'sailing', races with sailboards are more commonly associated with 'surfing' – at least in Dutch this is the case. Adding the lexeme '-klasse' ('class') to 'RS:X' can also be seen as a change which was made to accommodate laypeople. To non-initiates the term 'RS:X' may be meaningless. Adding the lexeme 'class' may help people in at least recognizing it as such. It can also be seen as a change made to improve text cohesion, as later in the article the Mistral One Design (MOD) was referred to as a class as well, i.e. 'in de Mistralklasse'('in the Mistral class'). It would have been more correct to refer to it as 'in de MOD-klasse' ('in the MOD class'), but all of the articles followed the original ST in this respect – two of them removed the hyphen between 'Mistral' and 'klasse' ('class') though.

Changes made to the representation of athletes in rankings were mostly due to editorial preferences as can be seen in the above translations. For instance '18e' ('18^{th}') was translated by two newspapers as '18de' (an alternative notation in Dutch) and by two other newspapers as 'achttiende' ('eighteenth'). As discussed before, when newspaper *Het Laatste Nieuws* omitted 'met haar dertigste plaats' from a sentence, said sentence became incoherent, indicating that leaving out such information from sports news can be quite tricky:

Rondelez eindigde ~~met haar dertigste plaats~~ in de individuele rangschikking op de 18^{e} plaats in de landenrangschikking en dat is voldoende om een ticket voor Londen te mogen boeken.

(*Rondelez ended ~~with her thirtieth spot~~ in the individual ranking on the 18th spot in the country ranking and that is enough to be allowed to book a ticket for London.)*

The omission was clearly made to try and prevent repetition, as her ending in the thirtieth spot was already referred to in a previous sentence. Indeed, this repetition is also the main reason why newspapers *De Standaard* and *Het Nieuwsblad* recast the entirety of their first paragraphs, while making sure that information loss was limited.

All in all it can be argued that spatial information was sometimes condensed in subsequent translations. Mostly references to London were stripped to a bare minimum, so that most often a single reference to the city itself remained. Spatial references about specific competitions, distances or rankings were mostly seen in reports about athletes competing. Changes to these references occurred far less often and when they did occur they were often due to the use of specific terminology and/or editorial preferences. Omission of such references also occurred more often when reporting about somebody else than the victor of the competition and/or somebody who is not Belgian.

4.3.6.3. The Representation of Time

Time reference related changes were tagged with the 'temporal reference' pragmarker or the 'time deixis' pragmarker, depending on whether the changes involved temporal information only inferable from the context of situation or not. While examples of space deictic references were limited within the case study corpus, time deictic references, and changes to them in the process of translation, are very common. This is, of course, partially related to the languages under study (French, Dutch and English). Action, expressed by a verb, is always temporally anchored to the context of situation in these languages by way of verb tenses (present, future, past). The same cannot be said for the anchoring of spatial relations to the context of situation (although some verbs do express direction – though not by way of tense).

Time deictic expressions were often omitted (or replaced) in their entirety, especially when the deictic center changed. Let us take another look at the translations of the Dutch Belga report on windsurfer Sigrid Rondelez which also functioned as examples in our discussion of the representation of places.

The prepositional phrase expressing time ‘van volgende zomer’ (‘of next Summer’), referring to when the Olympics would take place, was omitted in three of four translations. Changes to this kind of deictic reference happened quite often in the case study corpus, e.g. ‘this Summer’ being translated as ‘tijdens de Spelen’ (‘during the Games’), ‘cet été’ (‘this Summer’) or ‘volgende zomer’ (‘next Summer’) being omitted. These changes can partially be explained because of shared knowledge schemas. Indeed, by the time the news reports were produced, the fact that the Olympics would take place during the next Summer could be regarded as common knowledge, thus not in need of being referred to explicitly. On the other hand, one can argue that the same would hold for references to the Olympics taking place in London, which as we have seen were kept more often. It also does not explain why such references were kept on occasion, and especially in articles on the logistics of the event – something which we will discuss in the next section.

Let us take a look at another set of translations. This time we compare how a Dutch *Belga* report on the Belgian 4x400 meter relay team being invited by Olympic veteran Michael Johnson for training was translated by news sites *www.demorgen.be*/*www.hln.be* and newspaper *De Morgen*. Once again, the same annotations as before were used to indicate change.

Michael Johnson nodigt Belgisch 4x400m-team uit in trainingscentrum

Belga - 02 Dec. 2011

(BELGA) = Op initiatief van voormalig olympisch kampioen Michael Johnson kan het Belgische aflossingsteam op de 4x400 meter meer dan een maand in het trainingscentrum van de Amerikaan trainen. De negen teamleden en hun coach Jacques Borlée verblijven van 15 april tot 20 mei in het "Michael Johnson Performance Center" in McKinney bij Dallas, verduidelijkte Jacques Borlée vrijdag.

Kevin en Jonathan Borlée, Nils Duerinck, Arnaud Destatte, Antoine Gillet, Arnaud Ghislain, Joris Haeck, Stef Vanhaeren en Will Oyowe, die in de voorselectie voor Londen zitten, zullen in die periode veel competities afwerken.

"We onderhouden goede relaties met Michael Johnson", gaf Jacques Borlée toe. "Vanuit dat basiskamp onderbreken we de stage om deel te nemen aan de "Penn-Relays" in Philadelphia (nvlr: waarschijnlijk met twee teams), een meeting in Tallahassee in Florida op de 400m (individueel) en de 4x400m en één in Atlanta"

De 44-jarige Johnson, die in 2001 een punt achter zijn carrière zette, wordt als een van de beste sprinters aller tijden beschouwd. Hij bezit vier olympische en negen wereldtitels. Momenteel is hij nog steeds wereldrecordhouder op de baanronde (43.18).

De Belgische aflossingsploeg traint op 8 december in eigen land en trekt dan naar Zuid-Afrika, waar van 21 december tot 31 januari een intensieve stage in Stellenbosch gepland staat.

Michael Johnson nodigt Belgisch 4x400m-team uit in trainingscentrum

www.demorgen.be - 02 Dec. 2011, 18u34

~~(BELGA) =~~ **Op initiatief van voormalig olympisch kampioen Michael Johnson kan het Belgische aflossingsteam op de 4x400 meter meer dan een maand in het trainingscentrum van de Amerikaan trainen. De negen teamleden en hun coach Jacques Borlée verblijven van 15 april tot 20 mei in het 'Michael Johnson Performance Center' in McKinney bij Dallas, verduidelijkte Jacques Borlée vandaag.**

Kevin en Jonathan Borlée, Nils Duerinck, Arnaud Destatte, Antoine Gillet, Arnaud Ghislain, Joris Haeck, Stef Vanhaeren en Will Oyowe, die in de voorselectie voor Londen zitten, zullen in die periode veel competities afwerken.

"We onderhouden goede relaties met Michael Johnson", gaf Jacques Borlée toe. "Vanuit dat basiskamp onderbreken we de stage om deel te nemen aan de 'Penn-Relays' in Philadelphia (nvlr: waarschijnlijk met twee teams), een meeting in Tallahassee in Florida op de 400m (individueel) en de 4x400m en één in Atlanta."

De 44-jarige Johnson, die in 2001 een punt achter zijn carrière zette, wordt als een van de beste sprinters aller tijden beschouwd. Hij bezit vier olympische en negen wereldtitels. Momenteel is hij nog steeds wereldrecordhouder op de baanronde (43.18).

De Belgische aflossingsploeg traint op 8 december in eigen land en trekt dan naar Zuid-Afrika, waar van 21 december tot 31 januari een intensieve stage in Stellenbosch gepland staat. (belga/adv)

Michael Johnson nodigt Borlées uit ~~in trainingscentrum~~

De Morgen - 03 Dec. 2011, page 34

~~(BELGA) =~~ Op initiatief van ex-olympisch kampioen en 400 meterwereldrecordhouder Michael Johnson (44) kan het Belgische aflossingsteam op de 4x400 meter meer dan een maand in het trainingscentrum van de Amerikaan trainen.

De negen teamleden (Kevin en Jonathan Borlée, Nils Duerinck, Arnaud Destatte, Antoine Gillet, Arnaud Ghislain, Joris Haeck, Stef Vanhaeren en Will Oyowe) en hun coach Jacques Borlée verblijven van 15 april tot 20 mei in het 'Michael Johnson Performance Center' in McKinney bij Dallas~~, verduidelijkte Jacques Borlée vrijdag. Kevin en Jonathan Borlée, Nils Duerinck, Arnaud Destatte, Antoine Gillet, Arnaud Ghislain, Joris Haeck, Stef Vanhaeren en Will Oyowe, die in de voorselectie voor Londen zitten, zullen in die periode veel competities afwerken.~~ "We onderhouden goede relaties met Michael Johnson", zegt Jacques Borlée. "Vanuit dat basiskamp onderbreken we de stage om deel te nemen aan de 'Penn-Relays' in Philadelphia (~~nvlr:~~ waarschijnlijk met twee teams, nvdr), een meeting in Tallahassee ~~in Florida~~ op de 400 meter ~~(~~individueel~~)~~ en de 4x400 meter en één in Atlanta."

~~De 44-jarige Johnson, die in 2001 een punt achter zijn carrière zette, wordt als een van de beste sprinters aller tijden beschouwd. Hij bezit vier olympische en negen wereldtitels. Momenteel is hij nog steeds wereldrecordhouder op de baanronde (43.18).~~

~~De Belgische aflossingsploeg traint op 8 december in eigen land en trekt dan naar Zuid-Afrika, waar~~ Van 21 december tot 31 januari werkt de Belgische aflossingsploeg een intensieve stage af in het Zuid-Afrikaanse Stellenbosch.

Not much changed when the *Belga* report was translated for the web and published that same day. The source reference was relocated to the end of the article and put between brackets, the author's initials were added within those same brackets, a forgotten punctuation mark at the end of paragraph 3 was added to the TT and the time deictic reference 'vrijdag' ('Friday') was translated as 'vandaag' ('today').

We have already extensively discussed how temporal shifts to the deictic center influence news translation on previous occasions, mostly for online news (also see Franck 2014 or the addendum). What is more interesting though, is the omission of 'Friday' in the newspaper translation. While news sites often modulated time deictic expressions, newspapers generally, though not always, omitted them entirely from their translations. This was also seen in the example presented when discussing the representation of social actors, i.e. the newspaper article on Phelps' winning streak had omitted references to 'zondag'

(‘Sunday’), ‘Vrijdag’ (‘Friday’), ‘zaterdag’ (‘Saturday’) and ‘nog acht maanden tot Londen’ (‘eight more months till London’). What is more, a lot of information appearing in concordance to these references also disappeared from the text. This also happened in the above example, i.e. any reference to the indirect reported speech situation, in which the statement presented in sentence 1 of paragraph 2 was uttered, was omitted from the sentence.

The same was also seen when newspapers translated reports on the 2011 elections in the DR Congo. In the example presented there when discussing the representation of time, two omissions of ‘zaterdag’ (‘Saturday’) and the omission of ‘van deze week’ (‘of this week’) were discussed in light of them being previously added by *Belga* to their own translations as to accommodate newspaper writers. Indeed, it is remarkable that alterations made specifically for particular media are among the first to be cut by these media from their translations.

It is not entirely surprising, though.

As shown before, information which is presented in the present tense is far more likely to be kept in subsequent translations than information presented in the past (or future) tense. When the name of a day or other time deictic reference is used other than ‘today’ it is more likely for the verb phrase to be presented in another tense than the present tense. This is reflected in the above example where ‘Friday’ appeared in concordance to the verb phrase ‘verduidelijkte’ (‘explained’), presented in the past tense, which warranted it to be omitted. Another, related, alteration was the translation of ‘gaf toe’ (‘admitted’) as ‘zegt’ (‘says’). Not only was the verb phrase modulated, it was also transposed from the past to the present tense – even though the speech situation represented obviously took place in the past. In general, use of the present tense for the representation of direct reported speech was quite common in the news reports which are part of the corpus, as well as transpositions from past to present tense in translations when such representations were not yet in the present tense.

The above changes with regard to time deictic changes were seen throughout the entire case study corpus, independent of topic. Certain temporal references appear more often (as well as changes to them) in articles involving athletes and their accomplishments, as was the case with spatial references. Many of these references involve representations of how long it took athletes to finish an event and if they did so in record time. Not surprisingly such representations are only seen in articles on sports which appoint winners and losers on the basis of a race (e.g. running, swimming). As can be seen in the example translations above on Michael Phelps winning streak in the GP of Minnesota, pick-up of such references largely followed a similar pattern as the pick-up of other types of references, i.e. they were kept more often when discussing winners than when discussing losers. This is largely due to the overrepresentation of winners though. Let us take a closer look again at how runner-up Darian Townsend's finishing time in the 200 meter medley at the GP of Minnesota was depicted in subsequent translations in relation to that of Michael Phelps, who had won the event.

Townsend's finishing time remained in every subsequent translation as long as he was referred to as well. How his finishing time was represented as opposed to Phelps' finishing time, however, did change a few times in the process of translation. In the original *AFP* report both his and Phelps' finishing times appeared between brackets, though in slightly different formats: '(1 min 57 sec 58/100)' for Phelps, the shorter '(2:01.55)' for Townsend. This inconsistency was taken care of by *Belga* in its French version by altering Phelps' finishing time to (1:57.58). This notation was also used in the Dutch *Belga* translation, but Phelps' time in said version received a more prominent position when the original sentence was split into two shorter sentences. I have **bolded** the time notations:

> *Phelps a parachevé son week-end par un succès probant dimanche dans le 200 m 4 nages* ***(1:57.58)*** *avec quatre secondes d'avance sur le Sud-Africain Darian Townsend* ***(2:01.55)****.*
>
> *(Phelps has completed his weekend with a convincing success Sunday in the 200m medley* ***(1:57.58)*** *with four seconds ahead of the South African Darian Townsend* ***(2:01.55)****.)*
>
> *Zondag toonde hij zich ook op de 200 meter wisselslag de beste. Hij haalde het in* ***1:57.58*** *en had vier seconden voorsprong op het nummer twee, de Zuid-Afrikaan Darian Townsend* ***(2:01.55)****.*

*(Sunday he showed he also was the best in the 200 meter medley. He made it in **1:57.58** and had a four seconds lead on the number two, the South African Darian Townsend **(2:01.55)**.)*

In the original sentence both finishing times appeared as non-essential information between brackets. In the Dutch translation Phelps' time became direct object of the second sentence, while Townsend's time remained within brackets as non-essential information, once again stressing accomplishment over participation. Indeed, some of the other changes can also be explained in that light: 'completed with a convincing success' being translated to 'was the best', adding that Townsend was 'number two'.

All in all though, temporal information often played second fiddle to spatial information in the representations of athletes' accomplishments. Representations of finishing place appeared more often than representation of finishing time, e.g. the articles on Sigrid Rondelez, in which no finishing times are mentioned at all. The same holds up for the representations of event location and event time, with event locations almost always being kept, e.g. Fremantle and Minnesota, and deictic expressions of time often disappearing in subsequent translations – especially in newspaper translations. Omissions of temporal references often also accompanied omissions of participants who were not the victor.

4.3.6.4. The Representation of (personal) opinion

Journalist's (personal) opinions find their way into news translations. Some of these opinions are reflected in the changes journalists makes to STs. Indeed, as we have discussed in 2.3.3., judgments have to be made, even when opting for a neutral representation of source material. Prioritizing spatial over temporal information in the representation of athletes' accomplishments does not happen just because, but because such information is considered more relevant to the topic, which is a judgment in its own right. Many changes have already been discussed.

When discussing the representation of social actors, an example of an English ST was given in which the guise of indirect reported speech was used to hedge speculation on a possible terrorist threat. When translated into Dutch, the indirect reported speech situation was transformed into a direct speech situation, and the possible threat was represented as a plausible threat. This was not the only example in which possibility was transformed into plausibility. Indeed, when discussing hedges and boosters before, an example was given from another English to Dutch translation on the possible implementation of ground-to-air defenses. In the example, the conditional tense was wrongfully replaced by the future tense, which expresses less doubt. Such examples are notable, though rare. Indeed, most hedges and boosters that were added to or omitted from TTs in the case study corpus expressed feelings of doubt or certitude when it came to athletes' future participation in certain sporting events (among which, of course, the Olympics). In many of these cases, a future tense was turned into a conditional tense, as has been noted before.

Bryant (1989) describes the presence of violence in (the language of) sports. While athletes were represented as victims in articles on possible or plausible terrorist attacks during the Olympic Games, no such representations were seen in articles on athletes (not) qualifying or preparing for the Olympics. In fact, because of the focus on accomplishment rather than on the competition itself, there were very few allusions to violence in the source texts and in their translations. Metaphors depicting space, distance and direction were seen far more often, e.g. 'la bonne direction' ('the right direction'), which may be due to the high prevalence of racing sport articles in the corpus. But even in articles on ball games (i.e. volleyball and hockey) no examples of changes relating to the representation of violence could be found, while, for instance, it would have been easy to occasionally translate the often used verb 'spelen' ('play') as 'strijden' ('battle'), this never happened in the translations under study.

Some of the lexical choices which have not yet been discussed are interesting, though, but cannot be discussed as relating to the larger and very specific metamessages relevant to this particular case study on sports news. Let us discuss some of the shifts which occured when a Dutch *Belga* report was translated by a journalist working for *Het Laatste Nieuws*:

Britse royals verhuren optrekje tijdens Olympische Spelen

Belga - 14 Nov. 2011

(AFP) = Bedrijven die volgend jaar tijdens de Olympische Spelen in Londen hun gasten extra willen verwennen, kunnen daarvoor terecht in het befaamde St. James's Palace.
De Britse koninklijke familie heeft beslist bepaalde vertrekken van het oude koninklijk paleis tijdens de duur van de olympiade te verhuren aan bedrijven die banden hebben met de royals.

Onder meer de troonzaal en de tapijtenzaal kunnen worden gehuurd voor bedragen die oplopen tot 30.000 pond (35.000 euro) per dag. "De opbrengst zal dienen voor het onderhoud van de gebouwen", verduidelijkt een woordvoerder van Buckingham Palace.

St. James's Palace werd tussen 1531 en 1536 gebouwd in opdracht van koning Hendrik VII. Het was gedurende meer dan 300 jaar de residentie van de Engelse koningen en koninginnen. Sinds 1837 en het aantreden van koningin Victoria huizen de royals in het nabije Buckingham Palace.

De Olympische Spelen in Londen vinden plaats van 27 juli tot 12 augustus 2012.

Britse royals verhuren paleis tijdens Olympische Spelen

Het Laatste Nieuws - 15 Nov. 2011, page 6

~~(AFP) = Bedrijven die volgend jaar tijdens de Olympische Spelen in Londen hun gasten extra willen verwennen, kunnen daarvoor terecht in het befaamde St. James's Palace.~~ De Britse royals willen een graantje meepikken van de Olympische Spelen volgend jaar in Londen. De ~~Britse~~ koninklijke familie gaat bepaalde vertrekken van ~~het~~ St. James's Palace verhuren ~~tijdens de duur van de olympiade te verhuren aan bedrijven die banden hebben met de royals~~. Bedrijven kunnen er ~~Onder meer de troonzaal en de tapijtenzaal~~ voor de astronomische bedragen van ~~30.000 pond (~~35.000 euro~~)~~ per dag de troonzaal of tapijtenzaal afhuren. "De opbrengst zal dienen voor het onderhoud ~~van de gebouwen~~", verduidelijkt een woordvoerder van Buckingham Palace. Het befaamde St. James's Palace werd tussen 1531 en 1536 gebouwd in opdracht van koning Hendrik VII. Het was ~~gedurende~~ meer dan 300 jaar de residentie van de Engelse koningen en koninginnen. Sinds 1837 ~~en het aantreden van koningin Victoria~~ huizen de royals in het nabije Buckingham Palace. De Olympische Spelen in Londen vinden plaats van 27 juli tot 12 augustus 2012. (TD)

The articles relate that certain rooms within St. James's Palace in London would be up for let during the Olympics. I consciously left out the main actors in the sub clause as therein lies the main difference between the two article versions. The ST starts with a sentence in which

'Bedrijven' are topic and subject, the TT starts with a sentence in which 'De Britse Royals' are topic and subject:

> *Bedrijven die volgend jaar tijdens de Olympische Spelen in Londen hun gasten extra willen verwennen, kunnen daarvoor terecht in het befaamde St. James's Palace.*
>
> *(Companies that want to treat their guests to something extra during the Olympic Games in London next year, can do so in the renowned St. James's Palace.)*
>
> *De Britse royals willen een graantje meepikken van de Olympische Spelen volgend jaar in Londen.*
>
> *(The British royals want to get a piece of the Olympic Games' pie next year in London.)*

While some details appear in both sentences (e.g. temporal and spatial references to the Olympics), the two sentences are vastly different in the way they present their main actors. While the ST sentence is about *companies* (possibly) wanting to *offer* something extra, the TT sentence is about the *royals* wanting to *take* something extra. News reports generally start by representing the most important information, i.e. the news, by answering the simple factual question: what, whom, when, where? (Asbreuk and de Moor 2007, p. 37) It can be argued that both first sentences fail in this respect by not answering this simple factual question in enough detail. The metaphor used in the TT is also telling, in that metaphorical language use usually represents interpretation, rather than fact (Lams 2008, p. 176). After the tone of the article had been set, the second sentences of both ST and TT answer most of the aforementioned question, i.e. these sentences contain the main news. The TT does leave out any reference to companies in its second sentence, though, choosing to use the general reference 'Bedrijven' ('Companies') as the subject for the third sentence, which was represented in the passive voice in the ST. Omission of the information that companies need to have ties to the royals to be up for consideration in the first place is not compensated for anywhere in the TT.

Something which was compensated for later in the TT was an adjective from the ST's first sentence, describing St. James's Palace as 'renowned'. The act of keeping (and compensating for) an adjective which focusses on stature in the TT, while omitting some defining traits of main actors, can only be explained when we take some of the other changes into consideration: translating the (jocular) ‘optrekje’ (‘little condo’) by ‘paleis’ (‘palace’), adding the adjective ‘astronomisch’ (‘astronomical’) to the price of the rent, omitting the lower pound price in favor of the higher price in euro, wrongfully depicting the price of rent as ‘bedragen van 35.000 euro’ (‘amounts of 35.000 euro’), instead of as ‘bedragen tot 35.000 euro’ (‘amounts up to 35.000 euro’), translating ‘voor het onderhoud van de gebouwen’ (‘for the maintenance of the buildings’) as ‘voor het onderhoud’ (‘for the maintenance’). All these changes relate to the alternate story which was being related on the already wealthy British royals wanting to become even more wealthy.

While the changes in this translation are interesting, they do not exemplify a recurring theme in the rest of the case study corpus. In fact, apart from in articles on this particular news event, the British royals are never even mentioned at all. Then why show this particular example? For two reasons: (i) to show that apart from recurring metamessages particular to sports news or news on the Olympics, there may also be metamessages which are non-recurrent in the representation of the topic, but which may or may not be more common in the representation of other topics. Indeed, we have already discussed that the world of sports is not “an apolitical arena” (Blain et al. 1993, p. 15), so it should not be surprising to occasionally see political thought reflected in news concerning the run-up to the 2012 Summer Olympics either; (ii) to highlight the last sentence which appears in both the *Belga* ST and the newspaper TT.

That last sentence is the following:

De Olympische Spelen in Londen vinden plaats van 27 juli tot 12 augustus 2012.

(*The Olympic Games in London take place from 27 July to 12 August 2012.*)

Now, compare that sentence to the last sentence of a *Belga* report on U.S. expressing their concerns on venue security:

De Olympische Spelen volgend jaar gaan door van 27 juli tot 12 augustus.

(The Olympic Games next year go through from 27 July to 12 August.)

And to the last sentence of a *Belga* report on budget concerns for the Olympic Games:

Meer dan 10.000 atleten geven tussen 27 juli en 12 augustus 2012 het beste van zichzelf op de Spelen.

(More than 10.000 athletes give the best of themselves between 27 July and 12 August 2012 at the Games.)

There is some remarkable overlap between the last sentences of these three very different articles, in that they all contextualize what was previously written in the article by explicating that the London Olympics would take place at one very specific moment in the not so distant future. In all three cases, said sentence was kept word-for-word in every subsequent translation – notwithstanding changes (and many omissions) being made to other parts of the texts in question. Furthermore, the three articles in question are themselves translations. They are heavily shortened versions of articles originally produced by international press agencies (*AFP* and *DPA*), and they all concern the logistics of the event. Indeed, these references were a constant reminder that while things may or may not be going according to plan, the Olympics themselves were not very far away.

4.3.7. Conclusions

In this case study on the translation of news on the run-up to the 2012 Summer Olympics, journalists translated more liberally when translating from one general language into another than when translating within the same general language. ‘Medium’ was also an important variable, though. While word for word take-over was high when sentences were translated, far more sentences (and entire paragraphs) were omitted when translating for a newspaper than for a news site.

Mistakes were made more often when translating from one general language into another, though far more often when translation was done by news site journalists than by news wire journalists. When translating a text intralingually more attention was given to optimizing the source text for specific audiences, as seen in the time deictic alterations (mostly by news site journalists) or omissions, and editorial corrections (mostly by newspaper journalists).

Because of the focus on Belgian athletes in the representation of news on the run-up to the 2012 Olympics, national press agency *Belga* was more source than intermediary. When international news was translated by newspapers and news sites, they mostly did rely on the news agency as an intermediary, though. Three metamessages were discerned throughout the case study corpus that often became more and more pronounced in the cycle from original news report to final product, whether *Belga* had played an intermediary role or not:

(i) Accomplishment: though athletes were mainly described as hapless victims in news reports on venue security, they were most often, and contrastingly, defined by their past and present accomplishments in news on actual competitions. Past accomplishments were used to define athletes, while present accomplishments ensured their representation over the representation of other athletes in-text. Winning was more important than participating, a metamessage which was strengthened throughout the process of translation, e.g. the translation set on Phelps' achievements.

(ii) Simplification: depicting winners, rather than participants is a particular form of simplification, but simplification was also seen in more general representations of time and space. Events that can be presented in the present tense were generally preferred over events that had to be presented in the past (or future) tense, and references to places in London were generally simplified to a single bare bones reference to the city. Furthermore, simplification sometimes also factored into the representation of sports specific terminology, e.g. 'the RS:X class', 'the WC sailing'.

(iii) Proximity: both metamessages of proximity relating to space and time were discerned. Mostly Belgian athletes (and their accomplishments) were represented in the news reports, and the traits that were used to define them often remained in subsequent translations as well. Though the focus may have been on 'Team Belgium', this does not mean that all representations of athletes fit within the idiom "of the nation as one" (Blain et al. 1993, p. 77). More local descriptions of origination were important in describing individual Belgian athletes, and these descriptions were never omitted from subsequent translations either. The metamessage of proximity was also reflected in the reports on event logistics, with the constant reminder that it was not long before the Olympics would be there.

Chapter 5: Conclusions

For this book I have investigated the role of translation in journalism from a pragmatic perspective. I have defined pragmatics as the study of communicative dynamics. Because of how it has been institutionalized, it is mainly a “general functional perspective on (any aspect of) language” (Verschueren 1999a, p. 11). Looking at translation from said perspective, means that it can be regarded as a form of interpretive language use which is always dependent of context. It is an instance of recontextualization, in which a source text (ST) is manipulated to become a target text (TT). It can be interlingual or intralingual, depending on whether translation is done between two different general languages or within one general language. And while a translation is never completely faithful or liberal, it is always situated on the cline of unremitting variability between these two extremes. Translation is also one of many tasks associated with the profession of journalism. The main commodity of this profession is information. The information journalists provide can be true, but it is not always possible to say whether it is or is not, because most often, it is the neutral rendition of what other people have said. What someone said is a journalist’s raw material, and (s)he can copy, translate or turn it into something entirely new by combining it with other statements (i.e. writing) so it becomes the information her/his medium will provide to its audience.

With these basic notions in mind I set out to answer four main questions, which are discussed separately in the coming sections: (**5.1.**) Which variables influence the way journalists translate?; (**5.2.**) What formal shifts in meaning occur when journalists translate?; (**5.3.**) What functional shifts in meaning occur when journalists translate?; (**5.4.**) Are metamessages strengthened throughout subsequent translations? In one final section (**5.5.**) I discuss some of the impîcations of these answers for the field, as well as some new questions which have presented themselves.

To answer the above questions I examined translations made by journalists working for Belgium’s main national press agency (*Belga*), news sites (*www.demorgen.be*, *www.destandaard.be*, *www.hln.be* and *www.nieuwsblad.be*), and newspapers (*De Morgen*, *De Standaard*, *Het Laatste Nieuws* and *Het Nieuwsblad*). The only one of these media that did not exclusively translate into Dutch was press agency *Belga*, which also translates news into French. *Belga* also often fulfilled an intermediary role, translating international media reports (e.g. *Agence France*-Press, *Deutsche Presse Agentur*) into French and Dutch before they were picked up by Belgian media. It also provided original coverage which was often picked up by the different media.

To account for differences in topic I exemplified two distinct cases in this book: (i) translations of news reports on the 2011 elections in the DR Congo; (ii) translations of news reports on the run-up to the 2012 London Summer Olympics.

5.1. Which variables influence the way journalists translate?

5.1.1. Journalists translate differently depending on the medium they work for

When journalists translated for a news site, source text structure was generally kept and word-for-word translation was extremely high. The most common changes made for news sites were reductions, though these did not occur as often as when translating for other types of media, and mostly when translating interlingually. This is largely due to two distinguishing traits: (i) news sites have no material limits; (ii) news sites have a permanent deadline. In other words, articles need to be put on the news site as quickly as possible and word count generally is not an objection in this process. Because of this, news site journalists largely focused on optimizing articles for their perceived audience by adding relevant (time) deictic references, omitting or replacing irrelevant (time) deictic references, changing titles, and occasionally adding other information relevant for a Dutch speaking Belgian audience. Changes due to the editorial preferences were not uncommon either (e.g. substituting single for double quotation marks or vice versa).

When journalists translated for a newspaper, source text structure was generally kept as well. Word-for-word take was especially high when sentences or paragraphs were translated, but far more sentences and entire paragraphs were omitted by newspaper journalists than by news site journalists. Materiality, of course, had an important part in this. Information initially omitted which was deemed important enough was regularly compensated for. Changes due to editorial preference were not uncommon either, and editorial corrections were mostly found in newspaper translations. The presence of sub-editors and correctors at newspaper desks may factor into this, but the lower daily article count per journalist and the presence of a daily deadline rather than a permanent one should not be dismissed as variables either.

Interestingly, differences between the different news sites or between the different newspapers were far less outspoken than between newspapers and news sites in general. Of course, there *are* differences. For instance, editorial preferences *are* different for every medium, but changes *due* to editorial preference are made by all of them. Indeed, on the whole the above described differences relate to *all* news sites, and to *all* newspapers under study.

Translating for *Belga* is somewhat more complicated. While the medium shares traits with news sites – (i) it has no material limits; (ii) there is a permanent deadline –, it considers newspapers its main clients and tries to accommodate those clients. It also provides translations in two languages, French and Dutch. This slightly dissociative situation is reflected in its translations. French translations were mostly longer than its Dutch translations, and while language structure is an important variable in this respect (which we will discuss in section **5.1.4.**), this is also related to differences between how French language media and Dutch language media *use* language, i.e. longer discourses are more acceptable in French language media than in Dutch language media (see for example: Tobback 2014). While very little was generally omitted from the French translations (both in interlingual and intralingual situations), whole paragraphs and sentences were omitted in every Dutch translation. Just as with newspaper translations, information initially omitted which was deemed important enough was regularly compensated for in the Dutch translations. Audience specific information was mostly added when international coverage was initially translated, e.g. when French *AFP* reports were turned into French *Belga* reports. Overall structural changes were limited, though, for all *Belga* translations.

5.1.2. Journalists translate differently depending on the medium they translate from

Although journalists translating for news sites and newspapers sometimes indicated other sources than *Belga* as a source, they rarely *actually* translated from sources other than *Belga*. Indeed, most articles found on news sites or in newspapers which referred to international press agencies *Agence France-Presse* or *Deutsche Presse Agentur* were actually based on translations made by *Belga* journalists who had themselves used reports from these international agencies as a source, rather than that they were based on the original reports from these international news agencies. Though this result is interesting, it has made it hard for me to accept or reject the hypothesis that journalists translate differently depending on the medium they translate from in general.

News sites occasionally did translate news from other (international) news agencies and news sites, though. The medium which produced the ST was, however, a far less important variable than whether translation was interlingual or intralingual. Newspapers generally just relied on *Belga* for their translations – something which newspaper journalist Caleb, for instance, admitted he also did.

Belga mostly translated news reports from international press agencies or internally. News reports originally written by international press agencies were always heavily shortened when translated into Dutch. This includes translations to Dutch from international agency reports which were first picked up by *Belga*'s French wire. French language reports which were originally produced by *Belga* were also shortened when translated into Dutch, but far less omissions were seen in these types of translations. This is related, though, to original *Belga* productions generally being shorter than international wire reports in the first place.

5.1.3. Journalists translate differently depending on the topic they write about

Many of the changes seen in a case study on the translation of foreign political news, were also seen in a case study on the translation of foreign and domestic sports news. There is a general tendency in news translations to omit and simplify information, while keeping source text structure intact. Topic does play a role, though, in deciding exactly what information is kept and what information is discarded, or rather, which information is favored.

For instance, while spatial references were among the first to be omitted from news reports on the 2011 general elections in the DR Congo (e.g. simplifying information as to portray that something was happening 'in the Congo'), spatial references were often kept in news reports dealing with athletes qualifying or preparing for the Olympics (e.g. a competitions always took place in a specific locale, athletes always came from a specific country (foreign sports news) or locale (domestic sports news)).

Another example, while translations of news on foreign elections focused on two of many participants (polarization metamessage), translations of news on athletes usually focused on only one of many participants, the victor or a Belgian athlete or team (accomplishment and proximity metamessages).

5.1.4. Journalists translate differently depending on the language they translate from/into

Language was an important variable in the translation of news reports. Not only are there specific changes which can and did occur due to differences in language structure, i.e. borrowing, amplifications and concentrations (e.g. the use of definite articles in French when referring to countries is not always justifiable in Dutch; differences in the representation of compounds between English and Dutch); there were also many changes which took place when translating interlingually, rather than intralingually that could not be attributed to differences in language structure.

Many changes were due to differences in language use. For example, when French news reports on the elections in the DR Congo were translated into Dutch, honorific titles like ‘M.’ or ‘Me’ were always omitted. Using translations of these honorific titles in Dutch news reports would not have been wrong grammatically speaking, but it is simply something which does not happen. Interestingly, while these honorific titles were often used in concordance with politicians, or even with people in the street, in French news reports, they were never used in concordance with athletes.

In section **5.1.1.** I described an example of how differences in language use can influence article length. Indeed, many changes described in said section are not only due to specific medium traits but because of language (use) as well. For example, while news sites generally limited themselves to word-for-word translation, they omitted far more when translating interlingually than when translating intralingually. The main reason for this can be seen in the number of articles they produced on a daily basis. They needed to be fast. When working within one language this meant they could essentially just copy-paste a text. When working from another language they tried to be as concise as possible so that they did not have to put too much time in any specific article, but could start working on the next one. This is also reflected in the higher number of mistakes found in interlingual translations made by news site journalist. Such mistakes occurred far less often when *Belga* translated interlingually, and is also partially due to differences in language aptness.

5.2. What formal shifts in meaning occur when journalists translate?

There is a general tendency in news translations to omit information, while keeping source text structure intact. Second to omission (a type of reduction), was addition (a type of reinforcement) but this occurred far less often. Third and fourth were modulations and transpositions (both types of replacement), which occurred even less frequently than additions. Rearrangements were uncommon, which is interesting as Bielsa and Bassnett (2009, p. 64) have indicated that changing the order of paragraphs is common practice in news translation. What I found here is more in line with what I had already seen in Franck 2012):

> "our results show that the news reports […] follow the same basic structure as the press releases, though they often compress multiple topics that are spread over different para-graphs in the press release to a single paragraph in the news report." (Franck 2012, p.18)

The practice of compressing multiple paragraphs into a single paragraph was mostly seen when news sites or *Belga* translated interlingually, or when newspapers translated intralingually.

5.3. What functional shifts in meaning occur when journalists translate?

The representations of people, space, time and (personal) opinion were all affected when journalists translated, though not in every translation, and certainly not always in the same manner. Rather than exemplifying these changes here, I will discuss some of them in the following section (**5.4.**) when discussing the different metamessages and whether or not they were strengthened in the process of translation.

5.4. Are metamessages strengthened throughout subsequent translations?

The short answer to the section title is: yes. The longer answer involves me repeating substantial parts of the case study conclusions (sections **5.4.1.** and **5.4.2.**) and taking a closer look at one non-topic-related metamessage both case studies have in common in section **5.4.3.**.

5.4.1. Metamessages in the translations on the 2011 elections in the DR Congo

Three metamessages were discerned throughout the case study corpus that often became more and more pronounced in the cycle from original news report to final product, whether *Belga* had played an intermediary role or not:

(i) Polarization: this metamessage was discerned mostly by looking at how people were represented in the case study corpus, and how their representation changes throughout subsequent translations. News on the 2011 general elections in the DR Congo was mostly portrayed as a duel between two men: Joseph Kabila and Étienne, i.e. 'the president' and his 'opponent'. And this while there were, in fact, 18,835 candidates for the parliamentary elections and 11 candidates for the presidential elections.

(ii) Simplification: this metamessage was discerned mostly by looking at the representation of time and places, and changes to these representations in subsequent translations, but the polarization metamessage can, of course, also be regarded as a specific act of simplification. Spatial details were often omitted from subsequent translations, favoring the idea of 'something having happened in the Congo'. The same holds for the representation of time with specific temporal adverbs making way for general past, present, future representations by use of verb tenses.

(iii) Violence: this metamessage was mostly discerned by looking at the representation of personal opinion, and changes to these representations in the process of subsequent translations. Many lexical changes in the corpus involved the representation of violence. Most of these changes occurred, however, when a news wire report was translated into a news site report or newspaper report, and contextualized the elections in a more outspoken context of violence than their source texts had.

5.4.2. Metamessages in the translations on the run-up to the 2012 Summer Olympics

Three metamessages were discerned throughout the case study corpus that often became more and more pronounced in the cycle from original news report to final product, whether *Belga* had played an intermediary role or not:

(i) Accomplishment: though athletes were mainly described as hapless victims in news reports on venue security, they were most often, and contrastingly, defined by their past and present accomplishments in news on actual competitions. Past accomplishments were used to define athletes, while present accomplishments ensured their representation over the representation of other athletes in-text. Winning was more important than participating, a metamessage which was strengthened throughout the process of translation, e.g. the translation set on Phelps' achievements.

(ii) Simplification: depicting winners, rather than participants is a particular form of simplification, but simplification was also seen in more general representations of time and space. Events that can be presented in the present tense were generally preferred over events that had to be presented in the past (or future) tense, and references to places in London were generally simplified to a single bare bones reference to the city. Furthermore, simplification sometimes also factored into the representation of sports specific terminology, e.g. 'the RS:X class', 'the WC sailing'.

(iii) Proximity: both metamessages of proximity relating to space and time were discerned. Mostly Belgian athletes (and their accomplishments) were represented in the news reports, and the traits that were used to define them often remained in subsequent translations as well. Though the focus may have been on 'Team Belgium', this does not mean that all representations of athletes fit within the idiom "of the nation as one" (Blain et al. 1993, p. 77). More local descriptions of origination were important in describing individual Belgian athletes, and these descriptions were never omitted from subsequent translations either. The metamessage of proximity was also reflected in the reports on event logistics, with the constant reminder that it was not long before the Olympics would be there.

5.4.3. Simplification

The keen observer may have noticed that simplification figures both in section **5.4.1.** and section **5.4.2.**. Indeed, while metamessages are generally dependent of topic, I would argue that simplification is not topic dependent, but universal to the types of news translation I have been describing in this book.

This may be somewhat of a bold statement, especially given the fact that within Translation Studies it is often argued that translations tend to be longer than their source texts (e.g. Blum-Kulka 2000, p. 301). While this may be true for literary translations (which try to be as faithful as possible and add quite a bit of expository phrases in the process), and technical translations (which need to convey the exact same message as their source texts), I hope to have shown that the nature of translation in journalism is somewhat different.

Journalists translate, and while there are many variables which influence their translations (see section **5.1.**), they never forget that, first and foremost, they have a *story* to tell. Furthermore, to quote Nick Davies (2009, p. 111) once more, they know that "[t]he story can't be everywhere at once".

Simplification is not a bad thing. We *always* simplify reality when communicating. Simply (pardon the pun) because we cannot say *everything*. We do not say certain things for reasons of time, reasons of space or because things just need not be said. I can often finish my wife's sentences before she had the time of finishing them herself, and she can do the same with my sentences. This is because we have a common history, because we share knowledge schemas. When reading news report we can fill in certain blanks as well. Indeed, these conclusions are in many ways a simplification of what was discussed in the previous pages.

On the other hand, while my wife knows I love her and I know she loves me, we do explicitize this often enough (I hope). Of course, we do not say it because we fear the other would forget, not really, but because it has become an idiom, a fixed formula, in our communication. When journalists repeated for the umpteenth time that the Olympics would be held between July 27th and August 12th 2012 while at the same time leaving out other information, this can be evaluated in the same manner. Stories are contextualized by adding such formulae. Once again, this is not necessarily a bad thing.

Simplification *does* become a problem when facts are distorted to fit a story. For example, when a news report states that one presidential candidate is leading in half of the provinces and another candidate is leading in the other half, this may be interesting story wise, as the situation fits well within an overall metamessage of polarization. But when there are actually other candidates who are leading in certain provinces, we are dangerously stepping into the territory of #fakenews.

Thankfully most news reports did not exchange fact for fiction. Whether or not the stories they told were true though, that is a question better left to philosophers.

“William wondered why he always disliked people who said ‘no offense meant.’ Maybe it was because they found it easier to to say ‘no offense meant’ than actually to refrain from giving offense.”

(Pratchett 2001, p. 132)

5.5. Implications for the field and further reflections

5.5.1. Implications for the field

I am well aware that writing about other people’s professions is a dangerous thing to do. I have said on multiple occasions that it was never my intention to judge anybody or their work. The focus in this book was never on the mistakes people made. It was on the intricate process of shifts in meaning that occur when journalists translate. As said before, these shifts in meaning occur far more often due to differences in language structure, differences in language use or because of personal preferences or medium constraints, rather than because of mistakes.

Journalists do not need an outsider to tell them how to do their job. They know how to do their job because they are *doing* it. In February 2017 I talked with Victor, the *Belga* correspondent, about how journalists favor using last names and descriptions rather than pronouns to refer to social actors in news reporting after the initial full name representation. ‘Do we?’ he asked me, and I explained to him what I had seen in my data and that I found the result somewhat surprising as accessibility theory dictates that the degree of unity between an antecedent and its anaphor is higher when a personal pronoun is used than when a description is used (Ariel 2001, p. 34). He then started to reflect on his own writing and told me that he used descriptions instead of pronouns to quickly add context to an article and because of textual economy. He could not say why exactly he and his colleagues used last names to refer to social actors as much as they do, but did add that he does use pronouns more often when the news involves unknown people.

While journalists write and translate in very specific ways, they do not always reflect on why they write or translate in these very specific ways. For one, too much reflection would get in the way of them actually doing their job. Second, much of their work consists of routines which they have appropriated during the course of their profession, and routines, by definition, occlude reflection.

This book cannot tell journalists how to translate, nor should it. If it can get a handful of journalists to reflect on some of the routines they have appropriated, I would consider it an accomplishment. And if it cannot, then at least students of journalism or translation can benefit from understanding how exactly journalists translate, what changes they make and which variables govern their translations. Not only by appropriating some of these routines themselves, but also by reflecting on them in the process.

5.5.2. Further reflections

At the end of any journey it is customary to reflect on accomplishments and what you could have done differently. It is also customary to start thinking about the next journey. The accomplishments of my research have been well documented in this conclusion so far, its limitations… not so much. I have to admit that the metamessage of accomplishment found in the news reports on the run-up to the 2012 Summer Olympics in London is not entirely absent from my own writing.

There have been limitations, of course. Just like journalists, I have had to wrestle with time constraints (among others). Time was an important variable in delimiting my own research agenda. It is why I chose to explore two cases in depth rather than multiple cases in a superficial manner. It is why I decided to focus on intralingual and interlingual translations, while excluding intersemiotic translations from the research agenda. Multimodal analysis can be interesting though. For instance, while press agency *Belga* was the main source for text for the news sites under study, it was not their main source for images in the two case studies discussed in this book. Text and photo services are separate entities at the agency, and while it has agreements with international agencies for translating text, it does not have these same agreements for dispersing images. While all main Belgian media have subscriptions to *Belga*'s textual news wire, they all subscribe to different image services, in the end resulting in them publishing similar articles, textually speaking, with different images supporting them.

Another possible research venue relates to other tasks within journalism that deserve more attention, other (textual) relationships. Indeed, the framework presented in this book does not only lend itself for investigating the relationship between wire reports and their translations, but also for investigating the relationship between oral interviews and news reports. What do journalists copy or translate from the interviews they have with people? Do they omit, add, rearrange or replace information? Do they favor certain metamessages over others?

This book does not answer all questions on the role of translation in journalism. It answers some of them, leaving room for future endeavors. And indeed, maybe the limitations presented here, become tomorrow's accomplishments.

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Addendum

Making news from a local bar: a linguistic ethnography of the authoring, recontextualization, and reframing of a news story

by Maarten Charles J. Franck

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Abstract

Most studies of news writing focus on what happens inside the newsroom. This study focuses on an interrelated sequence of processes involving one clearly 'located' authoring practice outside of the newsroom, followed by its recontextualization and some reframing. A correspondent working for a news agency decided to write one story and not to write another while working from a local bar. His decisions were made on the basis of a 'news value' equation with regard to 'unusualness' and 'negativity'. They were also made from an economic perspective. The fact that he was working from a bar did not hinder the correspondent's work habits too much. Because of his smartphone he was able to be given an assignment, inform himself of what had happened, write an article and send it in to the news desk without having to leave his seat. Subsequently, the correspondent's text was (quickly) taken over by online news media and recontextualized from different deictic centers, resulting in a number of small changes. Only in one instance was it uncertain, though highly likely, that the correspondent's article was used as a source. This is the only instance in which new information was added and in which the elite frame of the story was abandoned. Thus the article traces the genesis and meaning trajectory of a news story in a digital environment.

Keywords: Journalism; Ethnography; News Agency; Linguistics; News Values; Temporal Deixis; Framing; News Making; Online news

'The heaven-born mission of journalism is to disseminate truth – to eradicate error – to educate, refine and elevate the tone of public morals and manners, and make all men more gentle, more virtuous, more charitable, and in all ways better, and holier and happier'

(Mark Twain, 'Journalism in Tennessee', 1996 [ca. 1871], p. 9)

1. Introduction

Loftier words could probably not be uttered about the practice of journalism as the ones in the above quote from Mark Twain's *Journalism in Tennessee*. In his little satirical sketch Twain describes how he got a berth at a (fictional) newspaper called the *Morning Glory and Johnson County War-Whoop* as associate editor and had to write an editorial on the 'Spirit of the Tennessee Press'. When he handed in his manuscript, the chief editor of said newspaper was not completely pleased with what Twain had written. He made some radical changes to Twain's manuscript and the lofty words in the above quote stem from that altered manuscript. The editor in chief of the *Morning Glory and Johnson County War-Whoop* does, however, go on in quite a different fashion, less loftily, when talking about the chief editor of the competing *Morning Howl*:

> – and yet this black-hearted villain, this hell-spawned miscreant, prostitutes his great office persistently to the dissemination of falsehood, calumny, vituperation and degrading vulgarity. His paper is notoriously unfit to take into the people's homes, and ought to be banished to the gambling hells and brothels where the mass of reeking pollution which does duty as its editor, lives and moves, and has his being. (Twain, 1996 [ca. 1871], p. 9)

Journalism is one of those sets of practices that tend to be idealized in certain contexts, while being demonized in others. One common metaphor for journalists is that they are the 'watchdogs' of democracy. They have also been called 'missionaries'. Another one is that they supposedly are 'bloodhounds', or 'lapdogs' or even 'vultures', scavengers that feast on the misery of others (Wasserman, 2012; Rughani, 2010; Zelizer & Allan, 2010; Whitten-Woodring, 2009; Köcher, 1986). We know journalists through their representation in films (*Good Night, and Good Luck* by George Clooney and Grant Heslov), plays (*Frost/Nixon* by

Peter Morgan) and books (*The Rum Diary* by Hunter S. Thompson (2004) [1998]), whether they be fictional or based on true events. We have also come to know real-life journalists through their appearances on radio and television; today they also appear on talk shows, on game shows, on almost any kind of show for that matter. But do we really know what goes on in and outside of the news room? Do we know what journalists actually do?

Already in the 1970s and 1980s ethnographers wrote down their answers to that particular question. Some of the more important ones from that era are the accounts by Fishman (1980), Gans (1979) and Tuchman (1978, 1973). Also today, ethnographers and other researchers working in such diverse fields as communication and journalism studies, linguistics and translation studies (Coesemans 2012; Davier, 2012; Franck, 2012; Vertommen et. al., 2012; Jacobs, 2011; Sleurs, 2011; Van Hout et al., 2011; Boyer, 2010; Joye 2009) are trying to formulate an answer to that same question, focusing on the plethora of different practices that can be found in and outside of the newsroom.

Most of these studies, however, focus on what happens inside the newsroom. Not many studies leave the newsroom – apart from Sleurs (2011) who focused on the production of journalistic sources in a corporate setting – and even fewer focus on practices that journalists partake in outside of the newsroom. This article starts from on one such practice. I will discuss one example in which a correspondent working for a news agency (in this case Belgium's national news agency Belga) decided to write one story and not to write another while working from a bar. I will also describe and discuss the processes that led to these decisions. Subsequently I will discuss what happened after these decisions were made, in a linguistic analysis – focusing on the authoring, recontextualization and (to a certain extent) reframing of the story. Thus this article is intended as a linguistic ethnography that traces the genesis and meaning trajectory of a news story in a digital environment in which smartphones, 3G networks and the world wide web have come to dictate the flows of information.

2. Ethnography and journalism

Ethnography has been defined and redefined on multiple occasions (e.g. Blommaert & Dong, 2010; Conquergood, 1991; Rist, 1980). It is sometimes seen as a method for collecting data. Other times it is looked at as a 'paradigm' (Blommaert & Dong, 2010) or a 'holistic approach' (Whitehead, 2004). There is also discussion about what methods could be seen as pertaining to ethnography. According to many (e.g. Vertommen et. al. 2012; Whitehead, 2004) formal interviews are a distinctive method of ethnographical fieldwork. The stress in that last sentence is on the indefinite article. Formal interviews are just one possible method. Charmaz states that ethnography is 'more than participant observation alone' (2006, p. 21, quoted in Coesemans, 2012; p. 205). But in fact, ethnography is not only more than participant observation; it does not even have to be participant observation at all. According to Verschueren (2012, p. 54) ethnography requires 'painstaking fieldwork' but he does not define exactly what this fieldwork should be; only what it could be. Charmaz continues her definition by telling that ethnography also 'often includes supplementary data from documents, diagrams, maps, photographs, and, occasionally, formal interviews and questionnaires' (2006, p. 21, quoted in Coesemans, 2012, p. 205). Her stress on formal interviews only belonging 'occasionally' to ethnography's supplemental data is an interesting one. Others are less diplomatic when talking about interviews and questioning as methods of ethnographical fieldwork. According to Blommaert and Dong:

> Ethnographic fieldwork is aimed at finding out things that are often not seen as important but belong to the implicit structures of people's life. *Asking* is indeed very often the worst possible way of trying to find out. (2010, p. 3, my italics)

Blommaert and Dong's words hark back to those of Dell Hymes, who said that: 'Some social research seems incredibly to assume that what there is to find out can be found out by asking' (Hymes, 2004 [1981], p. 84, quoted in Blommaert & Dong, 2010, p. 3). I would not go as far as to say that what there is to find out could not be found out by asking, but there is some truth in these words. What people say is not always what they do. In fact, what they say might as well contradict what they do. But asking reveals much about practices as well. And asking the right questions even more so (see Briggs, 1986). Furthermore, asking questions reveals much about people's ideologies, about their self and how they look at what they do. A journalist might describe what he does as being a 'watchdog of democracy' because he honestly believes that is what he is doing. An ethnographer who follows every move that same journalist makes, might contradict this by giving many an example of cases in which the journalist in question is more of a 'lapdog' than a 'watchdog', but who would be right in the end?

I will not formulate any definite answer to that question. I will just state that asking and observing very much complement one another and that both have a place in ethnographical fieldwork and in my research. As has been formulated countless times, ethnography is often more than observing alone. And even when you are not actually participating and "merely" observing, you are still present and are changing the context to be observed (i.e. the observer's paradox, see: Verschueren, 2012, p. 55). That is also why participant-observation was and remains ethnography's main and distinctive research method (Conquergood, 1991, p. 180), though it should be interpreted broadly. It is not a monologue, but a dialogue. It is not about information, but about communication (Conquergood, 1991, p. 182). It is not only description, but also reflection (Blommaert & Dong, 2010: 6). This article was written with these ideas in mind.

In the introduction I indicated that there is a great body of ethnographies on journalism, but that most of these ethnographies focus on practices inside the newsroom. Indeed, journalism is not a single practice, but a plethora of practices that differ depending on the medium the journalist works for, what sources (s)he uses, when and where (s)he is, etcetera. Zelizer and Allan (2010, p. 62-63) define it as 'the broad range of activities associated with newsmaking […] These have varied over time, but, as Adam (1993) noted, they fundamentally involve judgment, reporting, language, narration and analysis.' In this article I start by describing one such activity on one specific moment in time, in one specific place, and professed by one specific correspondent working for the Dutch wire service of Belgium's national news agency (Belga). In the words of Blommaert and Dong (2010, p. 17) this is my '*uniquely situated reality*', which they define as

> a complex of events which occurs in a totally unique context – time, place, participants, even the weather, quarrels between the subjects and the

> ethnographer: you are always working in a series of conditions that can never be repeated.

The peculiarity of my uniquely situated 'complex of events' entails that I will not try to make any sort of general conclusion on the basis of my research findings. However, I will look beyond this uniquely situated 'complex of events', because the purpose of this article is not only to show how a news story is made, but also to depict what happens beyond its genesis: how its meaning is (slightly) altered in subsequent online news reporting.

It also does not mean that what I am presenting here should be regarded as a simple (and maybe even amusing) fait-divers. By contextualizing a situation one fashions its relevance. Although every situation is unique, journalistic work (like every other kind of work) consists of a certain set of routines one must adopt. A journalist must for instance meet deadlines and (s)he has to adhere to certain stylistic requirement when producing text – notwithstanding the different modes in which this text might be presented (also see: Zelizer and Allan, 2010, p. 136-137; Tuchman, 1973).

A routine is to be repeated. Otherwise it would not be a routine. So, although I will not generalize my findings based on my uniquely situated practice, it is safe to say that this kind of practice is not unique, though the situation I describe is.

3. Working conditions, data and linguistic analysis

I started by observing one correspondent working for Belga's Dutch wire service between 20h10 and 23h30 on Thursday the 20th of December 2012. In this period of time he wrote one article and decided not to write another article. This correspondent is a good friend of mine and I had watched him working in a similar manner on many occasions. Nevertheless, I did not inform him of the fact that I was going to observe him for my research this time around. He was, however, very much aware of the type of research I was conducting and had told me on many previous occasions that he wanted to help me in any way he could.

The reason I did not tell him of my specific intentions was because I did not want his knowledge of me observing him to obstruct his normal working habits. Of course, I informed him afterwards of what I had done and I asked his permission to use the data I had acquired, which he answered with a smile and a nod. I also asked him some more questions after the observation that I could not ask while he was working (retrospective interview), and I gained access to the call list on his mobile phone. He also sent me the article he had written and I traced the version which was published by the agency itself, as well as any of the articles published by other news sites based on his article.

Because I did not want my friend to know that I was observing him, I did not make use of any form of voice recording or key logging. The first draft of my observations was therefore written down immediately after I had gotten home. I did, however, make some notes, but I did so on my cellphone, in order not to arouse suspicion. The initial draft was adapted slightly after the retrospective interview and after I had seen the call list on the correspondent's mobile phone. The correspondent was later asked to read my description of what had occurred and he confirmed that what I had written was a correct representation of it. The description of that event can be found in **4.**, a discussion of the general work process in 5.1. and a discussion of the writing process in 5.2..

In 5.3. I analyze what changed when the correspondent's article was used as a source by Belgian news sites with a Dutch speaking audience. The news sites under study are: *www.deredactie.be*, *www.demorgen.be*, *www.gva.be*, *www.hln.be*, *www.nieuwsblad.be* and *www.standaard.be*. Comparing source and target texts was easy did not necessitate the use of any kind of concordance software normally used in parallel text research (like Paraconc and Monoconc). The 'Compare' function in MS Word 2010 proved to be adequate.

I did not impose any predefined linguistic categories for the textual analysis, but let the data speak for themselves. Indeed, every single textual change was taken into account. Because of the speed with which the correspondent's news story was taken over by different online news media, changes were limited, and this was not a very arduous task.

As will become apparent, many of the alterations were made because the story had to be recontextualized from different deictic centers – a deictic center being the point of reference from which a given dimension is looked at (Verschueren, 1999: 18). Changes to the deictic center influence deictic markers in a text. Verschueren (1999: 18) refers to deixis as the ‘‘anchoring’ of language in a real world, achieved by ‘pointing’ at variables along some of its dimensions.’ A news article referring to an event that happened the day before and describing it as having happened ‘yesterday’ is a case in point. One can only understand what day ‘yesterday’ was if one reads the article ‘today’ or when the article mentions a date of publication. Temporal adverbs (e.g. ‘today’, ‘yesterday’, ‘then’) are one type of marker of temporal deixis, another one is the use of verb tenses (future, past, present). Changes to the deictic center, however, do not only influence deictic markers, but also the salience of information. What used to be interesting at a previous point in time, is not necessarily interesting at a later point, and could warrant the “reframing” of a story.

According to Entman, to frame is:

> *to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation* for the item described. (1993: 52; italics in original)

Journalists have to frame their stories. They choose to include some voices and to exclude others. They include voices because of different reasons, because of routinized work conditions, ideologies, or simply because there is no other voice to be found. It is said that media tend to overuse elite voices (politicians, the police, celebrities, etc.) and do not give enough attention to other voices out there (Gans, 1979; Tuchman, 1978). Any claim on this topic falls outside the scope of this study. Here I will pay attention to the different voices and the ‘surface linguistic form of the sentences of [the] narrative’, and how these are altered by online news editors, because as Tannen (1979, p.179) has argued, close analysis […] of linguistic evidence […] can reveal the expectations or frames which create them’. Titles are a good place to look for frame changes, since ‘[they] fit the activity into a known frame’ (Tannen , 1979, p.143). Tannen also specifies additions and omissions as important linguistic markers for discovering frames. Therefore, all additions and omissions, and changes to the title were evaluated for possible frame changes, next to the addition and omission of certain voices, to get a clearer view, not only of how a news story is created, but also of how its meaning is transferred and altered in a digital environment.

4. Description of the event

V. is a freelance correspondent for Belga, Belgium's national press agency. He is also a good friend of mine. We meet up about once a week in Antwerp's South district, where we both live, and visit a neighboring bar to drink tea or something a little stronger. Being a freelance correspondent means that V. does not have regular working hours. Often, if not most of the time, he is still working when we meet up in the evening. Luckily, being a correspondent in this day and age does not necessarily entail him actually having to leave the bar when confronted with an assignment. Not in all cases at least.

V. always has his Blackberry on him.

Thursday the 20th of December 2012 we went for drinks and I decided to make a transcript of his (late) evening work. We met up at about 20h10 at my place and arrived at the bar at around 20h21. It was crowded that evening but we did manage to get a table. Some people were ordering food and since there was only one person tending, it took us a while to order our beverages. When the waitress turned up, V. was already wrapping up his second work related call.

While entering the bar V. had received his first call. The call started at 20h22 and ended less than a minute later. It was his employer, Belga. They had received a tip-off in the shape of a text message and they wanted V. to inspect whether the tip-off was interesting or not. In the text there were just three words: "accident", "tram" and "ambulance". We sat down at our table and we talked for about a minute about how cryptic the message was and what was probably meant by it. V. thought there might have been a rather grave accident involving a tram and that an ambulance had already arrived at the scene. What seemed less plausible to him at the time was that there had been a collision between a tram and an ambulance.

As it turned out, the latter was the case.

V.'s second call was with a local police representative who gave him an update on the situation. The call started at 20h23 and lasted two to three minutes. The police representative told V. there had been a collision between an ambulance and a tram at the Binnensingel and Turnhoutsebaan intersection in Borgerhout (Antwerp) around

19h45. The drivers of both vehicles were slightly injured, but a third person was worse off and had to be freed from the ambulance by firefighters. None of the people on the tram, apart from the driver, were injured. V. asked the police representative some more questions. Was the ambulance driving to or from the hospital? It was driving from the hospital with its flashing lights on. Was there somebody in the back of the ambulance? There was no one in the back. Who was the third person in the ambulance if not a patient? The representative could not give a clear answer. Was traffic hindered because of the incident? Slightly. The tram had partially derailed, but the accident did not completely block the road. People could still drive around the accident.

While V. was wrapping up his conversation with the police representative the waitress showed up and asked us what we wanted. I ordered myself a cup of tea and asked her if she could wait a few seconds for V.'s order since he had signaled me the conversation was almost over. After ending the call he ordered and I asked him what had happened. He briefly recapitulated what had happened. Interestingly, this would later become the structure for V.'s article. We did not talk long on the subject, also because V. remembered at least one more detail he wanted to find out about: which tram was it that had collided with the ambulance?

First he started pondering which tram it could have been. He remembered tram 11 and 24 traversing the Turnhoutsebaan. I told him that I thought tram 10 also drove there, but that I was not completely sure about it. There had recently been a large restructuring of the whole tram network. V. called Antwerp's provincial communication representative from *De Lijn* (the autonomous government company in charge of public transportation by bus and tram in Flanders) at 20h27. He heard their side of the story and asked them which tram had collided with the ambulance. Apparently it was tram 10 coming from Deurne. De Lijn also provided him with some further details, but they also made some contradictory statements. According to the representative the ambulance was indeed driving with its flashing lights turned on, but it was not driving from the hospital, rather it was driving towards it with a patient in the back. The third person who got injured in the accident apparently was that patient. V. asked the representative if he was sure about his statement because the police had told him something different; that there was nobody in the back of the ambulance and that it was driving from the hospital. The representative of *De Lijn* told V. that that was what he thought had happened.

V. was not satisfied with the fact that he had gotten two contradictory statements about the third person injured. He told me he was not sure how to work with the contradicting statements, but started writing an article based on both statements anyhow. However, before he could finish the article he was rung up by a journalist from the Flemish daily newspaper *Het Nieuwsblad* and its news website *www.nieuwsblad.be*. V. answered the call at 21h04 and ended it another three to four minutes later. The newspaper journalist told V. they had received a tip-off concerning the accident as well. He had called the police representative, but the man had told him he had already given the story to Belga. The journalist asked V. whether he could give him an update on the situation. V. told him what he knew and said that he would finish work on the article in a few minutes. Indeed, V. sent the article to Belga's main office by e-mail at 21h18. Ten minutes later, at 21h28, it was posted on Belga's news wire.

At 21h29, a minute later, a slightly altered version of V.'s article was posted on *www.nieuwsblad.be* and *www.standaard.be*. That the article also appeared on the website of the daily newspaper *De Standaard* is not that surprising. Both websites share resources when it comes to their online news portals. Both newspapers are run by the same corporation, *Corelio NV*. At 21h43 another slightly altered version of V.'s article was published on the news sites of the other two big Flemish newspapers, *Het Laatste Nieuws* and *De Morgen*, *www.hln.be* and *www.demorgen.be* respectively. Both news sites are owned by *De Persgroep NV* and online news for both websites is largely produced by online editors working at one central editorial office. The website of Antwerp's regional newspaper *Gazet van Antwerpen*, *www.gva.be*, also published an article on the subject that same day, though no time of publication is indicated. This article, however, is remarkably different from the one V. wrote. The website *www.deredactie.be*, which is part of *VRT* (the national public broadcasting company), published its heavily shortened version of V.'s story the following day, on Friday the 21st of December 2012, at 5h50.

Now, let us return to the bar.

After V. sent in his article at 21h18 we talked a while about the accident, about his work and journalism in general. We also talked about some other, non-work-related, topics. Our conversation, however, was cut short, because at 21h39 V. received a new work-related call. Another accident had occurred. The person on the other end of the line was a (different, female) police representative who gave him the story of what had happened. At about 21h30 a father of three had driven into an obstacle and was severely injured. His wife and three children were in the car with him. His wife was slightly injured, as well as one of the children. The other two did not suffer any injuries. V. asked the representative some more questions about the circumstances of the accident. What was the obstacle the father crashed into? The representative was not sure whether it was a pole or a tree. Was the father in any life danger? No. Was traffic hindered because of the incident? Not really. V. thanked the representative for her call and put down the phone.

V. related what the police representative had told him to me. He also said he probably was not going to write an article about the accident. 'When traffic is not hindered, nobody's in mortal danger and the situation is not out of the ordinary we probably won't write about it,' he said. At 21h43 he received a call from the main office telling him about the accident. V. told them he had already heard about it and recapitulated what the police representative had told him. He told them the story probably was not interesting enough to write about and the main office agreed. V. was not going to write an article about the accident.

V. did however text the journalist from *Het Nieuwsblad*, with whom he had spoken earlier that evening, at 21h51. In the text V. told the journalist about the accident and that he was not going to write about it. At 21h55 V. received a text from the journalist saying: 'Thanks'. In the end *Het Nieuwsblad*, nor its website, nor most other newspapers wrote about the accident. There did appear an article about the accident on the website of the regional newspaper *Gazet van Antwerpen*, *www.gva.be*, later that evening. Before it was published, however, V. received one last work-related call at 22h47. The call was from a journalist working for said newspaper. He asked V. what he had heard about the accident and once again V. told the journalist what he had heard and that he was not going to write an article about it. The journalist thanked him and ended the call.

We enjoyed the rest of our evening by talking and drinking tea.

At 23h30 we both went home.

The following day V. read the article on *www.gva.be* about the accident he decided not to report on. Apparently the accident had occurred in the vicinity of that newspaper's offices, a fun fact which he decided to share with me. He also said it probably explained why they decided to write about it, while others did not.

5. Discussion

5.1. Discussion of the general work process

Table 44 gives a chronological overview of the 'complex of events' I observed. The table is split up into two parts. The first part lists the main occurrences for the first story – the one that gets turned into a news wire report. The second part lists the main occurrences for the second story – the one which does not get turned into a news wire report. Important note: '5h50 f.d.' means '5h50 the following day'.

Time	**Occurrence**		**Time**	**Occurrence**
19h45	the accident		21h30	another accident
20h10	my place			
20h21	the bar			
20h22	the main office		21h39	the police representative
20h23	the police representative		21h43	the main office
20h27	De Lijn			
21h04	Het Nieuwsblad		21h51	Het Nieuwsblad
21h18	finished the article		21h55	'thanks'
21h28	on the wire		22h47	Gazet van Antwerpen

21h29	on the world wide web			
21h43	on 4 major news sites			
5h50 f.d.	on deredactie.be		23h30	homeward bound

Table 44. Chronological overview of the event

From the moment the first accident occurred until the moment Belga published an article on the subject not more than 1 hour and 43 minutes had passed. One minute more and people around the globe were able to read an account of what had transpired on the web. I will go into more detail on that "one minute" in 5.3.. About 37 minutes had passed before V. was informed of the accident. It took him about 56 minutes to inform himself of what had happened and to write an article about it of 134 words (header included). It took Belga 10 minutes to post V.'s article on their Dutch wire service (unaltered by the editor). A transcript of V.'s article which was published by Belga can be found in Appendix 1-A. Its translation can be found in Appendix 1-B.

The second accident occurred around 21h30. Nine minutes later V. received a phone call from a police representative who gave him the story of what had happened. Four minutes later V. got a telephone call from the main office telling him about the same accident. News about this accident reached V. considerately faster than it did for the first accident (nine minutes as opposed to 37 minutes). This could have been explained by the fact that V. himself was rung by a police representative instead of having to contact her himself, but the fact that the main office also (and independently) called him about the accident 13 minutes after it had occurred contradicts this particular hypothesis. V. told me that the reason why the representative called him so early after the accident might be because she did not want him to call her at a later time that evening: 'it already being quite late and all'. There was no specific reason why he was informed earlier about one accident than about the other by the main office.

The speed with which the first accident was reported is remarkable, especially given the working conditions V. was dealing with. Ethnographical studies on news production mostly look at how journalists produce news at a news desk, which is a more secluded and better equipped work setting than a bar. At the office journalists have diverse resources to work with. They have a computer and a telephone; they have archives and colleagues in their vicinity. V. only had a mobile phone to work with. All in all, this does not seem to have hindered V.'s work too much. With his mobile phone V. was able to answer calls from the main office, from informants and colleagues and was able to contact different sources to get a grasp of what had transpired. Because of the full keyboard on his cellphone V. was also able to write an article and because of his 3G subscription he was able to send that same article to the main office without ever having to leave the bar. Because most studies focus on practices within the news room it is hard to show you comparable data concerning the production process of such an article as V. wrote, but do consider the following example from Van Hout et al. (2011): In their study Van Hout et al. tracked the time which it took for a journalist working at the news desk of a Belgian newspaper to write a news report. The journalist in this example was working from a corporate press release and wrote a news report of 409 words. It took the journalist 36.36 minutes to write that article, and that is only considering the actual writing process itself, not any time he spent reading the press release and making phone calls (e.g. he telephoned a PR manager among others).

A caveat that needs to be made is that my case and that of Van Hout et al. describe very different journalistic practices and that in no way I want to compare the two on productivity or writing speed. In Van Hout et al.'s case the journalist is working from a long, written source text (a corporate press release). V. was not working from any kind of written source text; he did not even make notes during his talks with representatives or the main office. He started with a simple and somewhat cryptic message ('accident tram ambulance') read to him by the main office and V. had known what to do from then on. V. did, however, tell me that he probably would not have written his article as easily if it was not an accident he had to report upon but something that would have required him to read a substantial amount of text – which is not as easy on a cellphone.

It is also interesting to see that although V. decided not to write an article about the second accident – because as he said: 'When traffic is not hindered, nobody's in mortal danger and the situation is not out of the ordinary we probably won't write about it' –, the process leading to that decision is in many respects similar to the process in which he did decide to write an article. In both cases V. got a call from the main office, in both cases he talked to a police representative and in both cases he communicated with journalists working for different media (particularly *Het Nieuwsblad*). One story became news and another did not simply because of one particular decision concerning newsworthiness.

According to Coesemans (2012: 89), '[n]ewsworkers display preferences and intuitions about the nature of news' and 'journalists and editors are led by so-called news values'. Different lists of 'news values' have been described (Coesemans, 2012; Cotter, 2010; Franck, 2009; Galtung and Ruge, 1965). 'Negativity' and 'unusualness' are often described as such news values and should be looked at as clines rather than as fixed values. An accident can be seen as pertaining to both categories, but the first accident was clearly more unusual than the second accident – an ambulance crashing into a tram is less likely to happen than a car crashing into a pole. The first accident was also more negative because it had obstructed traffic, while the second accident had not.

It is, however, of less importance what V. thinks is newsworthy himself. 'I'm a freelance journalist,' he explained, 'I always think of what my employer would want to buy, of what they think is newsworthy. That's my job. If they don't want to buy it, it is not interesting for me to write about because then I wouldn't be able to sell it.' So when V. told the main office what had happened and that he thought what had happened was not interesting enough to write about, he was making an evaluation in lieu of the main office – an evaluation which he was able to make because of his experience working for that particular employer. That the main office agreed with V. only exemplifies that his evaluation was correct.

One notable limitation V. encountered while working on his cellphone is that he could not upload his article on the first accident onto Belga's news wire himself, which he would have been able to do if he had been working from his laptop at home. The reason I state that this is notable, is because at the beginning of line 2 in V.'s article (see Appendix 1) 'BRUSSELS' is indicated as the place of reporting, even though the accident occurred in a district of the city of Antwerp and V. wrote his article in Antwerp. The reason why 'BRUSSELS' is indicated as the place of reporting is because Belga's main offices are located in Brussels and because it was there that V.'s article was put on the wire, textually unaltered by the editor, ten minutes after he had sent it in by e-mail.

5.2. Discussion of the writing process

After wrapping up his second work related phone call of that evening, V. already had a clear view of how he was going to write his story. As indicated in the description of the event, V. told me what had happened according to the police representative. The way he told me the story would later also become the way in which he ordered the events in his article. V. framed his story, and especially the first paragraph (see Appendix 1), from the perspective of the local police representative and explicitly refers to the police representative as his informant on line 3 of the article (i.e. 'the local police reports'; for more information on transcript coding see the introduction to the Appendices). V. did not quote the police representative directly, but depicted his words indirectly. Most of the information in V.'s article stems from what the police representative told him, excluding what V. wrote on lines 10 and 11 and part of line 8.

Lines 10 and 11 are attributed to the representative from De Lijn V. had called almost immediately after his talk with the police representative (According to De Lijn…). As stated in the description of the event, V. initially called the representative from De Lijn because he forgot to ask the police representative what line the tram was driving on. This information was included on line 8. Lines 13 and 14 once again contain information V. was given by the police representative.

To work around the contradicting statements from both representatives V. remained vague on some point in his article, choosing to use a hypernym instead of one of its hyponyms in one case and leaving out given information in another. The police representative had told V. there was no patient in the back, while the representative from De Lijn had told him that the third person who was injured (next to both drivers) was indeed a patient in the back of the ambulance. By stating that the third person injured was 'a passenger' (line 5; a hypernym) of the ambulance V. got around the contradiction. According to the police representative the ambulance was driving from the hospital with its flashing lights on. The representative from De Lijn agreed that the ambulance was driving with its flashing lights on, but according to him it was driving towards the hospital rather than from it. V. decided to leave out the direction the ambulance was heading from his article. Instead he simply wrote that it 'was driving with its flashing lights on' (line 10).

5.3. Discussion of the changes made to V.'s article by news sites

V.'s article was already republished by an online news room one minute after it had been published on Belga's Dutch news wire. This is extremely fast of course. It is, however, not entirely surprising. V.'s article was first republished simultaneously on the news site of *Het Nieuwsblad* (*www.nieuwsblad.be*) and the news site of *De Standaard* (*www.standaard.be*) – which share resources and are both part of *Corelio NV*. V. had, indeed, been in close contact with a journalist working for *Het Nieuwsblad* while writing the story and had told said journalist that he had almost finished writing his story in their phone call that started at 21h04; fourteen minutes before V. would actually send in his finished article to Belga's main office.

In that one minute between publication and republication some slight changes were made to V.'s article. In Appendix 2-A, you can see a transcript of that republication with track changes indicating what was changed from the original. An English translation of the transcript can be consulted in Appendix 2-B. All in all there is not a whole lot that was changed. Of course the time of publication was changed from 21h28 to 21h29. The time of publication was moved from line 1 in the original to the new byline (line 2). To that byline the initials of the 'author' were added and 'Belga' was mentioned as the sole source of the article. The place of publication 'BRUSSELS' was changed to 'BORGERHOUT' (now in line 3), the district of Antwerp in which the accident occurred, although the editor working for said news sites did of course not venture there himself to write the report. Apart from those changes, only one other slight change was made: 'in Antwerp' was left out of the header (line 1). On every other aspect the article published on these news sites is an exact copy of what V. had written.

At 21h43 another adaptation of V.'s article was published by two major Belgian news sites, *www.demorgen.be* and *www.hln.be* – once again, both websites share resources and are owned by the same company, in this case by *De Persgroep NV*. Their version sees some other changes, but once again there are hardly any. A byline is added here as well, naming the editor of the article 'Edited by: Sven Van Malderen' (line 2). Interestingly, these news sites do not talk of an 'author' as was the case for *www.nieuwsblad.be* and *www.standaard.be*. One could argue that the term 'editor' seems more appropriate for the work that has been done, but I will keep that discussion for a later point in time. In the byline we also find the time of publication ‘21h43’ and the source: ‘belga.be’ (line 2). Referring to the news agency Belga as ‘belga.be’ (a website) is unusual. In most other cases the byline simply states ‘Belga’. The header remains unchanged this time around. ‘Thursday evening’ was, however, deleted from line 3. Such a deictic change is interesting to see, because it is a clear mark of recontextualization. Because the article was published Thursday evening the editor working for these news sites thought it unnecessary to keep the information. One other change was made. The sentence spanning lines 9 and 10 ‘On the tram, which came from Deurne on line 10, nobody else got hurt, but the vehicle did partially derail.’ was split up into two sentences: ‘On the tram, which came from Deurne on line 10, nobody else got hurt. The vehicle did partially derail.’. Since there is nothing inherently wrong with the original formulation, this decision can only be understood as one made because of stylistic/editorial preferences.

The news site *www.gva.be*, liaised to the newspaper *Gazet van Antwerpen*, is the only one to publish an account which significantly differs from V.’s account. It boasts a photograph (Appendix 4, line 2; caption: line 13) and does not indicate V.’s article as its source. The news site also framed the story differently from any of the other media. Here it is not the police representative’s account of the collision that is central to the story. This report focuses on the ambulance, the direction it was heading and its ‘passenger’ who was worse off and about whom the news site in question had procured some information, unknown to V.: she was an ambulance woman (line 1). The different frame can already be discerned from the header in which *www.gva.be* focusses on the ambulance woman being severely injured after having crashed into a tram. This formulation ascribes agency to the ambulance and the ambulance woman. In V.’s header no such agency is given. There is no direction. It simply states that there was a crash between a tram and an ambulance and that three people got hurt.

However, the first two paragraphs of *www.gva.be’s* article, although containing information not found in V.’s account, follow the same overall structure as the first two paragraphs in V.’s article. The first paragraph discusses the collision (line 3) and the people injured (lines 4-5), but does not refer to the source of the information; which in V.’s account was a local police representative (another possible indication of a frame change).

www.gva.be also adds information on the tram derailing in the last sentence of that paragraph (line 6), which in V.'s account was found in the first sentence of the second paragraph. What was kept in that first sentence was information on what line the tram was driving on and the direction it was heading. However, the information about the tram's direction was reversed. The article on *www.gva.be* does not state where the tram was heading from ('from Deurne' as was the case in V.'s article), but where it was heading to (line 8, 'to Borgerhout'). While the first sentence of that paragraph is centered on the tram in both articles, the second sentence is centered on the ambulance as subject. In both articles we find information on the ambulance having its flashing ('blue', line 9) lights turned on, but the article on *www.gva.be* adds that the ambulance also had its sirens turned on and the direction it was heading to. Once again *www.gva.be* does not refer to the source of the information, which in V.'s case was a representative from De Lijn.

The third paragraphs of both accounts differ greatly and it is here that we find yet another indication of the story having been framed differently. On *www.gva.be* we read a second time about the direction the ambulance was heading (line 11) and two women being stuck in their vehicle (line 12), while V. focused on the direct impact of the accident on traffic. Whereas V. reported about the accident itself and its (immediate) repercussions, the news site focused on the ambulance and the people involved in the accident.

Because there is no time of publication indicated in the article – we only know it was published on Thursday – it is hard to discuss its relationship to V.'s article. Nevertheless, it does seem that because of some major similarities between paragraphs one and two of both articles, the unknown author of *www.gva.be*'s article was aware of V.'s account and had probably read it and worked from it.

At 5h50 the following day *www.deredactie.be* published their account of the accident (Appendix 5). As was the case for the article published on *www.gva.be*, the news site published their article together with a photograph of the accident (line 2). The caption (line 3) states that this photograph is property of '*VRT*', which is the (national) public broadcasting company for Dutch speaking Belgians to which *www.deredactie.be* also pertains. But whereas *VRT* procured their own photograph, the text in the article clearly stems from V.'s article – even though V.'s article is not indicated as its source. The header has been altered, but its general structure was kept. Synonyms were used for ‘collision’ (becoming ‘crash’) and ‘ambulance’ (becoming ‘hospital wagon’), and the preposition ‘between’ and prepositional phrase ‘In Antwerp’ were omitted – the latter omission was also made by the editor working for *www.nieuwsblad.be* and *www.standaard.be*.

Because the article was published the day after the accident occurred, the deictic center of the text had changed. Information about possible traffic problems for the previous evening therefore had become obsolete. This explains why the editor left out the third paragraph from V.’s article (lines 14-16). It also explains the substitution of ‘Thursday’ by ‘yesterday’ (line 4). One other omission was the explicit reference to the local police representative as the source of information in line 5: ‘The local police reports.’. Strangely enough and contrastingly the reference to the representative from De Lijn as a source was kept.

6. By way of conclusion

There are many representations of journalists and their work to be found, describing journalists as ‘watchdogs’, ‘lapdogs’ or any other type of animal. But, in fact, journalists are humans, and they act like humans as well. With this case study I wanted to show that journalism is not always about digging through piles of secret documents or through trash cans. Journalism might as well be practiced from a local bar, sitting on a stool with just a smartphone in your hand. Of course, journalists do not always work from a bar, just as they do not always dig through trash cans; journalism is a large set of varying practices under one common denominator – which, of course, also includes the act of waiting behind a computer for a wire report to show up, (slightly) altering said report for a specific medium and adapting it to the new deictic center.

I described and discussed a sequence of processes involving one clearly ‘located’ authoring practice outside of the news room in which a freelance correspondent working for a news agency from a bar decided to write one story and to ignore another one. I looked at how these decisions were made. They were made on the basis of a news value equation. The first accident was more out of the ordinary and more negative than the second. The decisions were also made from an economic perspective. The correspondent evaluated whether his employer would be interested in buying an article on what had transpired before actually writing about it.

Six major Belgian news sites with a Dutch speaking audience published an account of the first accident. In five of these cases, V.'s article was readily recognizable and the elite frame (that of the local police representative) talking about the accident *an sich* and its immediate repercussions was taken over. Most changes were due to the deictic center having changed, generally seen in the replacement of temporal adverbs by other temporal adverbs, e.g. 'Thursday' becoming 'yesterday'. The news site *www.deredactie.be* was the only one not to publish the article the same day. This meant the information on traffic being obstructed in the original story had become obsolete by the time of publication, and the editor was forced to make a choice between adapting the information to the new deictic center (for instance by altering verb tenses) or omitting the information altogether. The editor in question chose the latter. This is also a prime example of how changes in the deictic center have an influence on the meaning trajectory of a news story.

In the case of *www.gva.be* it is uncertain, though highly likely, that V.'s article was used. The article is framed differently, also because the news site had procured information that was unknown to V. Some of the prime indicators of this different frame are: (1) the title which focuses on the ambulance woman and which ascribes agency to her and the ambulance; (2) the omission of any reference to the police representative as a source; (3) the addition of details with regard to the ambulance and its direction; (4) the addition of details on the injured; (5) the omission of information on traffic obstruction.

With this article I traced the genesis and meaning trajectory of a news story in an entirely digital environment determined by, among other things, smartphones, 3G networks and the world wide web; starting from the authoring process of one news story outside of the newsroom, and ending with its recontextualization by different online media at different times. The combination of an ethnography with a linguistic analysis proved to be a fruitful venture for this purpose.

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Appendices

In these text transcripts, clauses and subordinate clauses were put on different numbered lines when possible. A new paragraph is indicated by a numbered line containing only the following symbol: '[]'. A photo (or any other mode) adjoining the article text is indicated by a numbered line containing a description of the mode between two exclamation marks (e.g. '!Photo!'). Translations of these transcripts from Dutch to English are made from a heuristic point of view. I did not aim for natural translations. In those limited cases I thought a literal translation would hinder understanding or when the regular translation would not prove adequate, I decided to add a more natural translation or some added information between square brackets: '[aaa]'. Changes to V.'s original article are indicated by strikethroughs '~~aaa~~' (omissions) and underlines '<u>aaa</u>' (additions). A combination of a strikethrough followed immediately by an underline indicates a replacement.

Appendix 1

A – The article written by V. and published by Belga

1. 21:28 Drie gewonden bij aanrijding tussen tram en ambulance in Antwerpen

2. BRUSSEL 20/12 (BELGA) = Op het kruispunt van de Antwerpse Binnensingel en de Turnhoutsebaan is donderdagavond rond 19.45 uur een aanrijding gebeurd tussen een ziekenwagen en een tram.

3. Dat meldt de lokale politie.
4. De bestuurders van beide voertuigen raakten lichtgewond,
5. een inzittende van de ambulance was er erger aan toe en
6. moest door de brandweer bevrijd worden.
7. []
8. Op de tram, die op lijn 10 vanuit Deurne kwam, raakte verder niemand gewond,
9. maar het voertuig is wel deels ontspoord.
10. Volgens De Lijn reed de ambulance met zwaailichten op,
11. maar kon de tram hem niet meer ontwijken.
12. []
13. Het tramverkeer van en naar Deurne zal door het incident allicht nog de hele avond hinder ondervinden.
14. Het verkeer op de Binnensingel kan wel nog rond het ongeval rijden.

B – English translation of the article written by V. and published by Belga

1. 21:28 Three injured because of collision between tram and ambulance in Antwerp

2. BRUSSELS 20/12 (BELGA) = At the Antwerpse Binnensingel and Turnhoutsebaan intersection a collision occurred Thursday evening around 19h45 between a hospital wagon and a tram,
3. the local police reports.
4. The drivers of both vehicles got slightly injured,
5. a passenger from the ambulance was worse off and
6. had to be freed by firefighters.
7. []
8. On the tram, which came from Deurne on line 10, nobody else got hurt,
9. but the vehicle did partially derail.
10. According to De Lijn the ambulance was driving with its flashing lights on,
11. but the tram could not evade it.
12. []

13. Tram circulation to and from Deurne will probably be hindered for the rest of the evening.
14. Traffic [people] on the Binnensingel can drive around the accident.

Appendix 2

A – Changes made to V.'s article by *www.nieuwsblad.be* / *www.standaard.be*

1. ~~21:28~~ Drie gewonden bij aanrijding tussen tram en ambulance ~~in Antwerpen~~

2. donderdag 20 december 2012, 21u29 Belga Auteur: hrt
3. ~~BRUSSEL 20/12 (BELGA) =~~BORGERHOUT - Op het kruispunt van de Antwerpse Binnensingel en de Turnhoutsebaan is donderdagavond rond 19.45 uur een aanrijding gebeurd tussen een ziekenwagen en een tram.
4. Dat meldt de lokale politie.
5. De bestuurders van beide voertuigen raakten lichtgewond,
6. een inzittende van de ambulance was er erger aan toe en
7. moest door de brandweer bevrijd worden.
8. []
9. Op de tram, die op lijn 10 vanuit Deurne kwam, raakte verder niemand gewond,
10. maar het voertuig is wel deels ontspoord.
11. Volgens De Lijn reed de ambulance met zwaailichten op,
12. maar kon de tram hem niet meer ontwijken.
13. []
14. Het tramverkeer van en naar Deurne zal door het incident allicht nog de hele avond hinder ondervinden.
15. Het verkeer op de Binnensingel kan wel nog rond het ongeval rijden.

B – English translation of changes made to V.'s article by *www.nieuwsblad.be* / *www.standaard.be*

1. ~~21:28~~ Three injured because of collision between tram and ambulance ~~in Antwerp~~

2. Thursday the 20th of December 2012, 21h29 Belga Author: hrt
3. ~~BRUSSELS 20/12 (BELGA) =~~BORGERHOUT - At the Antwerpse Binnensingel and Turnhoutsebaan intersection a collision occurred Thursday evening around 19h45 between a hospital wagon and a tram,
4. the local police reports.
5. The drivers of both vehicles got slightly injured,
6. a passenger from the ambulance was worse off and
7. had to be freed by firefighters.
8. []
9. On the tram, which came from Deurne on line 10, nobody else got hurt,
10. but the vehicle did partially derail.
11. According to De Lijn the ambulance was driving with its flashing lights on,
12. but the tram could not evade it.
13. []
14. Tram circulation to and from Deurne will probably be hindered for the rest of the evening.
15. Traffic [people] on the Binnensingel can drive around the accident.

Appendix 3

A – Changes made to V.'s article by *www.demorgen.be* / *www.hln.be*

1. ~~21:28~~ Drie gewonden bij aanrijding tussen tram en ambulance in Antwerpen

2. Bewerkt door:Sven Van Malderen 20/12/1 – 21u43 Bron: belga.be
3. ~~BRUSSEL 20/12 (BELGA) =~~ Op het kruispunt van de Antwerpse Binnensingel en de Turnhoutsebaan is ~~donderdagavond~~ rond 19.45 uur een aanrijding gebeurd tussen een ziekenwagen en een tram.
4. Dat meldt de lokale politie.
5. De bestuurders van beide voertuigen raakten lichtgewond,
6. een inzittende van de ambulance was er erger aan toe en

7. moest door de brandweer bevrijd worden.
8. []
9. Op de tram, die op lijn 10 vanuit Deurne kwam, raakte verder niemand gewond~~,~~
10. ~~maar het~~. Het voertuig is wel deels ontspoord.
11. Volgens De Lijn reed de ambulance met zwaailichten op,
12. maar kon de tram hem niet meer ontwijken.
13. []
14. Het tramverkeer van en naar Deurne zal door het incident allicht nog de hele avond hinder ondervinden.
15. Het verkeer op de Binnensingel kan wel nog rond het ongeval rijden.

B – English translation of changes made to V.'s article by *www.demorgen.be* / *www.hln.be*

1. ~~21:28~~ Three injured because of collision between tram and ambulance in Antwerp

2. Edited by:Sven Van Malderen 20/12/1 – 21u43 Source: belga.be
3. ~~BRUSSELS 20/12 (BELGA) =~~ At the Antwerpse Binnensingel and Turnhoutsebaan intersection a collision occurred ~~Thursday evening~~ around 19h45 between a hospital wagon and a tram.
4. The local police reports.
5. The drivers of both vehicles got slightly injured,
6. a passenger from the ambulance was worse off and
7. had to be freed by firefighters.
8. []
9. On the tram, which came from Deurne on line 10, nobody else got hurt~~,~~
10. ~~but the~~. The vehicle did partially derail.
11. According to De Lijn the ambulance was driving with its flashing lights on,
12. but the tram could not evade it.
13. []
14. Tram circulation to and from Deurne will probably be hindered for the rest of the evening.
15. Traffic [people] on the Binnensingel can drive around the accident.

Appendix 4

A – The article published by *www.gva.be* on the accident

1. Ambulancierster zwaargewond na botsing op tram

2. !Foto!
3. 20/12Borgerhout (2140) Op de Noordersingel aan Hof ter Lo is een ziekenwagen donderdagavond rond 19u45 vol op een tram gebotst.
4. De begeleidster van de ambulance werd zwaargewond afgevoerd,
5. de chauffeurs van de ziekenwagen en tram liepen lichte verwondingen op.
6. De tram was gedeeltelijk ontspoord.
7. []
8. De tram, van lijn 10, was op weg naar Borgerhout en
9. de ziekenwagen reed met sirenes en blauwe lichten in de richting van de Slachthuislaan.
10. []
11. De ambulance was op weg naar een ongeval op de Ring.
12. Na een botsing zaten twee vrouwen gekneld in hun voertuig.
13. *Foto en video BFM*

B – English translation of the article published by *www.gva.be* on the accident

1. Ambulance woman severely injured after crash with tram

2. !Photo!
3. 20/12Borgerhout (2140) Thurday evening around 19h45 on the Noordersingel at Hof ter Lo a hospital wagon crashed head on into.
4. The [female] attendant of the ambulance was severely injured and was taken away,
5. the drivers of the hospital wagon and the tram were slightly injured.
6. The tram had partially derailed.
7. []
8. The tram, from line 10, was on its way to Borgerhout and

9. the ambulance wagon was driving with its sirens and its blue lights on in the direction of the Slachthuislaan.
10. []
11. The ambulance was on its way to an accident at the Ring.
12. After a crash two women were trapped in their vehicle.
13. *Photo and video BFM*

Appendix 5

A – Changes made to V.'s article by *www.deredactie.be*

1. ~~21:28~~ Drie gewonden bij ~~aanrijding~~<u>botsing</u> ~~tussen~~ tram en ~~ambulance~~<u>ziekenwagen</u> ~~in Antwerpen~~

2. <u>!Foto!</u>
3. <u>VRT</u>
4. ~~BRUSSEL 20/12 (BELGA) =~~ **<u>vr 21/12/2012 - 05:50</u> Op het kruispunt van de Antwerpse Binnensingel en de Turnhoutsebaan is ~~donderdag~~<u>gister</u>avond rond 19.45 uur een aanrijding gebeurd tussen een ziekenwagen en een tram.**
5. ~~Dat meldt de lokale politie.~~ <u>[]</u>
6. De bestuurders van beide voertuigen raakten lichtgewond,
7. een inzittende van de ambulance was er erger aan toe en
8. moest door de brandweer bevrijd worden.
9. ~~[]~~
10. Op de tram, die op lijn 10 vanuit Deurne kwam, raakte verder niemand gewond,
11. maar het voertuig is wel deels ontspoord.
12. Volgens De Lijn reed de ambulance met zwaailichten op,
13. maar kon de tram hem niet meer ontwijken.
14. ~~[]~~
15. ~~Het tramverkeer van en naar Deurne zal door het incident allicht nog de hele avond hinder ondervinden.~~
16. ~~Het verkeer op de Binnensingel kan wel nog rond het ongeval rijden.~~

B – English translation of changes made to V.'s article by *www.deredactie.be*

1. ~~21:28~~ Three injured because of ~~collision~~crash ~~between~~ tram and ~~ambulance~~hospital wagon ~~in Antwerp~~

2. !Photo!
3. VRT
4. ~~BRUSSELS 20/12 (BELGA) =~~ **Fr 21/12/2012 - 05:50 At the Antwerpse Binnensingel and Turnhoutsebaan intersection a collision occurred ~~Thursday~~yesterday evening around 19h45 between a hospital wagon and a tram.**
5. ~~The local police reports.~~
6. The drivers of both vehicles got slightly injured,
7. a passenger from the ambulance was worse off and
8. had to be freed by firefighters.
9. ~~[]~~
10. On the tram, which came from Deurne on line 10, nobody else got hurt,
11. but the vehicle did partially derail.
12. According to De Lijn the ambulance was driving with its flashing lights on,
13. but the tram could not evade it.
14. ~~[]~~
15. ~~Tram circulation to and from Deurne will probably be hindered for the rest of the evening.~~
16. ~~Traffic [people] on the Binnensingel can drive around the accident.~~

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