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TRANSLATIONAL AND DISCURSIVE PROCESSES IN MULTILINGUAL
NEWS PRODUCTION BY GLOBAL NEWS AGENCIES: REPRESENTATIONS
ABOUT BOLIVIA

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¡Jallalla!

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the product of my own work and has not been submitted in any form for the award of a higher degree elsewhere.

Natalia Rodriguez Blanco

(27 April 2024)

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Abstract

Global news agencies are major sources of international news that transcend geographical, cultural, and linguistic boundaries. Journalism and translation coexist in multilingual newsrooms; however, translation often goes unacknowledged within the plurality of authorship that characterizes this journalistic setting. Such a paradox motivates the examination of the role of translation and of news translators to define and describe translation as an enabler of global flows of information.

This thesis deals with the multilingual news production of global news agencies and concentrates on the journalistic representation of the South American country of Bolivia. This work brings to the table datasets informed by news coverage initially conceived in Spanish, that carry traces of indigenous languages and is produced at the local desks of global news agencies. The examination of these datasets continues through its journey to reach the global audience in French and English versions. This thesis also endeavours to offer a systematic account of the multilingual news coverage representing a country at a specific period of social import.

The analytical core of this work is the multilingual versions of news dispatches published in 2020 by Agence France-Presse, Associated Press, Agencia EFE, and Reuters, in Spanish, French, and English, which are contrasted and examined from a translational perspective. This translational approach is accompanied by the consideration of the discursive and contextual dimensions of news production, by employing a corpora and ethnographic work. These methodological approaches constitute an analytical framework that is applied to three case-studies to examine cultural and political news coverage, topics that are not always clearly disentangled from one another.

The linguistic evidence found in this work suggests that close and distant renditions occur in translated news. Closeness seems to be the common translation practice, which may not be considered typical in news translation, yet is ostensibly purposeful both from a translational and from a journalistic perspective. Cumulative news writing seems to be a regular practice that allows news translators to contextualize information in news dispatches by recycling segments that were previously published. Finally, this thesis offers methodological reflections on the combination of translational, discursive, and ethnographic approaches and its potential to furthering interdisciplinary research.

PART I

Chapter 1. Introduction

This thesis aims to cast light on the multilingual news production of Global News Agencies under the perspective of an interdisciplinary approach that intersects the domains of study of Translation, Corpus Linguistics, and Journalism. More particularly, the phenomenon of news translation, seen as a bridge that enables the production of multilingual news, is brought into focus by means of case studies concerning news coverage about the South American country of Bolivia.

For that purpose, this chapter will introduce the aims of this thesis and will provide necessary background for reading it. In section 1.1. I refer to key elements constituting the study of multilingual news production. In 1.2. I expose my motivation and the gaps I intend to fill. In 1.3. I make reference to the contextual background of this research. In 1.4. I specify the Research Questions guiding the aims of this study. In 1.5. I provide the theoretical and methodological foundations that shape this interdisciplinary framework. Finally, 1.6. outlines the structure of this thesis

1.1. Studying multilingual news production

In order to study the complexities of multilingual news production by Global News Agencies, three central dimensions need to be explored: the translation of news, the context of news production, and journalistic discourse. Since the beginnings of the 21st century, the emerging subfield of ‘news translation’ has increasingly gained momentum in the discipline of Translation Studies. Broadly speaking, the existing scholarship about news translation emerges from widely diverse contexts of multilingual news production at the global scale, where translation, paradoxically, is often unacknowledged. This fact poses conceptual and methodological complexities for its research. Studies have often focused on the type of linguistic transfers undertaken in the process of translating news for publication in a context different than the originating locale of the events reported.

This textual dimension constitutes the basis for other types of complementary studies, that concentrate on the profiles of news translators or editors, on the news media that make use of translation, or on ideological aspects inherent to translated news. This subject of inquiry has a bearing on the contextual dimension where news translation occurs, as well. In the case of this thesis, the context concerns news coverage about the South American country of Bolivia and produced by the Global News Agencies Agence France-Presse, Agencia EFE, Associated Press, and Reuters, which are still considered the widest global news agencies today.

Furthermore, studying multilingual news production entails exploring the discursive dimension of news translation, which goes beyond the concrete performance of news translators or the products as such. This type of reflection involves considering the way in which remote realities and events are

represented, along with the expectations of a global readership of the translated news, expectations that may guide the decision-making of news translators and the news agencies themselves.

1.2. Rationale and gaps to be filled

The motivation behind this research project is double. On the one hand, it builds on the fact that, in the context of multilingual news production, translation is often unacknowledged while, at the same time, it is structurally used to produce important volumes of everyday information. Then, how can we define and describe translation in multilingual news production, if it is not conceived and openly acknowledged as such? News translation brings to the table the relevance and validity of the translation profession today, as it is central to the shaping of international news flows.

On the other hand, it endeavours to offer a systematic account of the multilingual news coverage representing a country at a specific period of social import. Partly due to its limited role in international affairs, Bolivia cannot be considered mainstream in the international news flow, yet it can bear important research value since the universe under scrutiny is somehow tangible due to its limited size. Additionally, Bolivia could be considered representative of other countries with similar roles on the international scene, and thus also for the news coverage of local events happening there.

With the motivation of continuing the formulation of general principles about translation, I deem important incorporating the broadest possible range of studies into the discipline. Thus, this thesis will offer case studies about the representation of key political, socio-economic, and cultural topics in news coverage about Bolivia and published by global news agencies, as portrayed in different sets of news dispatches in Spanish, French, and English.

While extensive work has been done on the analysis of news translation centred in mainstream discourse and primarily focused on English as source texts, less attention has been paid to the way in which news coverage from the periphery travels to the centre. In this particular study about the representation of Bolivia, I wish to fill this gap by focusing on news coverage originally published in Spanish—with the presence of a significant number of terms in Quechua and Aymara indigenous languages—which is then rewritten in French and English by the same global news agencies.

In this sense, news dispatches originated in Bolivia appear to be of singular value for news translation studies, since the complex journey of news production from a local realm to a global one involves considering not only the geographical location here concerned, but especially the linguistic transfer from Spanish into other languages. This news coverage seems to be variously shaped by journalistic priorities, pressures, and practices that are not always evident to the reader, nor the researcher. For this, it seems essential to examine the multilingual and cross-cultural translation of

Bolivia, simultaneously, at the textual, contextual, and discursive dimensions. To the extent of my knowledge, a solid interplay between these three components is uncommon in current research.

While the textual dimension of multilingual journalistic texts is analysed first from a translational angle, the inherent contextual and discursive dimensions are considered as well. For this purpose, the perspectives from the professionals behind the production of these journalistic texts enrich the analysis, while also considering features of journalistic discourse. Thus, interdisciplinarity is here crystallized through the joint contribution of translation, journalistic, and discourse studies.

1.3. The context(s) of this research

1.3.1. Bolivia

The geographical context where this multilingual coverage originates is Bolivia, a South American country with vast linguistic and cultural plurality. Presently, it enshrines 36 nations and their system of beliefs, languages, and cultures, which were officially recognized with the passing of a new state constitution in 2009, when it became the Plurinational State of Bolivia, ‘based on plurality and on political, economic, legal, cultural, and linguistic pluralism within the country integration process’ (NCPE in Gaceta Oficial, 2009, Art. 1). This recognition was a turning point that allowed the Bolivian population to embrace their rich multicultural roots, deriving from the prevailing mixture of indigenous and Spanish origins. Consequently, from 2009 on, the Bolivian state and society have begun a multidimensional national empowerment process.

On the one hand, this gave more visibility to the diversity of languages, cultures, and worldviews from indigenous populations. This diversity was formerly considered a stigma resulting from the colonization period and the subsequent colonial heritage that prevailed in Bolivia after gaining independence from Spain. On the other hand, important structural changes have arisen, like major socio-economic reforms and administration of national resources. These two elements have received increasing attention from international economic, industrial, academic, and media stakeholders.

More specifically, these structural changes brought a considerable increase in international media coverage about Bolivia at specific points in time, *i.e.* during Evo Morales’ administration, from 2006 to 2019, ‘which captured international media attention’ (Silva, 2009, p. 30). This might be explained by the fact that Morales was the first indigenous president and lead the above-mentioned transformations within a progressive and left-wing administration.

Information about Bolivia transcends its borders thanks to global media coverage in three main languages—Spanish, French, and English—of which only Spanish is officially spoken in the country. Bolivia being a multilingual and pluricultural country, media coverage by these agencies recurrently

includes key national concepts in Quechua or Aymara languages, which are the indigenous languages with most speakers, among the 36 officially recognised.

Furthermore, international media coverage is mostly carried out from a general perspective by global news agencies and later reproduced by national media outlets across the globe. Other types of specialized coverage exist, particularly, on economic matters, political analysis, environmental issues, and extended cultural articles, which can be found in major newspapers and magazines such as *The News York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Guardian*, and *Le Monde*, amongst others.

Finally, the journalistic representation of Bolivia illustrates a remote country that is peripheral to mainstream discourse and may not be of transactional interest. The Bolivian financial market being rather small and unattractive for international news, the main topics covered by these news agencies are political and cultural ones, which are generally interwoven. International media coverage has tended to focus on Bolivia's largest presence of indigenous people in the region, although this presence is not always depicted in clear slant with regards to the topics being reported, as we will see in the case studies informing this thesis (Part II). News coverage from September 2020 to May 2021 is examined, during a period of socio-political instability and the first waves of COVID-19. These circumstances conditioned the life of citizens and, mainly, the news coverage that could be produced back then.

1.3.2. Global News Agencies

Global News Agencies are key sources of journalistic coverage about realities and events that happen geographically, culturally, and linguistically far from their global audience. These agencies operate from local, regional, and central desks scattered worldwide with a 'dual structure' (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009) constituted by international and local agency journalists. Broadly speaking, since their creation in the middle of the 19th century, Global news agencies have had a traditional role of 'news wholesalers' that sell their content to a range of 'retail' clients (Boyd-Barrett & Rantanen, 1998) worldwide: media outlets that globalize agency news dispatches by purchasing and publishing them. Their clients also are international organizations and governments across the globe. However, the advent of the internet blurred the former wholesale/retail boundaries, prompting news agencies to shift from their traditional role and become relatively closer to individual users.

The agencies studied in this thesis are Agencia EFE, Agence France-Presse, Associated Press, and Reuters—originating in Spain, France, United States, United Kingdom, respectively. They operate from around 200 desks worldwide and are considered the four major global news agencies. They were born to provide information from remote regions of the world—generally, their former colonies—where other local media did not have the financial and logistic conditions necessary to produce their own news for international dissemination. To be able to cater for news services worldwide, they

produce news multilingually. In this specific case and location, they all publish news coverage in Spanish and English, and a fraction of this news coverage also is in French, Portuguese, and German.

Local and international agency journalists are oftentimes bilinguals and have been compared to anthropologists (Hannerz, 1996) and diplomats (Boyd-Barrett & Rantanen, 2000), due to the important network they develop locally and their mediating role between the local context and their global readership. It is their job to make the unfamiliar familiar to their global audience. Content produced in local desks, usually in the local language, is sent to regional and central desks, where it is edited and translated into other languages by language-specific editors. Essentially, global news agencies may be conceived as wide translation agencies, that were structurally designed to achieve fast and reliable translations of large amounts of information (Bielsa, 2007). Their organizational functioning, working practices, and type of news product will be further addressed in Chapter 4.

Finally, when the world's first news agency was created, Agence France-Presse, it installed a network of correspondents and translators to produce multilingual news and employed carrier pigeons to deliver its services across Europe (AFP, 2020). One might equate these pigeons to the blue bird that has facilitated a quick dissemination of news across the globe in the last decade. This blue bird—Twitter, that only recently became X—not only exemplified the existence of a myriad of social media platforms, but also embodied their crucial effects in the way information is presently produced, circulated, and consumed: arguably, information production and consumption was ‘democratized’ by the advent of Internet. Yet, this blue bird also embodied the technological shifts that prompted the agencies to reaching out to their audiences directly, going beyond their traditional role of retailers, thus transforming a media landscape that has governed the international news flow for almost two centuries.

1.4. Research Questions and Aims

The research interests described above led to the following general research questions, that will be better specified in the second part of the thesis in the corresponding analytical chapters (4-7):

- 1. What characterises the multilingual news production about Bolivia from the agencies Agence France-Presse, Agencia EFE, Associated Press, and Reuters?*
- 2. What is the role of translation in such multilingual news production?*
- 3. What are the discursive features of this multilingual news coverage?*

1.5. Towards an interdisciplinary framework: a kaleidoscopic approach

So far, I have situated News translation as a key enabler for the circulation of everyday information at the global level. This is a complex object of study, especially considering the contexts of global news agencies and peripheral countries, such as Bolivia. Against this background and to answer the research questions of this thesis, an interdisciplinary framework needs to be constructed and implemented to

investigate the locus and the role of translation in multilingual news production at the textual, contextual, and discursive levels.

First, I suggest the image of a kaleidoscope: a visual artifact filled with coloured pieces, whose reflections produce changing patterns once it is rotated. With each movement, certain pieces come into the fore and others become blurred but remain inside the artifact. This partially emulates the shape of a telescope: a tool used to observe from a distance. Thus, I propose a kaleidoscopic reading not only of this news coverage and its transformations once translated, but especially, of the data and methods that constitute this research. I will elaborate further on this image in the coming chapters.

Next, I will briefly draw on essential notions that guided this research, which are intersected from the disciplines of translation, journalism, corpus, and ethnographic studies. The textual level concerned with specific aspects of ‘translation proper’ (Jakobson, 1959) is central for the present analysis and the contextual and discursive levels are to be understood as a complement to further our knowledge about the workings of translation in settings where multilingual news is produced.

This complementarity will be tackled first by crystallizing the views of agency journalists with regards to their jobs and practices, the institutions they work for, the location that makes the topic of enquiry—Bolivia—, and their perception of (news) translation. As an ethnographic approach (Flynn, 2012), this crystallization (Richardson, 1994; Ellingson, 2011) aims to go beyond the triangulation (Denzin, 2012) needed to study the phenomenon of news translation (Davier & van Doorslaer, 2018; Hernandez Guerrero, 2021), by enabling us to see it from different angles of repose and through a flexible prism. Chapter 4 examines this contextual dimension as a preamble to the textual analyses.

Against this backdrop, the theoretical groundings about news translation derive primarily from the work of Bielsa, Davier, Hernandez Guerrero, and Valdeón which will be discussed and applied in Chapters 3 and 5, respectively. ‘Journalistic translation’ or ‘news translation’ being a subfield of recent expansion within Translation studies, this thesis also attempts to establish a dialogue with communication scholars and discourse analysts. In the context of global news agencies that are still crucial in producing and circulating news around the globe, translation plays a central role in quantitative and qualitative terms in the approach and representation of new and distant realities.

Having explained the contextual and textual dimensions, the discursive one will be approached from corpus-assisted discourse analysis (CaDS), more specifically, its cross-linguistic trend (Taylor & Del Fante, 2019; Freake, 2010), where corpora are applied to study how realities are constructed, represented, and transmitted linguistically (Marchi, 2013, p.13) in journalistic discourse.

Three case studies constitute the analytical part of this thesis; each one aims at emphasizing certain components over others and are accompanied by ethnographic work for contextualization. This design intends to analyse in depth pieces of research without losing sight of the overall picture. I employ a

mixed methodology, which required to apply tools and adapt taxonomies from the above-mentioned disciplines to identify key features of multilingual news production. This is presented in Chapter 3.

1.6. Structure of the thesis

Part I, Chapters 1 to 3, can be understood as the preparatory content of the thesis, while **Part II**, Chapters 4 to 8, elaborates on the analytical content and discuss results. In **Part I**, the **present chapter** served to introduce this research and situate its contexts. It introduced key aspects at an interdisciplinary level and presented my motives and research questions. **Chapter 2** reviews available literature concerning 1) the evolution of news translation as a subfield and its key notions, 2) the interplay between translation and discourse studies, focusing on the use of corpora and journalistic discourse, and 3) ethnography and complementary approaches that are transversal to the shaping of this research and crystallize the context of news production and my situatedness as a researcher. **Chapter 3** proposes a kaleidoscopic framework to analyse multilingual news production: it addresses the theoretical grounding concerning the three main subject areas implicated in this research: news translation, the context of news production, and journalistic discourse, which also describes the methodological considerations about the design of each case study, the datasets and selection criteria, the study corpora and reference corpora that were built and used, and the ethnographic work. It also introduces the taxonomies and procedures applied at the analytical stage.

Part II moves on to the analysis and results of the thesis. **Chapter 4** is a window on to the world of news agencies as an evidence-based preamble that narrates the perception from agency journalists of their context of work and to news translation. A documentary review accompanies it along with an illustration of the types of multilingual and audio-visual news products of news agencies. The interdisciplinary framework is applied in the next chapters: **Chapter 5** focuses on the translation phenomenon at the textual dimension taken as ‘Journalistic translation’, with a case study on electoral news coverage in Spanish, French, and English. **Chapter 6** examines cultural news coverage in Spanish and English, focusing on the ‘Cultural translation’ of *realia* that brings along terms in Quechua and Aymara languages. **Chapter 7** examines the discursive dimension of political news coverage, concentrating on ‘non-obvious translation’. Finally, **Chapter 8** provides a general discussion that encompasses all case studies and pinpoints the methodological affordances and limitations of this analytical framework leading to the final conclusions of this thesis.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

The present chapter aims to review the scholarly literature concerning multilingual news production focusing on translation studies and its intersections with discourse studies, along with related approaches to this research. Considering the multileveled nature of multilingual news production, I will present a brief account of this literature from different disciplinary perspectives, starting from translation studies.

2.1. News Translation

This section reviews, first, the existing literature about News translation as an emerging subdomain of Translation studies. Then, key concepts that define news translation are addressed in relation to translation studies in general.

2.1.1. The coming of age of News Translation

2.1.1.1. *What is News Translation?*

News translation emerged as a subfield of Translation Studies at the beginning of the 21st century with different projects that explored the role and practices of translation in international news flow. Collective publications such as *La traducción periodística* (Cortés Zaborras & Hernandez Guerrero, 2005), the project on politics and economics of *Translation in Global News* (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009), *Translating Information* (Valdeón, 2010) allowed this emerging subfield to gain momentum. However, previous research was already being published in different academic journals (Fujii, A. 1988; Bassnett, 2005; Tsai, 2005; Valdeón, 2005), perhaps, in a more isolated fashion. Since then, the subfield of ‘news translation’ (Holland, 2013) or ‘journalistic translation’ (Valdeón, 2015; Hernandez-Guerrero, 2019) has exponentially evolved to the point of being hailed by some as the fastest growing area within translation studies in the last decade (Bielsa, 2022). The central role of ‘translation and/in/of media’ (Bielsa, 2022) has also been labelled ‘press translation’ (Bani, 2006), ‘translation in news media’ (Schäffner, 2018) and, more recently, ‘news media translation’ (Zanettin, 2021).

On the one hand, ‘news media translation’ aims to provide an inclusive definition that covers ‘forms of mass media that focus on delivering news’ and include ‘print media (newspapers, news magazines), broadcast news (radio and television), as well as digital media (online newspapers, news blogs, news videos, live news streaming, etc.’ (Zanettin, 2021, p. 85). On the other, the definition of ‘media’ has been discussed from the perspective of translation and the convergence paradigm (Davier & Conway, 2019), where news is published in multiple platforms, as a way of dealing nowadays with ‘audience fragmentation’ (Carey & Carey, 2022, p.405). These two examples show the dynamic and evolving nature of this subject of study. These two perspectives are worthy of note in this thesis, since multilingual news coverage by global news agencies is published and disseminated online, which

entails both written and audio-visual news production, but whose textual structure and conventions arguably relate more to what was formerly known as ‘legacy media’ (Holt et al., 2019).

2.1.1.2. Studies on News translation: past, present, and future

Broadly speaking, translation is intimately linked to journalism (Davier, 2022) given that transmitting news from and between foreign countries was at their very core since early days. News translation occurs primarily ‘at the point where news crosses national boundaries’ (Palmer, 2011, p. 186). Valdeón suggests that the ‘*corantos*’—printed news reports of the war—were published weekly in different European countries and in different languages already in the 17th century (2012). Different scholars have explored the presence of news translation from a historical perspective (Bastin et al, 2012; McLaughlin, 2015; Valdeón, 2012, 2015, 2022a). Nonetheless, as Hernando suggests (1999), even though translation and journalism were so closely related since their very origin, limited interest for translation exists in journalistic research.

Global news agencies have been considered central agents of globalisation (Bielsa, 2010) since their consolidation back in the 19th century. The precursor of Agence France-Presse, Agence Havas, is considered the world’s first Global News Agency, specializing in foreign affairs. Previous research suggests these agencies can be seen as vast translation agencies, that are structurally designed to render fast and reliable translations of important volumes of information (Bielsa, 2007).

Current research approaches are linked to the evolution of technology that inevitably shapes the way news is produced, encompassing news translation. The perspective of Convergence, or ‘multi-platform journalism’ (Davier, 2022, p. 404), calls for going beyond traditional distinctions inherited by legacy media, as Davier and Conway suggest (2019), since the evolving technological context constantly reshapes journalistic practices. The effects of technological progress in the transformations of media ‘are not without analogy with the transformations of translator’s work’ (Gambier, 2021, p. 92), which are accelerated in digital settings.

Along the same lines, the advent of the Internet and social media have diversified the modes and platforms of news production and distribution, increasing the presence of audiovisual news products. Currently, the study of news translation overlaps with research on audiovisual translation (AVT), which has traditionally centred on the industry of entertainment. Nonetheless, scholars from both subdomains of enquiry have recently started to explore intersections within news production (Perez-Gonzalez, 2014; Gambier, 2016; Federici, 2017.; Valdeón, 2022a).

Research about news translation naturally intersects with applied linguistics, communication studies, cultural studies, and ethnography (Caimotto & Gaspari, 2018) amongst other disciplines. The multidisciplinary nature of translation in news production and its global dissemination (Palmer, 2011)

ingrains its relevance. With this brief context in mind, the following section intends to categorize the body of research intersecting news translation to other complementary domains of study.

2.1.2 How to study News translation?

Given the amplitude of existing studies about news translation and to be able to locate key foci of research, I present overlaps in three broad classifications. Davier offered a working classification that includes the production (*how news is produced*); the product (*which news is produced*); and the socio-historical context (*where/when news is produced*) (2017, p. 11, my translations). These would, to some extent, overlap with other classifications proposed by Valdeón (2015) and, more recently, by Zanettin—based on Holland (2013)—that considers Process-Oriented Research, Product-Oriented Research, and Culture-Oriented Research (2021, p. 88). In the following sections, I will review research more specifically relevant to this thesis, taking on board these three broad categories and keeping in mind that most studies involve more than one perspective.

2.1.2.1. *Process-oriented research (Production)*

Research concerned with processes involved in news translation focuses ‘on the agents and contexts of news translation’ (Zanettin, 2021, p. 89), approaching the organization of work and flow of news production, often adopting ethnographic methods. News translation is fully integrated in the process of news production (Bielsa, 2010), which relies on the expertise of bilingual journalists or news editors that edit and translate information, where the distinction between ‘journalist’ and ‘translator’ is subtle. Other scholars applied the labels of ‘transeditor’ (Stetting, 1989, p. 377), ‘journalist-as-translator’ (Conway, 2008: 30), ‘journalist-translator’ (van Doorslaer, 2010, p. 177), and ‘journalator’ (van Doorslaer, 2012) referring to the role of multilingual journalists. Along these lines, intersections between translation and journalism were initially explored by scholars with a background on the practice of news translation or journalism (Fujii, 1988; Hursti, 2001; Vidal, 2005, cited in Bielsa 2007; Tsai, 2005; Matsushita, 2019), providing first-hand accounts of empirical value.

Within the blurring lines of gathering information, writing, and editing news items and other related concepts, Hursti (2001) contributed particularly with the notion of *gatekeeping* to discuss the role and influence of news translators during the initial selection of news, a concept that Valdeón has also discussed in substantial research (2016, 2022b). These labels depict the engagement of news translators that select and edit information at the macro level, while bearing in mind the style of journalistic texts (Kang, 2007). In the words of Tsai, ‘the whole news trans-editing process can be best described as a gatekeeping process’ (Tsai, 2005 in Valdeón, 2022b, p. 119).

Furthermore, Hernandez Guerrero suggests the main objectives guiding ‘journalist-translators’ (2019, p. 387) during the process of rendering translated products are to transmit information, to a

mass audience with a clear and direct language, and for a specific geographical, temporal, and cultural context (that differs from the original one). Equally, she suggests that ‘journalists-translators’ are conditioned by the medium in which they work and are subject to important limitations of time and space, and usually are re-translators and proof-readers themselves. By comparing practices within the news agencies AFP, IPS, and Reuters, Bielsa suggested that translation is normally carried out by journalists ‘without specific training as translators’, who select, edit, and prioritise information ‘following prevailing journalistic criteria to ensure maximum impact’ (2010, p. 41).

Contributions concerning the circulation of news dispatches in specific regions within local and regional desks provide rich insights about the actual translation process and the roles taken by news translators, as shown in a recent study on the workflow of multilingual news production by AFP across its desks in South America (Rodriguez-Blanco, 2024a).

When it comes to delimiting the boundaries between process- and product-oriented research, studies have taken either perspective or have complemented each other, since one does not solely analyse the products without considering the process and vice-versa. This apparent overlap between both orientations of research is present in Hursti’s work, who starts with a focus on the process of news production and then turns to analyse the product, observing transfers in news dispatches by the Finnish News Agency (2001). Hernandez Guerrero has contributed substantial research, concerning both the process and the product, while her work also deals with the practical dimension of teaching to translate journalistic texts and takes into consideration the evolution of media formats (2009, 2019, 2022).

2.1.2.2. Product-oriented research

This type of research focuses on textual features of multilingual news items, usually, by comparing the different versions available. Under this scope, research may vary according to text types with regards to a) the medium, b) the genre, and c) the unit of analysis (Zanettin, 2021, p. 96).

The comparison type may concern pairing source and target whole texts or comparable fragments of texts. Normally, considerations to contrast and analyse texts at the macro- and micro-levels are defined in order to look for major linguistic operations (Hursti, 2001) and translation shifts applied, mostly with regards to strategies. Broadly speaking, Zanettin (2021) suggests that fragments analysed can be formally identified *i.e.*, via direct quotations (Matsushita, 2019), headlines (Sidiropoulou, 1995; Riggs, 2021), framing devices (Rodriguez-Blanco, 2024a) or can be related to cultural concepts (Davies, 2017; Rodriguez-Blanco, 2024b) across paired paragraphs, sentences, and shorter bits of text.

Furthermore, Valdeón observes that most studies on news translation focus on English as the source language with a wide range of target languages (2022a, p. 8). In the case of the linguistic pairs English and Spanish, French and Spanish—object of this thesis—Hernandez Guerrero has largely

contributed descriptive studies of the products, focusing on the type of transcultural transfers, *trasvase transcultural*, (2010), translation strategies (2009, 2019, 2022), while also incorporating translation techniques, as developed by Hurtado Albir (2001) and Molina and Hurtado Albir (2002). The classification of transcultural transfers at the global textual level offered by Hernandez Guerrero proposes three major categories based on the degree of divergence from the original, a typology that will be examined in Section 2.1.2. and applied in Chapter 6.

Most studies taking the tack on translation shifts seem to agree that omission, addition, substitution, and reorganization are the main translation strategies (Vuorinen, 1997; Hursti, 2001). In the context of global news agencies, Bielsa and Bassnett explored the strategies of title change and lead, elimination of unnecessary information, addition of background, reorder of paragraphs, and summarizing information (2009, p. 64). Similarly, Schäffner (2018) adds the strategies of explicitation and specification in the case of culture-specific elements concerning *realia*, names of places, and politicians. Chaal (2019), Matsushita (2019), and Scammel (2018) have taken this perspective. Loupaki (2010) accounts for literal translation, neutralization, omission, addition, and explicitation as translation techniques at the micro level, but differentiates them from strategies at the macro level to encompass closeness and divergence (Rodriguez-Blanco, 2024b) between source and target texts.

Another type of product-oriented research intersects with Corpus Linguistics to look for particular language features across small or large news corpora. Literature on the particulars of this intersection, primarily seen from a translational perspective, will be addressed specifically in Section 2.3. of this review. It is worth mentioning that these intersections entail the discursive dimension of news translation and touch on theoretical grounds of Context-oriented research as well.

Other scholars have applied ethnographic methods (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009; Davier, 2014, 2019) to account for the practices and dynamics in newsrooms, often combined with the analysis of style guides or deontological charts by media organizations, an approach that is addressed in more detail in Section 2.4. Examples of this work are Pan (2014), who explores the role of institutional guidelines and translation practices at *Reference News* in China or Xia (2019), who examines discursive aspects of news translation in the newspaper of largest circulation in China, *Cankao Xiaoxia*.

Adopting this perspective, Hernandez Guerrero (2019) underscores the potential of interdisciplinary methodological frameworks that combine translation studies with adjacent disciplines: communication and media studies or social theories. She also calls for more studies focusing on the process of news translation. Davier and van Doorslaer advocate for combining textual analysis with process research or fieldwork in the quest for ‘methodological triangulation’ (2018) to advance research since only few scholars have gained access to the newsrooms (Valdeón, 2022a).

Finally, approaches to textual analysis of news translation are not exclusive (Zanettin, 2021), rather they combine different conceptual and methodological frameworks to account for the socio-cultural context that motivates these studies (to be reviewed in Section 2.1.2.3.). These may range from critical discourse analysis (Schäffner, 2005; van Leeuwen, 2006), narrative theory (Baker 2006), ideologies (Valdeón, 2005, 2015), imagology (van Doorsaler, 2012, 2019; Caimotto, 2016), to ethics, as in a recent monography by Fois (2022). Studies that consider the importance of framing in news discourse will be reviewed in Section 2.3.

2.1.2.3. Culture-oriented research (Socio-cultural context)

The third category focusing on the role of news translation draws on Culture-oriented research, encompasses the study of culture, literature, media, and journalistic perspectives. This is linked to the concept of ‘cultural translation’ (Conway, 2013, 2015) in relation to anthropology and cultural or postcolonial studies, which are of relevance to the present thesis. Zanettin states that this approach deals with ‘the role of journalists, agencies, and audiences in the representation of culture’ (2021, p. 105) and social identities. While dealing with ‘textual objects’, this type of study does not relate specifically to the source texts. Instead of focusing on interlingual transfers or ‘translation proper’ (Jakobson, 1959), translation is here regarded ‘independently of (a) traceable original text(s) in a different language’ (Zanettin, 2021), hence the translation process is not expressly observed, rather what is compared is specific ‘media coverage’ (Davier & van Doorslaer, 2018, p. 246) to explore meaning making in the target languages (and cultures).

Davier argues that ‘writing and translating is acting culturally and socially’ (2017, p. 10, my translation), while constructing images of national identity relates to the way in which news media represents them (Kim, 2014). This is linked to translation’s role in globalization and cosmopolitanism, to which Bielsa has contributed importantly (2005, 2016). Section 2.4. will return to these matters.

I have reviewed thus far the three main approaches to research news translation described by Zanettin (2021) and Valdeón (2015), in a somehow parallel fashion to Davier’s classification (2017). Both Davier and Valdeón proposed a fourth category concerning Reception-oriented research (*how news is received*), which is not reviewed here since it is not at the core of this thesis. However, its vast potential has been acknowledged by various scholars (Gambier, 2010; Di Giovanni, 2021; Bielsa & Scammell, 2022; Scammell, 2021).

Finally, this brief review has illustrated how diverse the domains and approaches to researching news translation are. In the last decade, ample scholarship has been devoted to news translational phenomenon in various forms: entries in encyclopaedias and handbooks (Bielsa, 2016, 2020; Davier, 2022; Holland, 2013; Palmer, 2011; Valdeón 2012; Valdeón 2018; van Doorslaer 2010); a dedicated

handbook (Bielsa, 2022); a number of monographs (Aragrande, 2020; Bielsa, 2023, Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009; Conway 2011; Fois, 2022; Hernández Guerrero 2009; Matsushita 2019; Scammell, 2018; Zanettin, 2021); special issues of journals such as *Language and Intercultural Communication* (Bassnett, 2005), *Meta* (Valdeón 2012), *Across Languages and Cultures* (Davier et al. 2018; Valdeón 2010b), *Perspectives* (Conway 2015; Valdeón 2020), *Journalism* (Valdeón, 2022a), *Translation and Interpreting Studies* (Guzman, 2019), *Mutatis Mutandis* (Navarro & Montoya-Arango, 2021), collective volumes (Conway & Bassnett, 2006; Cortés Zaborras, Davier & Conway, 2019; Hernández Guerrero & Bustos Gisbert, 2005; Valdeón, 2010; 2021b), and a recent entry of Journalistic translation in an Encyclopaedia of Journalism (Valdeón, 2022c).

This substantial scholarship accounts for the affordances to be found in a subdomain of studies that has only recently started to be noticed within Translation studies, with substantial methodological and conceptual complexities involved. The following section intends to illustrate the challenges posed by the subdomain News translation as related to central definitions.

2.2. The crux of News translation

The previous section pointed out the amplitude of research in news translation is not without a number of challenges at the theoretical and methodological levels. I consider essential to review fundamental principles from Translation studies that are seemingly pushed to their limit in news translation to understand further the research approaches that were just mentioned. These principles concern general definitions that are inherent to translation, which are to be revisited and broadened under the lens of news translation, when considered a junction of various disciplines.

2.2.1. Translation in a shifting paradigm

To begin with, Zanettin points out that until the 20th century, ‘translation was the province of the relatively small number of intellectuals who had access to more than one written language’ and it was approached almost exclusively in relation to books, which generally comprehended sacred scriptures and literature (2021, p. 25). These were written works endowed with important cultural and symbolic capital. However, cinema, radio, and the press and, even more, the advent of the internet changed this and translation entered the realm of everyday life.

Furthermore, Gambier argues that in cultural, film, internet, literary, and media studies '[c]ertain concepts and approaches are today transdisciplinary' (2022, p. 91), being redefined by sociologists, semioticians, philosophers, psychologists, and anthropologists. This is precisely the potential of studying news translation, an essentially transdisciplinary object of study both in theory and practice, happening in a context of permanent evolution and redefinition: that of news media. The case of translated news—specifically, translated texts from global news agencies—exactly embodies this

transition into a more flexible notion of translation that goes beyond the material dimension of printed texts, traditional translation practices, and related concepts (Rodriguez-Blanco, 2024a).

In 1959, Jakobson proposed for translation a superordinate definition that considers it as intralingual (within the same language), interlingual ('translation proper', between languages), and intersemiotic (between verbal and nonverbal sign systems) (p. 233). This typology has been revisited regularly in the context of news translation (see *e.g.* Davier, 2017; van Rooyen, 2019; Zanettin, 2021), since news translation seems to span 'all three of Jakobson's modes of interpreting the verbal sign' (Filmer, 2021, p. 337). The versatility of this typology might prove useful to account for the translation types that permeate the practices of journalists (Davier & Conway, 2019), particularly considering multilingual and multicultural contexts, as is the case of Bolivia and global news agencies.

2.2.2. Equivalence and comparability of translated news

This general background allows for revisiting central concepts of translation seen from the realm of news translation. The first one is related to its inherent contrastive nature and it is the notion of equivalence, that has been one of the most divisive issues in translation studies (Halverson, 1997) and which was primarily based upon 'the paradigm of the book' (Gambier, 2022, p. 104) mentioned earlier. This paradigm has transformed into one that is digital, that of the Web, where multiple, multilingual, and multimodal versions of texts coexist.

More specifically, Hernandez Guerrero suggests that news translation practices, such as 'transediting, journalistic rewriting, localization and recontextualization' (2019, p. 396), have motivated most researchers to advocate for the expansion or redefinition of equivalence, fidelity, and authorship (see Bielsa, 2007; Davier, 2015; Hernandez Guerrero 2009; Valdeón, 2016a). Along similar lines, Zanettin asserts that translation in newswriting is perceived as a 'process of textual transformation rather than of textual equivalence' (2021, p. 83).

The second key notion is the one of comparability. Taking on another theory that foregrounds the target texts and the contexts that produce and receive translations, along with the role of translation in culture and history, Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) provide a way to address comparison of translated texts in a broad perspective. Also known as the Manipulation School or Polysystem Approach, it aims at describing translational phenomena and its conditioning factors from an empirical and interdisciplinary approach, though, primarily applied to literary texts (Assis Rosa, 2010).

According to Holmes (1988), DTS comprehends three areas of research: a) Product-oriented DTS, focusing on the description of individual translations and the description of larger translation corpora, b) Function-oriented DTS, focusing on contexts of translation rather than texts itself, c) Process-oriented DTS, aiming at a systematic description of what goes on in the translator's mind while

translating. Assis Rosa (2010) suggests these three types of research led to developing a) the analysis of corpora in translation studies, b) translation sociology, and c), translation psychology, respectively.

This descriptive approach to translation breaks the presuppositions of the ‘conventional approach to literary translation’, that was based on the supremacy of the ‘original’, which remits us to ‘dethroning’ the source text as suggested by Nord (1991) in translation functional approaches and to the shift concerning the ‘paradigm of the book’ proposed by Gambier (2022). Consequently, to explore ‘the translated text as it is’ (Hermans, 1985, p. 12–13) and considering its underlying features, Lambert and van Gorp suggested it is needed to devise a specific analytical methodology to compare source and target texts within their respective systems (1985 in Assis Rosa, 2010).

2.2.3. Status and purpose of translated news

Translated news is oftentimes unacknowledged and invisible (Bielsa, 2010; Filmer, 2014; Zanettin, 2021; van Doorslaer, 2022) in the context of newsrooms, based on unawareness or denial of the concept of ‘translation’ (Davier, 2017, my translation). This fact calls for reflection on the status of the texts under study to understand the nature of their relationship and the borderlines that define them. In essence, to claim the existence of a translation relationship, Toury states that a source text must be a starting point and a model for a target text (1995) where the former predates chronologically the latter. For this, he proposed three postulates essential to defining a text as a translation: the existence of a source text, the transfer between source text and target text, and the relationship between source and target texts. Terms such as pseudo-translation and pseudo-original (Toury, 1995), indirect translation have been revisited by various scholars to account for the linguistic transfers in multilingual newswriting (see *e.g.* Davier, 2017, 2022; Gottlieb, 2010; Valdeón, 2022) and the status of texts. However, the concept of ‘assumed translation’ has not been studied in the context of news translation (Toury, 1995). This point will be further discussed in Chapter 3.

The fifth notion refers to the purpose of translated texts. The theory of Skopos—‘purpose’ in Greek—was introduced by Vermeer (1978) to emphasize the relevance of translations’ *skopos*. Scholars belonging to this theory saw translation as a complex action with a particular communicative purpose and translators as experts that aim at achieving a functionally ‘adequate’ text (Reiss & Vermeer, 1984/2013). A priori, one might equate news translators to experts of the journalistic services they provide. Scholars dealing with news translation (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009; Schäffner, 2012) have resorted to Skopos theory to find ‘practical explanations for the kinds of translation produced in the media world’ (Bazzi, 2009, p. 187) and others have questioned its actual achievements with regards to concrete features of textual manipulation (Davier, 2017, p. 27, my translation).

Three aspects remain at the core of this theory: a) the source text is seen as an offer of information that leads to a ‘new offer of information’ (Nord, 1997, p. 26), b) the intended global purpose of the target text is prioritized to meet the expectations of the target audience, c) the translators are experts that determine the translation methods and strategies to be carried out, in conformity to a translation commission. This latter is determined by implicit or explicit specifications by the client, according to Holz-Mänttari’s (1984) theory of Translational action. Developed independently from Skopos theory, her work referred mainly to scientific and technical translation, nonetheless a line can be drawn with media organizations as agents commissioning the translation of news items, whether it is done in-house or between different media. It might be fruitful to relate this work to the notion of situated translation (Risku, 2002) that brings into focus translation in real-world professional contexts, where translation is viewed as an enabler of intercultural communication, rather than as a means of linguistic comparison, along with its role in the target situation.

2.2.4. Analysis of translated news

Section 1 of this review mentioned that, in Product-oriented research, analyses of news translation regularly bring into focus the divergence (shifts) that is present in the contrasted texts, instead of their closeness. Moreover, Zanettin reminds us that several terms have been used to refer to translation practices, ‘including domestication, transediting, gatekeeping, and localization’ (2021, p. 4).

At the global level of text analysis, Hernandez Guerrero proposes the classification of ‘transcultural transfers’ (*transvase transcultural*, my translations) to assess translated news items as whole products that derive from the transediting process (2010, p. 60-65). Based on their degree of divergence from the original, this proposal comprehends three major categories—with their corresponding subdivisions—to describe translation intervention from the least to the most variance, as follows: on one extreme *Transferencia completa* (complete transfer) that accounts for renditions transferring comprehensively all information originally offered to adapt to the ‘new linguistic system’. *Transferencia parcial* (partial transfer) renders partially the original information and might even add other sources. On the other extreme, *Reescritura* (rewriting) is the most distant rendition, whereby, the original is taken as a point of ‘departure’. Thus, when contrasting texts, this typology allows one to account both for what remains close (what is ‘simply’ transferred) and what diverges, opening up to describing the phenomenon from a different perspective than the one regularly found in news translation research, focusing solely on shifts. Chapters 3 and 6 will examine this matter.

Hernandez Guerrero also argues that using a series of strategies or operations is required (2022) to compose journalistic texts that are easily understandable for a wide audience. However, the concept of strategy has been affected by a confusing use of terminology, where ‘[t]erms such as *procedures*,

techniques, norms, tactics, methods... occasionally function as synonyms for *strategy* while at other times they refer to different concepts' (2022, p. 235, italics in original).

From a translational perspective, Gambier argues that *strategy* is 'one of those ambiguous terms' (2010, p. 412) that is not only variously used, but seems to be in competition with other terms. Schjoldager (2008) talks about 'strategies', distinguishing them between *macrostrategies* and *microstrategies*, that might be similar to Chesterman's proposal about *global* and *local strategies* (1997). Instead, Gambier suggests the use of *strategies* at the global level concerning 'agents' and *tactics* at the local one concerning translators 'only'. In his proposal, *shifts* or *solutions* are thought of to indicate their results—that are visible in the output—both for differences and similarities between source and target texts (2010, p. 417). Again, this perspective might go in line with Hernandez Guerrero's (2010) comprehensive tack on transcultural transfers in news translation.

Thus, macrostrategies relate to the 'overall plan' of the translator (Hernandez Guerrero, 2022) that is *goal-oriented* (Gambier, 2010), whereas microstrategies focus on solutions to 'specific translation problems' in relation to words, phrases and sentences, individual decisions at the micro-textual level. This distinction was observed in some studies of news translation (see Scammell 2018; Chaal 2019).

Section 2.1 reviewed news translation studies focusing on strategies as divergence or shifts with a general agreement on substitutions, omissions, additions, or reorganizations (Vuorinen, 1997; Hursti, 2001) without necessarily distinguishing the macro- or micro-levels when applying strategies, nor accounting for closeness or non-shifts (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009; Schäffner, 2018; Matsushita 2019).

Instead, Loupaki (2010) refers to literal translation, neutralization, omission, addition, and explicitation as translation techniques at the micro level and differentiates them from strategies, at the macro level. This distinction might be relevant for analysing distance and closeness in translated texts.

From a general perspective, Gambier also reminds us that translation research focusing on the results may apply the term 'techniques' (2010, p. 416), since they are observed in the product, affecting small text units, and 'strategies' to the mechanisms, as referred by Molina and Hurtado Albir (2002), thus differentiating micro- and macro-textual levels with different labels. Then, translation technique refers to an instrument for textual analysis that 'allows us to study how translation equivalence works in relation to the original text' (ibid, pp. 498, 509) that can be combined with other instruments. These scholars revisited existing classifications (Vinay & Darbelnet, 1958; Nida, 1964; Delisle, 1993; Newmark, 1988) to distinguish method (global objective) and strategy (procedures undertaken when translating) from translation technique (how micro-units are materialized, affecting translation results).

Similarly than with strategies, Molina and Hurtado Albir argue that 'some disagreement amongst translation scholars about translation techniques' exists (2002, p. 499-511) at the terminological and conceptual levels. They adopted a 'dynamic and functional' approach to translation techniques and

applied it to the ‘treatment of cultural elements’, an aspect relevant to the present thesis. They offered a classification of 18 techniques that will be treated in Chapters 3 and 6. Some news translation scholars also resorted to this classification of techniques to account for more concrete features of translational phenomena in news, that is to say, results at the micro-level (Hernandez Guerrero, 2010; Ponomarenko, 2019; Marra, 2021, Rodriguez-Blanco, 2024b).

Finally, the analysis of techniques can be applied to translation features concerning references to culturally bound (Leppihalme, 2010; Davier, 2015) and political elements (Schäffner, 2012, 2017), and to clearly distinguish the macro- and micro-levels of textual analysis. This categorization was also applied to understand comprehensively translation closeness and divergence (non-shifts and shifts) in multilingual newswriting (Rodriguez-Blanco, 2024b).

2.3. Translated News as Discourse

The previous section reviewed existing scholarship on multilingual news, focusing on translation and its textual intricacies. This section draws on fundamental aspects concerning its discursive dimension. General work about news discourse applying corpus-related approaches will be reviewed, to then move towards research that intersects translation and corpus studies, and then more specifically to news translation. The intersections between translation and corpus studies were situated *a priori* under the perspective of Product-oriented research in Section 2.1.1.2. I shall now delve into these intersections, while acknowledging that these are not completely detached from Context-oriented research.

2.3.1. News discourse

‘News discourse’ accommodates various forms of journalistic products and its definition is rather broad. Bednarek and Caple refer to news discourse as the ‘discourse that audiences encounter in news bulletins, news programmes, on news websites, or in the newspaper –discourse that reports on newsworthy events, happenings and issues’ (2012, p. 2). Since we spend a large portion of our life attending to the news media, scholars suggest that news can even be considered an addiction (Lamble 2011 in Bednarek & Caple, 2012). So, we face a ubiquitous object of study. As pointed out by Marchi, news discourse is ‘an ideal territory for corpus linguistics’ (2022, p. 576) whose qualities are ingrained in its mere definition: it is relevant and abundant.

Furthermore, Bednarek and Caple propose that what is worthy of becoming news—newsworthiness—is not inherent to events, rather it is established through language and image (2012, p. 44) in media. In this sense, discourse constructs newsworthiness via the use of specific linguistic and other semiotic systems (Bednarek, 2016) and determines news values. For studying this construction from a discursive perspective, these scholars developed a ‘framework for systematically

analysing how news values are communicated through discourse’ (Bednarek & Caple, 2017, p. 43) called Discourse News Values Analysis (henceforth, DNVA).

In the same vein, Bednarek and Caple suggest that DNVA may offer an interesting opportunity for cross-linguistic and cross-cultural research on news discourse (2017), which is at the core of this thesis. The advent of the internet prompted media to adapt their news production and channels to reach their audiences, more particularly, when considering global news agencies. When talking about news coverage—and news discourse—, we no longer consider written texts, but also multimodal news production. A recent application of corpus-assisted multimodal discourse analysis approaches the construction of news values by means of linguistic and non-linguistic data (Caple, Huan & Bednarek, 2020). Interdisciplinary lines may be drawn from this innovative perspective with the Convergence paradigm (Davier & Conway, 2019) from translation studies and news production, which intersects news translation, audio-visual translation and media studies (reviewed in Section 1).

Scholars in news translation studies agree that the way in which a particular event/issue ‘is established as being news’ (Caple & Bednarek, 2016, p. 440), ‘make[s] an impact upon the perception of the event (and the actors taking part in it) by news consumers’ (Valdeón, 2012, in Riggs 2021, p. 354). Similarly, Bielsa (2010) argues that the resulting changes involved in translating news not only concern the textual structure and ordering, but also the ‘news angle’ from which events are represented.

When studying media representations of events and groups, Partington reminds us that ‘negativity’ is one of the principal news values (Galtung & Ruge, 1981 in Partington, 2015), who also states that ‘[w]rongdoing makes the papers, normal good service rarely so’ (p. 241-242). Thus, research should sensibly recognize if these negative representations are concerned with ‘prejudiced representation’ or with ‘reporting of negative events’, the latter being rather routinary in news production.

Then, considering the vast availability and influence of news discourse, Marchi (2021) suggests that most studies adopting various combinations of corpus and discourse approaches are based on news corpora. Unsurprisingly, this goes in line with the fact that contrastive studies dealing with news discourse across languages—and in news translation—are, in one way or another, based on news corpora. A review about this will be addresses in section 2.3.

Foundational work to analysing news discourse through the lenses of corpora are the contributions derived from RASIM project and SiBol group. The RASIM project at Lancaster University explored the evolution and construction of discourses surrounding refugees and asylum seekers in UK press (Baker et al., 2008). This project aimed to meet the quantitative methodology of corpus linguistics with the traditionally qualitative methods of critical discourse analysis. Also, deriving from a collaboration between the universities of Bologna and Siena, the SiBol group employs statistical analyses along with more traditional analyses employed in discourse studies. They built the SiBol

Corpus of English broadsheet newspapers 1993–2021, that contains UK broadsheets along with newspapers from India, USA, Hong Kong, Nigeria and the Arab world, as well as UK tabloids. These corpora account for key studies on corpus-assisted discourse with temporal comparisons (Marchi, 2018). Relevant to this thesis is the contribution by Hardt-Mautner (1995) who discussed the application of qualitative methodology that is characteristic to critical approaches to discourse analysis, with a quantitative approach of corpus studies, in a small corpus of news about Europe.

Moving on to more specific approaches to study corpus and discourse, Marchi suggests that Corpus-assisted Discourse Studies (CaDS in Partington, 2004) find a ‘natural habitat in journalistic discourse corpora’ (2021, p. 582). CaDS is interested in investigating language from a structural and social perspectives. Broadly speaking, it defines Corpus linguistics as ‘that set of studies into the form and/or function of language which incorporate the use of computerised corpora in their analyses’ (Partington, Duguid, & Taylor, 2013, p. 10).

It is worth considering two key elements under this perspective. First, ‘corpus-assisted’ denotes that corpus techniques are one type amongst others employed by CaDS analysts to obtain complete results. Second, CaDS approach aims at ‘uncovering’ what might be called *non-obvious meaning*, namely, the type of meaning that may ‘not be readily available to naked-eye perusal’ (Partington, Duguid, & Taylor, 2013, p. 11).

As pointed out by Taylor and Del Fante (2020), Corpus-assisted discourse studies are interdisciplinary by nature. Given the multilingual foundations of this thesis, a Cross-linguistic perspective to Corpus-assisted Discourse Studies (henceforth, Cross-CaDS) seems relevant to support studies around discourse patterns beyond cultural and linguistic boundaries (Taylor & Marchi, 2018), a trend that ‘represents a natural intersection with translation studies’ (Taylor & Del Fante, 2020, p. 29). Studies in Cross-CaDS are informed by ‘twinned sets of corpora’ of newspaper data (Partington, Duguid, & Taylor, 2013, p. 15).

However, Cross-CaDS brings a range of additional challenges, that may be crystallized under the following questions: ‘How do we compare across or within corpora containing different languages? How do we identify meaningful language units for comparison in this context? How do we know that we are comparing like with like?’ (Taylor & Del Fante, 2020, p. 29). Taylor and Del Fante answer by proposing four general types of studies that adopt a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural perspective: Language difference/similarity constitutes the object of study; Comparative cultural keyword or discourse keyword studies; The comparative interest is cultural and the research is cross-linguistic out of necessity; No explicit comparative drive. Furthermore, Cross-CaDS studies seem to deal, largely, with representational aspects present in multilingual coverage, as is the case of this thesis. Vessey (2013) and Freake (2012) have also engaged in studying Cross-CaDS’ challenges and affordances.

In order to conclude this section, it is worth noting that working with corpus of reasonable and representative size about specific events, periods of time, and language pairs may demonstrate the way in which the stylistic choices made by journalists participate in cultural (mis)representation about ‘others’ and contribute to constructing and shaping discourse, as suggested by Riggs (2020). When it comes to international news, Bielsa suggests that the role of global media is especially relevant, since they are the first ones to approach and describe distant realities, creating ways of addressing them and introducing new vocabulary to represent them. More particularly, global news agencies ‘exert a palpable influence upon other news organizations’ (Bielsa, 2010, p. 32) given that their news coverage is reproduced by media worldwide and shapes the agenda of international news.

2.3.2. The study of ‘multilingual news’ using corpora

2.3.2.1. *Early research and key definitions in Translation and Corpus studies*

With the purpose of reviewing the body of literature concerning news translation approached with corpus, this section will outline, first, early and general works that were foundational to corpus-based translation studies, to then move forward to reviewing current approaches to study news translation.

Back in 1993, in a collective publication that discussed the synergies between texts and technologies and focused on discursive and corpus-driven analysis of language, Baker predicted the impacts that the rise of corpus linguistics was likely going to have on the study of translation as an empirical phenomenon (Baker, 1993). She pointed out its potential to advancing translation studies into describing, theorizing, and generalizing the nature of translation phenomena, by having available large amounts of texts with the aid of corpus techniques and methodologies. Similarly, in the editorial of a collection about the corpus-based approach in translation studies, Laviosa outlined the reach and quick evolution of it, describing it as ‘a coherent, composite and rich paradigm that addresses a variety of issues pertaining to theory, description, and the practice of translation’ (1998, p. 1).

Using corpora in translation research is founded on the occurrence of certain ‘patterns’ in translated texts (Sinclair, 1991 in Pan, 2020), which ‘record genuine communicative events’ (Baker, 1993, p. 234) and are constrained by ‘fully articulated’ source texts in another language (Baker, M. 1999 in Pan, p. 94). This perspective has the potential to provide the means to explore linguistic features ‘beyond the individual qualitative case’ (Zannetin, 2021, p. 104) with the purpose to generalize observations derived from patterns.

Johansson has claimed there is growing interest in developing multilingual or parallel corpora (2007), which is relevant to this thesis considering its multilingual nature. From a corpus perspective, he defined such corpora as ‘collections of texts in two or more languages which are parallel in some way, either by being in a translation relationship or by being comparable in other aspects, such as

genre, time of publication, intended readership, and so on' (2007, p. 51). According to Johansson, the use of corpora in multilingual fashion increases the reliability and validity of comparing a variety of texts, to explore systematically the bilingual intuition of translators and, probably, extend this to news translators particularly. In this perspective, Johansson suggests two types of corpora: Translation corpora (original texts and their translations into two or more languages) and Comparable corpora (original texts in two or more languages matched by specific criteria).

From a translation perspective, corpora can be categorized as Parallel, Comparable (monolingual, bilingual or multilingual), and Hybrid, according to Zanettin (2012). Each type involves two components or subcorpora for comparison. For the purposes of studying news translation, Gaspari (2018) has proposed the 'comparallel' type of Hybrid corpus to account for the existing blurriness and difficulty when attempting to align source and target (segments of) news texts, which seem to be heavily mediated. In these same lines, Davier and van Doorslaer (2018) proposed 'multilingual comparable' corpora to single out sub-textual translation units in this translation type.

2.3.2.2. Current trends in News translation and Corpora

Moving on to the specifics of news translation, Zanettin suggests that research aided by corpus approaches may allow a 'degree of automation involved in the analysis' (2022, p. 103), since almost all news texts are currently available in digital format, which allows them to be processed through computer software. Similarly, Caimotto and Gaspari propose (2018) this approach may provide a way to extend the study of news dispatches beyond the individual performance with the purpose of generalizing observations based on repeated patterned language use, which may otherwise be overlooked by the researcher's sole intuition (Laviosa, 2011).

Given the wide range of possible research involving translated news coverage, Zanettin (2021) proposes that current studies can be categorized under four general areas according to: genre or topic, by media, by statistical measures, or by specific language features. Research grouped by genre or topic was carried out by Valdeón (2019, 2018) or Santaemilia (2021), who focuses on the intersections between translation, corpus, discourse news values, and gender in Spanish/English press. Riggs (2020, 2021b) analyses discourse through stylistic aspects of translated news coverage in French and English and extrapolates it to the analysis of cultural representation. Riggs extends this cross-cultural approach to stylistic and visual features of news texts, by focusing on headlines and accompanying visual material that 'translate an event as newsworthy' (2021a, p. 352).

While not systematized under this classification, research combining translation and corpus methodologies is done according to media coverage representing specific countries or regions, which entails, at the same time, systematic selection of language pairs or media. Caimotto takes on parallel

corpus about the representation of Italy by British press in Italian and English (2016) and Rodriguez-Blanco (2024a) takes on the representation of Bolivia in AFP in Spanish, French, and English.

As for research according to media, Hernandez Guerrero has focused on news translation in the Spanish newspaper *El Mundo* (2010), on the use of Twitter by the Spanish press (2020), and the translation of multimedia coverage on *The Guardian* (2022). Her approach is of a translational contrastive nature and accounts for versatile methodologic approaches to designing bilingual or multimodal corpora. Similarly, Caimotto has focused on media over specific periods of time (2016).

Studies grouped by statistical measures and techniques—that tend to focus on translation strategies—can be found in Gaspari (2013) or Laviosa et al. (2017), amongst others. Research done by specific language features often makes use of concordances or wordlists (Aragrande, 2015; Gagnon et al 2018; Pan, 2020; Rodriguez-Blanco, 2024a). These features are often taken as a starting point that combine qualitative analysis, mainly from a critical discourse perspective, with quantitative methods from corpus linguistics. Reviewing this type of studies with the ones under the Cross-CaDS perspective (reviewed in Section 2.1.), could be conceptually and methodologically insightful for research.

Furthermore, the latter type of studies could profit from the use of reference corpora for generalization of language and discursive patterns under the perspective of CaDS. As pointed out by Bernardini, using corpora can inform translation studies by focusing on specific linguistic patterns present in translated texts ‘with respect to comparable non-translated texts’ (2022, p. 489) in the target language. Another perspective in this domain is to triangulate text, discourse, or corpus analysis with participant or context-oriented methods, such as observation or interviews (Bassnett & Bielsa, 2009; Davier & van Doorslaer, 2018) with the purpose of enriching textual and contextual data.

Caimotto and Gaspari argue that the important ‘amount of interlinguistic and intercultural editing’ (2018, p.213) present in translated news texts call for cross-fertilizing studies on news translation with close disciplines, such as Corpus linguistics, which might prove useful to analyse key issues concerning translation, multilingualism, and journalistic discourse.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that interdisciplinarity is central to translation and corpus studies. However, during the elaboration of the present review, I was surprised by the scarce mentions between disciplines, if not, lack of recognition of the status of each discipline. For instance, back in the 1990’s, Baker stated a low status was given to translated texts from the field of corpus linguistics, especially because translated texts were excluded by corpus builders. This exclusion was guided by the presumption that ‘translated texts are not representative and they might distort the view of the ‘real’ language’ being investigated (1993, p. 234). She also illustrated this by signalling the few mentions to translation by corpus scholars or linguists, who pointed to the relevance of translation for corpus research only in terms of machine translation.

This goes in line with the lack of references to translation studies as a discipline by Johansson (2007, work reviewed above), in his recommendations to future research to make ‘multilingual corpus studies truly multilingual’. Even if his classification considers ‘translation corpora’, translation appears to be a linguistic input, but no discussion is done with the discipline of translation studies. In that sense, only the Cross-CaDS perspective seems to acknowledge that translation is a discipline, and that dialogue is beneficial to both fields. In the words of Taylor ‘this is precisely the kind of area where we can learn a great deal from a neighbouring discipline’ (2013, p.206).

2.4. Crystallizing News Translation

The previous two sections reviewed the existing body of research concerned with translation studies, followed by discursive approaches complementary to studying it. The present section aims at reviewing concepts that may not be considered crucial to any of the foregoing dimensions, but that intersect them and may provide contextual and comprehensive understanding of the news translation phenomenon, beyond translation and discourse studies. For this purpose, I will address first the crystallization of media and journalistic views with regards to translation, then, I will ground theoretical notions that determine my own position as researcher.

2.4.1. Crystallizations from the context

2.4.1.1. *Ethnography and triangulation*

In order to account for the practices and context where news translation occurs, I will succinctly review ethnographic approaches to studying translation, which have increased in recent decades, as pointed out by Flynn (2010). Risku et al. (2022) note that despite its potential, ethnographic research has hitherto not been a central methodology in translation and interpreting studies, in opposition to the development of quantitative and experimental research. In the subfield of news translation, Davier et al. (2018) suggested that scholars should combine textual analysis either with ‘methodological triangulation’ (Davier & van Doorslaer, 2018) or fieldwork. It seems that different terminology is used to address the key component emanating from contextual information provided by participants.

The collection of ethnographic data enables a ‘thick description’ (Geertz, 1973) of a particular subfield and of translation at a given time and place. Then, ethnographic approaches hold a grounded nature that is situated. Furthermore, Flynn (2010) has argued that such studies should be related directly to translators, interpreters, and other participants in the field. This notion of ‘thick description’ remits to the one of ‘thick translation’.

On the one hand, Appiah coined the term ‘thick translation’ (1993) to advocate ‘thick and situated’ reading and translation practices in oral literary translation in African settings, which is of relevance in post-colonial studies (Flynn, 2010). On the other, Hermans applied this term to suggest that the issue

is not whether the ethnographer presents an accurate description of a particular context or not, but if it facilitates the appreciation of both what is similar and what is different, and the angles and 'respects' of this difference (2003, p. 386). Hermans suggested that these descriptions involve a self-conscious moment from the researcher, who would prioritize particular situations in form of microhistories.

Moreover, 'writing up' these studies may entail a whole range of issues regarding reflexivity (Marcus, 1998 in Flynn, 2010), power, ethics, etc. In this vein, the researcher is confronted with her/his own position regarding the participants, along with the knowledge they may bring with them (Briggs 2002), aspects that will be dealt with in 2.4.2. Flynn reminds us of the importance of noting that such 'translational communities of practice (...) are not a priori givens' (2010, p. 118), meaning these bilingual or multilingual communities might—or not—perceive themselves as such, nor their roles.

The second term at stake concerns triangulation. In the words of Denzin, it refers to the use of multiple methods and reflects an attempt 'to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question' (2012, p. 83). Drawing on Flick (2007), he suggests that triangulation is not a tool or a strategy of validation, rather it is an alternative to validation. At any rate, combining multiple methodological practices and empirical materials can be thought of as a strategy to add rigor, breadth complexity, richness, and depth to research, which is of particular value in this thesis.

Denzin (2017/1978, p. 472) points out that 'multiple triangulation' refers to the combination of multiple methods, data types, observers, and theories in the same research. While he suggests that it may be difficult for any single investigation to achieve this multiplicity, he emphasizes that it is certainly possible to use multiple data levels and methods. In sum, both ethnography and triangulation attempt to provide situated descriptions to enrich the findings deriving from other types of data, such as textual and discourse analysis. Briefly moving this discussion to the field of discourse analysis, Taylor and Marchi proposed that mixing methods is a form of triangulation and that 'all forms of triangulation hold creative power' (2018, p.6), since the researcher is enabled to look at the data from many different windows to account for the complexity of the inquiry.

Nonetheless, Richardson (1994) and Ellingson (2011) have contested what they consider a narrow understanding of 'triangulation'. Richardson states that to triangulate and validate findings, a researcher deploys different methods, *e.g.*, interviews, documents, and the like. She asserts these methods assume that there is a 'fixed point' or an 'object' to triangulate (*ibid*, p. 1416). For her, under the term CAP ethnographies (creative analytical practices) within a postmodernist deconstruction of triangulation, researchers draw on multiple text genres to recognize that there are more than 'three sides' by which to approach the world: 'We do not triangulate; we crystallize'. She proposes that 'what we see depends on our angle of repose—not triangulation but rather crystallization' (*ibid.*), which is the third term in this section and that will be furthered in Chapters 3 and 4.

In the same vein, Ellingson advanced the methodological aspects of Richardson's 'crystallization', proposing it as the multiple lenses that scholars who 'embrace a wide range of methods, practices, and perspectives can adapt' to meet their needs and goals (2011, p.4). Then, the aim of crystallized research is to produce knowledge about a particular phenomenon through generating a deepened interpretation. Crystallization provides a framework to balance claims of 'truth', while recognizing the intersubjective nature of all knowledge claims (ibid, p.13), where both the self-reflexivity of the researcher and the voices of participants are acknowledged. Finally, as pointed out by Koskinen, doing ethnography implies being a 'double agent', partially an insider, partially an outsider', whose product is delineated by 'my limits' (2008, p. 8) and reflecting on the researcher's own involvement.

2.4.1.2. *Media studies, journalism, and news translation*

Even though studies on globalization, communication/media, and translation have wide areas of common interest, they have only recently started to share their common concerns (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009). Valdeón has pointed out (2022a) that a 'special relationship' has started to grow between both disciplines. For instance, in 2022 the journal *Journalism* published several articles dealing with journalism, media, and translation, concerning: gatekeeping (Valdeón, 2020), journalistic translation and interdisciplinarity (Valdeón, 2022; Kalantari, 2022), the narration of conflict in Africa (Williamson Sinalo, 2020), translation of digital narratives (Hernandez Guerrero, 2022), and the foreign reporting about Latin America in the German press (Cazzamata, 2020). This same journal had previously published a special issue dealing with translation from the perspective of media studies and focused on the multilingual services by the BBC (2011).

Moreover, research from media and communication scholars can shed light on news production from a translational standpoint. For instance, some media scholars have focused on the functioning of global news agencies (Palmer, 2019; Boyd-Barrett & Rantanen, 2000; Williams, 2011), the stylistics and conventions that govern their news production (Laville, 2007), and particularly the profile of foreign correspondents (Boyd-Barrett, 2008). Aguiar has studied global and national news agencies in the Global South, particularly focusing on Lusophone countries (Aguiar, 2016; Lisboa & Aguiar, 2017), without referring expressly to translation. Other scholars have thoroughly studied the interlingual 'transformations' occurring in global news agencies by means of contrastive analysis (Palmer, 1996; Lagneau, 2007). Both axes are relevant to understand the purpose and genres of news production in agencies. Nonetheless, to the extent of my knowledge, mentions to 'translation' in their work tend to take a metaphorical sense.

Briefly reflecting on the style guides from the agencies themselves is in order. Conceived in a practical fashion, the guide styles or handbooks from the agencies have been compared to 'bibles' for

agency journalists (Libération, 1999), since these not only offer their principles and values, but also thorough explanations about the conception of news texts, genres, and even protocol on cultural and social concerns for foreign correspondents. These are regularly updated, *i.e.* Agencia EFE has the ‘Libro del estilo urgente’ (2011); Associated Press the ‘Stylebook 2022-2024’; Agence France-Presse the ‘Manuel de l’agencier’ (1982), the ‘Abécédaire de l’AFP (2010) and internal stylebooks; and Reuters the ‘Handbook for Journalists’ (2008). In addition, most agencies have in place an online system of style guide, most of them in multiple languages.

Conversely to the metaphorical use of ‘translation’ by media scholars, these style guides refer to translation in concrete examples of ‘usage’, referring to translations of specific lexical and cultural items. Thus, these handbooks may be considered complementary to grasp the perspectives and expectations from the journalists themselves, and to the textual and translational analysis.

Moving forward to specific matters on central definitions about news coverage, I shall briefly review scholarship from media and journalism scholars. The first notion concerns the definition of a news topic, event, or article, which is essential for delimiting the selection of data. As pointed out by Trilling and van Hoof (2020), researchers require to abstract from individual articles to delimit broad topics or issues. They suggest that news events stand between topics and individual articles at the level of specificity. However, these scholars acknowledge the difficulty ‘to pinpoint a definition’ of an event (2020, p.1321), even though news users and journalists have an intuitive understanding of it.

Taking a step back, Nicholls and Bright claim that news ‘topics’ can be defined as thematic news areas which receive repeated coverage, naturally encompassing multiple events, and whose time span is much longer (2019, p. 44). Thus, these scholars observe that a topic can contain multiple events which may be covered by multiple articles each (Trilling & van Hoof, 2020). This delimitation will be addressed further in Chapter 3.

Media studies can also shed light on taxonomic definitions of news coverage. A long-standing general dichotomy concerns the one of hard news vis-à-vis soft news. According to Sterling (2009), the former category typically includes coverage of political, economic, military significance, and social issues, while the latter category accounts for human interest stories, arts and entertainment, sports, often referred to as feature stories (Rich, 2016). However, scholars suggest that on a practical level, these categories often overlap since political and economic concerns might intrinsically comprehend culture-bound elements of domestic and social interest, such as news pieces presenting full summaries about specific events and gathered within *dossiers* (Laville, 2007), especially in news agencies.

In these lines, Bell argues that ‘the chasm between hard and soft news shrinks, and the narrative blends in with the inverted pyramid approach to form a combined or melded category’ (Bell in Sterling, 2009: 689) with the rise of online media. Similarly, Tuchman (1973) stated that a classificatory

problem prevails within the distinction of soft vs. hard news, since no clear cut exists in everyday practice, coupled with the fact that multiple publications arise from the coverage of one event (Trilling & van Hoof, 2020). Hanusch concludes that in many societies this traditional boundary is increasingly blurred and that news coverage concerned with ‘everyday life’ currently rises (2019, p. 406).

Similarly, literature about journalistic stylistic conventions and the guidelines from agencies are illuminating to account for the textual structures of news dispatches and standardized conventions in journalism, such as the inverted pyramid model (Franklin, 2005, p. 22), which is particularly relevant in global agencies (Davier, 2017), which contrasts with a chronological report of the events. This model ‘is ideally suited to the fundamental principles of speed and hierarchy (...) in which the elements of the story are written up in declining order of importance, so that essential information comes first and is developed in subsequent paragraphs, which add background and secondary information’ (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009, p. 69). Under this model, the first paragraph already presents the 5W rule (Lagneau, 2007): who, what, where, when, why (and possibly, how).

Finally, a central concept that intersects the disciplines of cognitive linguistics, translation and discourse studies, but that originates in communication and media studies, concerns frames and, consequently, framing. From social studies, Goffman defined frames as ‘schemata of interpretation’ that allow individuals to ‘locate, perceive, identify and label’ (1974, p. 21) events surrounding them and functioning as interpretative frameworks that engage participants in a communicative interaction (1981). Entman suggested that newsmakers represent issues according to specific frames, which are ‘a central organizing idea[s] or story line[s] that provide meaning to an unfolding strip of events, weaving a connection between them’ and make some aspects more salient in a communicating text in order to ‘promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described’ (1993, p. 52).

From a communication perspective, frames are seen as key devices that contribute to shape news content and public opinions on central matters consequently. Thus, several framing theorists have claimed that media frame reality and shape the way people ‘should think’ about issues (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000), by giving salience to certain aspects of it, thus bearing an active role in constructing realities (Zanettin, 2021). As noted earlier, News translation studies have often borrowed this notion to account for the framing and (re)framing processes (Baker, 2007, Valdeón, 2016).

Accordingly, the notion of framing refers to ‘how’ we understand an event by virtue of emphasizing some elements over others (de Vreese, 2005): specific parts of news items are focal points that contain frames and function as central nodes of information. Tankard (2001, p.100) referred to these nodes as ‘framing devices’ and proposed a comprehensive typology to identify common frames

in news items, *i.e.*, headlines, subheads, leads, source selection, quotes selection, concluding statements, and concluding paragraphs. This typology will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter 3.

2.4.2. Situatedness

2.4.2.1. *Periphery and centre*

I shall now address the second set of notions crystallizing the stance from which this project is developed. Tymozcko (2014, 2018) suggested that having an international cross-cultural perspective is essential to understand the translational phenomena and evolve theoretical and methodological translation frameworks. The author suggests that, as a young discipline, translation studies need data resulting from a broader range than the one that has dominated the field, which has focused on ‘Eurocentric concerns, data, scholarship, and perspectives’ (*ibid.*, 2018, p. 163). She uses the term ‘Eurocentric’ in a descriptive and standard sense, not in a pejorative one.

Drawing on Cronin, Pym, and Wakabayashi, Tymozcko claimed there is a need to re-conceptualize translation and translators to develop broader views of translation that allow the discipline to respond to pressures both ‘from inside and outside the field alike’ (2009, p. 402) in times of technological change. This may broaden up the interpretive database (Tymozcko, 2013) or interpretive hypothesis (Chesterman, 2013) of translation studies. Similarly, Baker and Saldanha claimed that this strong Eurocentric tradition and its theoretical paradigms that originated in the West ‘are oblivious to the rich and substantially different experiences of translation outside Europe and North America’ (2011, p.21).

I approached, so far, what have lied at the centre of the discipline, which leads me to review what possibly lies outside of this centre. Drawing on Halverson (1997), Palumbo proposes that viewing translation as a prototype category may show ‘more typical examples at the centre and less typical examples at the periphery’ (2009, p. 124). Similarly, Zwischenberger, drawing on Sela Sheffy (2005) and Meylaerts (2008), states that translators belonging to ‘so-called peripheral cultures’ often break target-culture norms to transform (literary) canons (in Baker & Sladanha, 2020, p. 377). This perspective may allow to include text types whose characterization as translations can be debated, a key aspect in news translation, and the type of translated news coverage informing this thesis.

Moreover, moving on to the relationship of culture and language with regards to Eurocentrism, Cronin suggested that ‘minority languages’ have failed to be reflected on Translation studies or (semi)peripheral languages (Pokorn, 2013). Cronin refers as ‘invisible minorities’ (2003, p.139) to those small and peripheral cultures and languages as opposed to ‘great cultures’ and ‘central languages’. This aspect will be discussed further when treating the presence of Quechua and Aymara indigenous languages in the news coverage analysed, with regards to the use of a local and/or global Spanish and English as the lingua franca of news agencies (examined in Chapter 6).

2.4.2.2. *Globalization and translation*

Globalization can be defined as the intensification of worldwide social, economic, and cultural relations that bring together distant localities, with effects on ‘local’ events worldwide (Giddens, 1990 in Cronin, 2018, p.175). Simply put, Castells states that globalization is the process resulting from the capacity to functioning as a unity, in real time, and globally (1999, *my translation*). It frequently is translation that allows these distant localities to connect, facilitating the operation of supra-national institutions (Cronin, 2018). These succinct descriptions may precisely depict the case of global news agencies. Similarly, translation is a central agent in the dissemination of ideas and science (Montgomery, 2002), information (Bielsa, 2010), and news (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009) at a global scale and, even, the way in which conflicts are represented (Rafael, 2016).

In a globalized context, delimiting the geographical location of the object of inquiry is complex, *e.g.* Bolivia being the ‘local’ cannot be disentangled from the ‘global’ mediation and dissemination of its representation in news, nor can be the language and translation practices at stake, which are ‘both local and global’ (Cronin, 2016, p. 19). As so rightly pointed out by Bielsa and Bassnett, a pivotal element in the development of the global network from news agencies is their ‘dual coverage structure’ (2009, p. 58), that is formed by local and global journalists and offices worldwide. All the more, this duality can also be seen in that agencies’ foreign correspondents learn ‘to think globally and act locally’, as suggested by Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen (2000, p.127).

More centrally, Bielsa has equated global news agencies to important agents of globalisation, being among the first multinational corporations, and argued that studying news translation in news agencies can ultimately contribute to understand comprehensively global communication and the precise way in which the global and the local become articulated (2010, p. 49).

2.4.2.3. *Decolonial and Postcolonial research*

This section will refer to my situatedness as researcher in general terms. In the words of Basberg and Neumann (2018), ‘situatedness’ is grounded in the researcher’s awareness of the context of research and in the situated self-awareness throughout the research process, while other scholars refer to the terms ‘positionality’ and ‘self-reflexivity’. In this research, the awareness of the context would refer both to the geographical location (Bolivia) and the place of news production (global news agencies). Furthermore, having already situated this research in a peripheral and non-mainstream context of origin, that is not disentangled from a globalized news production, it seems necessary to see through epistemological lenses that shape this understanding and the envisaged creation of knowledge.

This section briefly reviews theories originating in the aftermath of colonization when several countries gained independence from Europe. In general terms, the domain of social sciences offers

three options that would relate to the Latin American region: Postcolonial studies, Decolonial studies, and Epistemologies of the South (de Sousa Santos, 2021). While the Postcolonial approach has developed more in the context of social sciences in Asia and Africa, the Decolonial approach is most common in the Americas (Mignolo, 2010). The former was inspired by European thinkers (Derrida, Foucault, and Gramsci), whose main proponents were Said, Bhabha, and Spivak. The Decolonial approach was initially developed as a critical response to the postcolonial approach and put emphasis on the ‘return to the sources’, meaning local and subaltern voices across disciplines (*e.g.*, by Mariategui and Quijano, in Mignolo, p.17) and in more independence from universities in the ‘Global North’, a central criticism to Postcolonial approaches.

A third way—that is perhaps less known—concerns the proposal of Epistemologies of the South (ES). Like Decolonial studies, the ES denounces the ontological and cognitive destruction caused by coloniality (De Sousa Santos, 2021), yet this perspective focuses on the positiveness and creativity emerging from knowledges that originated in struggle. This paradigm posits the possibility of ‘interknowledge’ and ‘intercultural translation’. In Postcolonial and ES approaches, the metaphorical use of translation is common and does not refer to ‘translation proper’. In the *Location of culture*, Bhabha (1994) used ‘cultural translation’ to refer to immigrants that are ‘translated’ into a new community and in the context of his influential concepts ‘hybridity’ and ‘third space’ (Conway, 2012; 2020), while de Sousa Santos refers to ‘intercultural translation’ as to how ES scholars ‘translate’ themselves into alternative ways of knowing (2021).

More specifically within translation studies, the Decolonial approach has not been undertaken, while a Postcolonial one has been at the core of studies on the role of translation and former colonies to question the Eurocentric authority of translation (Brisset, 2010, Merrin, 2020). Contributions by Rafael and Niranjana (1993, 1992, respectively) reflect the first postcolonial studies on translation itself. Tymoczko (1999, 2007) has also written about oral traditions, marginalized literatures, postcoloniality and political agency, while considering translation in a globalizing world. Finally, much work about translation and culture draws on the above-mentioned notion of ‘cultural translation’ (Bhabha, 1994). Finally, the brothers Haroldo and Augusto de Campos contributed the perspective of anthropophagic translation as cannibalism in the context of Brazil (discussed by Vieira, 1999; Nobrega & Milton, 2009), which is often reviewed within critical and postcolonial approaches.

2.4.2.4. *Research in/about Latin America*

While studies on news translation have gained global momentum, it remains a minor field of research in/around the Latin American region. By focusing on the flow of global news, Bielsa and Bassnett (2009) contributed with research done at regional desks from the news agencies AFP and IPS in

Montevideo, Uruguay. Other studies were carried out by the History of Translation in Latin America research group (HISTAL) at the University of Montreal (Bastin, 2017) and considered both a historical and ideological perspective. Recently, a special issue by the Journal *Mutatis Mutandis Revista Latinoamericana de Traducción* (Navarro & Montoya-Arango, 2021) was devoted to Translation and Press in Latin America and the Caribbean region, which offered primarily historiographic and cultural perspectives, coupled with the application of critical discourse analysis. To the best of my knowledge, other studies on translation phenomena in the context of global news agencies focusing only in this region or specific countries within it have not yet been envisaged.

As for discourse studies in Latin America, a strong tradition exists in Argentina and Brazil. Nonetheless, De Melo claims that discourse studies must be decolonized, since only two approaches still dominate the field: the French and the English ones. She argues that decolonizing efforts should be threefold to decolonize: the knowledge and criticize existing theories and methods and situate them more adequately; the power of the creative act itself; and the being (2018, p.2).

Finally, communication and media scholars from Latin America that made evident the situatedness of their research have often contributed from cultural studies with an interdisciplinary perspective. Early contributions from Martin-Barbero (1998), Beltrán (2014), Mattelart (1999), Garcia Canclini (1997) proposing the paradigms of communicology of liberation, the communication-world and hybrid cultures, have brought into focus the relations of power, cultural consumption, and representation in mass media and pop-culture. As pointed out by Pertierra and Salazar (2021), speaking of Latin America as a region is not a simple construction with clear or closed boundaries, as the complexity to mark ‘where Latin America begins and ends’ is accompanied by distinguishing who is a Latin American scholar. Very often, scholars with foundational work have been trained outside ‘the physical spaces of Latin America’ (2021, p.3), which is my own case as a researcher.

2.5. Summary

The present chapter reviewed the existing scholarship on news translation and its intersections with discourse and communication studies, along with ethnographic approaches. Section 2.1. presented the consolidation of the subfield of news translation and a general categorization of the existing types of research; Section 2.2. discussed the crux of news translation with regards to concepts of translation studies that seem to be challenged when studying news translation; Section 2.3. dealt with the discursive dimension of translated news, focusing on translation and corpus studies; finally, Section 2.4. approached the contextual dimension of news translation research in terms of ethnography and the researcher’s own situatedness. Reviewing this wide-ranging scholarship was meant to illustrate the interdisciplinary nature of research on news translation.

Chapter 3. Multilingual news production through a kaleidoscope: *theoretical and methodological framework*

The present chapter describes the theoretical and methodological framework supporting this doctoral thesis and builds on the literature review discussing the translation of global news and its intersections to ethnographic research and corpus-assisted discourse studies (Chapter 2). I shall focus on the translational dimension to present its relationships with the contextual and discursive dimensions. The framework sets the basis for the subsequent analyses corresponding to each dimension and constitute the ‘kaleidoscopic’ artifact proposed to observe this interdisciplinary object of study in a versatile manner (as applied in Chapters 4-7).

Translation studies (TS) have been regarded as a ‘polydiscipline’ that is ‘pollinated’ (Gambier & Van Doorslaer, 2016, p.1) by neighbouring disciplines like linguistics or contrastive linguistics. TS has been characterized by its interdisciplinary or transdisciplinary nature, nonetheless the relationship between TS and other research disciplines is not always symmetric, since the latter seem more reluctant to acknowledge the existence of TS as an academic discipline (Valdeón, 2015).

This asymmetry is also found in News translation studies. Valdeón (2023) suggests that few scholars outside TS have tried to bridge the interdisciplinary gap, and when they do, the discussion tends to focus on specific concepts without engaging meaningfully with scholarship in TS. More particularly, when journalists discuss translation there is a tendency to treat it as a secondary or tertiary activity (ibid, p. 250). Davier (2022) claims that the word ‘translation’ is rejected in journalistic settings because translation is seen as a simple information transfer that does not involve adaptation to the target readership and is seen in a negative light. McLaughlin has characterized news translation as a ‘silent witness’ to relationships between peoples (2015, p.552). From behind the curtains, translation’s contribution to journalism throughout history cannot however be considered a minor one.

With the conviction that interdisciplinary studies are paramount to the development of knowledge, this framework centres on translation and combines views on translation from outside the field: ‘journalistic translation’ as seen from media studies and ‘cultural translation’ from anthropology, both proposed by scholars with expertise as news agency journalists/correspondents (applied in Chapters 5 and 6). This aims to illustrate how translation likens to the way journalists make sense of events and cultures to create news when exercising their profession, even though translation proper is not openly acknowledged and is conceived almost mechanically. These are introduced by ethnographic work and accompanied by the discursive dimension of multilingual news production (Chapters 4 and 7).

In this thesis, ‘multilingual’ news production is the cover term for the general phenomenon that is being studied: products and processes in multilingual news settings and in instances of concrete

multilingual textual contexts, *e.g.*, the interaction of Quechua/Aymara concepts, rendered in Spanish and French/English. ‘Trilingual’ is generally used to describe news coverage in Spanish, French, and English. ‘Bilingual’ is mostly used to contrast Spanish to any of the languages approached.

Research being a recursive process, this framework was developed gradually to analyse multilingual news production, an umbrella term that comprehends global news agencies’ processes and textual products across borders, languages, and cultures, as illustrated by the representation of Bolivia. Textual product refers to various news formats provided by news agencies: textual news dispatches, audio-visual news, captions of pictures, or multimodal short texts for diffusion through social media. It underscores that studying news translation is pivotal in the current times since significant volumes of news information from across the globe are translated daily to circulate (along with misinformation and disinformation) for consumption worldwide. The current international armed conflicts exemplify the complex and relevant role of translation/translators in producing international news, since multilingual news is promptly produced by global news agencies, primarily in English, about events and political issues originally conceived of in other languages¹.

This framework may seem complex, yet this is unavoidable since its different components attempt to achieve analytical depth to better understand this translational phenomenon, that lies behind the ‘monolingual façade’ (McLaughlin, 2011, p.114) of agency news production.

3.1 Theoretical grounds

3.1.1 General anchorage

In general terms, this research approaches multilingual news production from a translational and linguistic dimension, because it deals with the specifics of translation as a means of news production (Davier, 2017). It can be seen as pertaining to the cultural turn of TS, since it is descriptive, empirical, and target-oriented (Snell-Hornby, 2006). To understand in depth this complex object of study, interdisciplinarity requires ethnographic approaches (Flynn, 2010) to contextualize translational phenomena in the world of news. To a certain degree, this research could be seen as sociologically oriented (Wolf, 2010), since translation is viewed as a social practice. The newsworthiness of the represented themes is seen as a discursive construction (Bednarek & Caple, 2017).

While products and practices are observed extensively, the reception of multilingual news is beyond the scope of this research and is only transversally reflected upon. It would be important to examine how multilingual news production is received, yet impact of news production from these four global news agencies is to be seen worldwide, that would require different methods and data sets, which seems unattainable in the scope of this doctoral thesis.

¹ At the moment of writing, some of these languages are Arabic, Hebrew, Russian, and Ukrainian.

Above all, this research aims to be descriptive since it focuses on characterizing the existing translated product, its features, and the translation practices that made it possible within a specific professional domain, while it does not dwell on how it should have been translated or if renditions are accurate. Nonetheless, as a certain assessment basis is needed for analysis, the functional adequacy of news texts is considered (Reiss & Vermeer, 1984/2013) within the context of journalistic expertise of journalists/news translators and the news agencies themselves.

In general terms, this research is nurtured by Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS, Toury, 1995) and functionalist approaches of translation (Nord, 2010). DTS highlights the relevance of social and contextual factors that condition the linguistic and conceptual transfers across different languages and cultures, thus shaping the translated product. This approach is descriptive, explanatory, and interdisciplinary by nature. Functional approaches emphasize the purpose of texts and the value of the translators as experts within a specific social or institutional domain.

While translation and journalism work hand-in-hand in the context of global news agencies, translation often goes unacknowledged. Interlingual translation is mostly carried out in-house by editors or news translators (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009) and although it seems materially evident that they produce translations in the interlingual sense (van Rooyen, 2019), they are not referred to as translators. Thus, their audience seems to be unaware of these texts' origin in another language. The underlying question is how to define something that is not designated as such, but that fits its material and functional features. Given the reluctance to acknowledge these translations, the concept of 'assumed translations' might cover the textual transfers during multilingual news production as 'texts and phenomena that could plausibly be regarded as translational, but which were not' and were regarded as something else (Toury, 1995, p.27).

As Toury explains (1995, p.35), three postulates condition the existence of an 'assumed translation' for its study: it is regarded as any target-culture text that tentatively posits the existence of another text, in a different language and culture; that seemingly derives from previous transfer operations; and whose target and source texts are tied by certain relationships. Toury argues that there is no pretence of a fixed nature of translation, since it addresses the particularities of translation in specific places and conditions and what it may be *expected to be* (ibid, p.26, italics in the original). This involves the description of translational phenomena and possibly its prediction. It will be seen later that translated news dispatches accomplish these three postulates.

Within Functionalist approaches, Holz-Mänttari (1984) emphasizes that translatorial action as a professional action enables cooperative and functionally adequate communication across cultural barriers (Schäffner, 2012). In the context of global news agencies, a sequence of multiple journalists

contributes to producing specific news dispatches where the communicative aims of the news agency are pursued collectively and the products are multi-authored (examined extensively in Chapter 4).

Nord suggests that translated texts are expected to meet certain standards in terms of fidelity, functionality, and strangeness (or reception) in a particular culture and time. The relationship between the translation and its purpose (functionality) is central here since no common ‘translation code’ applies to all cultures (1991, p.92). As for the adequacy of translated news, the quality of multilingual products is likely measured by the presumed expectations of the global audience, where news translators/editors ensure quality according to journalistic conventions and institutional guidelines set by the agencies themselves, who act as translation commissioners (Reiss & Vermeer, 2013).

In this context, translation expertise is socially construed and negotiated (Risku & Schlager, 2021) within a news production chain. News translators as experts can be considered paraprofessional translators (Piekkari, Tietze & Koskinen, 2019), *i.e.* professionals in the field of journalism that act as translators. One might go further and claim that paraprofessional translators engage in translation activities alongside their recognized organizational role (Marais, 2022), those of editors or bilingual journalists (Schäffner, 2018), and are embedded in the organizational setting. Labelling their status as paraprofessionals underscores that although they may be considered non-professional translators, it does not mean they are not competent (Antonini & Bucaria, 2016).

Another important aspect within the functionalist approach is that of texts being conceived as offers of information that are made meaningful by the receivers (Reiss & Vermeer, 2013). In this sense, a translation offers information to a target-culture audience about a previous item of information offered to a source-culture audience (Nord, 2010). Within the news production chain, news editors receive the original versions and make meaning of the most relevant information, based on their expertise and the presumed expectations of their global clients, to transform it into a new information offer, that is distant or close to the original one (Rodriguez-Blanco, 2024b).

However, House suggests that a drawback of the functionalist approach is that it is not always operationalized: one may be left to hypothesize what the text function is and to pinpoint the text real-world effect (2015, p.11). Moreover, Bielsa and Bassnett have suggested that what translated news texts pursue is an ‘equivalent effect’ (2009, p.8).

Taking a step further into the function of translated news, early scholarship suggests that news translation being ‘doubly invisible’, it is also characterised by a high degree of transformation and rewriting aimed at producing texts that function as news for widely different publics, rather than ‘faithfulness to an original’ (Bielsa, 2010, p.48). While I agree with their attempted broad functionality, I consider that the functionality of translated news is characterized by distant and close renditions altogether (*e.g., transformation vs. faithfulness*), not solely distance, based on evidence found in this

thesis and other studies (Rodriguez-Blanco, 2024b). In other words, translated news function globally whether they present a high degree of transformation or not, since it is through the expertise of news translators and of the agencies themselves that a balance is found between the two extremes, depending on specific priorities of their global audience.

This is crucial since a considerable amount of translated agency news coverage analysed here seems at odds with the expected high degree of intervention commonly found in news translation studies, as it will be seen throughout the analytical chapters (especially in Chapter 6). While transformation or distance exists, it appears to happen at the textual local level and not to apply to whole items, especially with cultural themes. Closeness does indeed seem to characterize the translation of cultural news items that may be challenging for news translators due to their high cultural specificity. When considering political news coverage, more distant renditions can be found in the topical redistribution of information blocks, along with information added, often resulting from patchwork (Davier, 2017) or cumulative news writing (examined in detail in Chapter 5). As suggested by Bielsa (2010), this can shift the news angle from which events are portrayed.

This comprehensive view of closeness and distance in translated news is aimed to raise awareness of practices beyond high variation exclusively, *i.e.*, those cases where substantial rewriting exists and translation may play a minimal role. Such a view might add to the concept of translation being a merely linguistic transformation task, often to be found in news agencies handbooks (as seen in Chapter 4). Instead, a comprehensive view of news translation entails the combination of close and distant renditions within a continuum, as a purposeful balance to save time, avoid risks of factual inaccuracies, keep the local ‘colour’ (Palmer, 1998) and cope with the clients’ expectations, where journalists and translators are experts of the linguistic services they render.

This thesis concentrates on the textual dimension to support the identification of broad ranging translational practices in journalism and recognise the value of news translator’s work. The overlapping of translational and journalistic practices has been labelled as ‘transediting’, combining translation and editing (Stetting, 1989; and applied amongst others by Hursti, 2001; van Doorslaer, 2009). At a different context and time, this term aimed to raise awareness of translation as broader than the reproduction of source texts. However, ‘transediting’ is not applied to this framework since I consider that adding new labels may reinforce a general narrow understanding of translation. I conceive of translation as being wide enough to account for the diversity of translation practices in newswriting, as suggested by other scholars (Schäffner, 2012; Davier, 2017)

The case of translated news products about Bolivia illustrates only one example of non-mainstream locales, understood as places that are not central for global news agencies as compared to their regional context, but that are part of their global structure of news production. Consequently, these locations

may not be a priority in the time-schedule of agency news translators/editors, given that news dispatches from other countries are deemed more relevant to the subscribing clients, broadly speaking, about routine news production. Falling behind in the priorities, once the news translator works on such dispatches, s/he might be faced with little time to cope with the specifics of culture and politics, then deciding as a general strategy to take a more literal translation. Ethnographic work provides valuable insights on these working dynamics (seen in Chapter 4), which is complementary to the text analysis (Chapters 5 and 6).

This interdisciplinary framework aims to contribute to future studies on similar contexts of news production, such as the Global South. As suggested by Tymozcko (2018), cross-cultural perspectives considering a broader range of datasets and interpretive hypotheses (Chesterman, 2013) than the ones that have dominated TS are essential to evolve our understanding of translational phenomena.

3.1.2. Transversal definitions

Having described the general framework, defining transversal concepts is in order, starting with equivalence, since any description of translation bases on equivalence, implicitly or explicitly, by its contrastive nature. Equivalence is seen as a descriptive concept (Assis Rosa, 2010), an analytical tool that is motivated and conditioned by the context of text production. House suggests that the relationship of translation equivalence is not only about source-target texts, but a 'functional relational notion' (2015, p.12). Thus, translation equivalence is not only inescapable, but necessary to understand comprehensively what equates to what in a context as fluid and challenging as news translation.

As stated in the prior section, DTS considers how target and source texts relate within determined circumstances, equivalence being a central relationship (Assis Rosa, 2010). When reading the international news section in printed newspapers or printed books, the reader is confronted with one version of the text: the hard copy being read. Instead, when reading international news online, at least two types of relationship arise, related to the shifting paradigm of co-existence of source-target texts.

First, the multilingual versions of news dispatches are made available almost simultaneously to media clients and platforms, who purchase and publish them in their language of preference, in some cases even on the news agencies' websites (which does not mean that all news coverage is directly accessible to the individual reader). Second, these multilingual versions are also related to previous texts about the same topic/event (and often 'suggested' by inserted hyperlinks), that may recycle paragraphs from one another as a cumulative writing practice (discussed further in Chapter 5).

This co-existence of related texts makes the source text less central, which is consequently 'dethroned' (Nord, 2018 p. 110), allowing for a flexible understanding of translation. Similarly, other scholars point out that the 'unique source text has collapsed' (Davies & van Doorslaer 2018, 242) in

the context of news translation. I would argue that source texts being ‘dethroned’ or ‘collapsed’ does not necessarily mean they do not exist, but shape the type of co-existing relationship in the virtual space, as a rewriting of an already pluralized ‘original’ (Baker in Baer, 2016), especially considering that both closeness and distance characterize the translated news here analysed.

Zanettin suggests (2021) that theories conceived for studying religious and literary translation do not offer adequate conceptual and methodological tools to news translation research. Then, the diversification of texts in news translation has potential to lead to innovation of the analytical tools and methods developed thus far in TS.

Moving to the context, author, and audience of news translation, global news agencies have been considered as part of the first multinational corporations (Bielsa, 2010) and described as central agents of globalisation (Boyd-Barrett & Rantanen, 1998). These media organizations have successfully used translation to maximise their markets throughout the last 160 years and inherent technological evolution. In this context, multilingual news travel from the local to the regional and the global, to then become local again when reproduced by worldwide media clients. In such a complex process of news production, global news agencies are not only the *where*, but also the *who*, since agency news dispatches are most commonly acknowledged to the agency itself and not the (chain of) journalists producing them. Chapter 4 takes an ethnographic perspective and a documentary review of news agencies’ handbooks to shed light on these matters. The findings suggest not merely the usefulness of an interdisciplinary research approach, but the need for it.

This relates to the imagined audience that is targeted, conceived as an abstract collectivity that is located beyond boundaries of nations and cultures. Coddington et al. argue that communicators develop an imagined audience in the absence of a tangible understanding of the precise audience (2021), which is likely the case of a global one.

When analysing multilingual news production, we deal with the expectations of the news agencies and journalists towards an imagined audience. These expectations are to be considered as constructs of newsworthiness about specific events and issues. For this purpose, Discourse News Values Analysis (Bednarek & Caple, 2017) are transversal to the theoretical understanding of journalistic discourse. Bednarek points out that DNVA aims to comprehensively analyse ‘what values are emphasised or deemphasised in news stories’; and to identify ‘how news values are constructed linguistically’ (Bednarek, 2016, p. 31). Caimotto and Gaspari suggest the usefulness of relating DNVA and translation to establish the *Skopos*—purpose—of translated texts (2018, p. 212), that would derive from prioritizing different news values.

Finally, Jakobson’s tripartite division of translation (1959) guided transversally this research project because of its versatility and simplicity. Conceiving ‘Translation’ as a superordinate of

intralingual, interlingual, and intersemiotic translation acts seems relevant still today, especially, in the flexible nature of multilingual news production. This tripartite has taken different shapes in this kaleidoscopic framework and further remarks will be addressed in the analyses (Chapters 5-7).

3.2 Conceptualizing News translation

With this theoretical background in mind, I shall now refer to the ensemble of concepts that guided the study of translation in multilingual news production. To study the breadth of this phenomenon, the label of *News translation* stands in a superordinate position and encompasses four elements that work as the lenses through which each dimension was examined, as can be seen in figure 3.1. While these elements have their own objective and focus, the overlapping spaces illustrate the flexibility provided by this framework. A researcher can focus on one element or combine several ones.

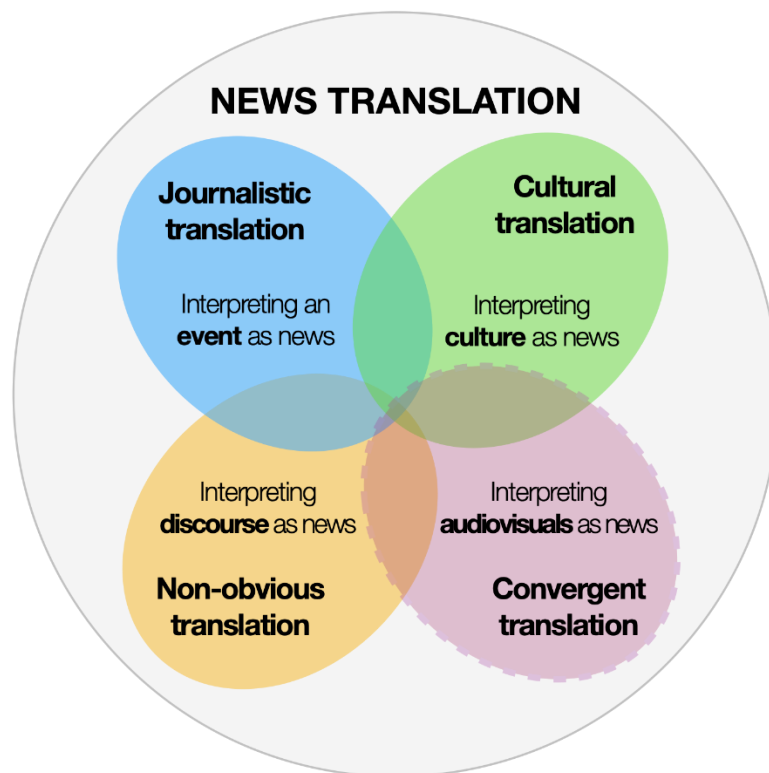


Fig. 3.1. News translation through a kaleidoscope

The following subsections describe how these concepts were applied to each analytical case study in dedicated chapters. The first two concepts, *Journalistic translation* and *Cultural translation* (Chapters 5 and 6), are taken from outside translation studies in order to enhance the understanding of the phenomenon with an interdisciplinary intent. The third and fourth ones, *Non-obvious translations* and *Convergent translation* (Chapters 4 and 7), are adaptations from discursive and translation theoretical paradigms. They are examined in more detail in the following four sections.

3.2.1. Journalistic translation

The metaphorical notion of ‘Traduction journalistique’ (Lagneau, 2007) refers, from a journalistic and sociological perspective, to the way in which an event is ‘translated’, ordered and put in conventional journalistic formats for a suitable production and dissemination by global news agencies. This concept served as an umbrella to observe the interpretation of a sequence of micro-events that constitute a dossier (Laville, 2007) of trilingual electoral news coverage (Chapter 5).

The translational relationship between the trilingual news coverage was seen in terms of topical redistribution of whole texts, accounting for the types of Complete, Abridged, and Blended translational relationship as a continuum. These were adapted from the typology of *Transcultural transfers* (Hernandez Guerrero, 2010), that accounts originally for Complete, Partial, and Rewriting translations. In both typologies, Complete translations refer to cases where all informative blocks in the translated news dispatch derive from one identified source and that, within those blocks, translation seems to be very close to the source, following the same word order and carrying only small changes to adapt to the target linguistic system. Similarly, Abridged or Partial transfers render most informative blocks while leaving some segments out, with the difference that Abridged does not account for added information, as Partial does. Most variation in these typologies is observed in the pair Blended and Rewriting. While Blended accounts for an identified source that is mostly rendered, reordering and additions from previous news dispatches occur. Instead, Rewriting accounts for translations where most information seems to be new.

The category of Blended translation is where more distance occurs, thus allowing to observe further the existing recontextualization of political discourse (Schäffner, 2010) and cumulative news writing or patchwork (Davier, 2015), a common practice in news agencies that recycle segments from previous dispatches, intra- or interlingually. Recontextualizations and patchwork are regarded as a means to enhance the functionality of the translated news dispatches.

3.2.2. Cultural translation

Borrowed from the adjoining fields of anthropology and communication studies, the notion of ‘Cultural translation’ is proposed here metaphorically in principle. This notion refers here to how agency news workers deal with ‘difficulties of comprehension, problems of cultural translation’ (Hannerz, 1996, p.118). This is the basis for the analysis of news coverage treating culturally ingrained themes, in which the pertinence of the label ‘Cultural translation’ is questioned (in Chapter 6).

Seeing it from translation studies, Conway defines Cultural translation as the way in which members of another community explain an object or event (2012). For Maitland (2017), Cultural translation in interlingual translation seeks to create difference and not to overcome it. In her research

on translation and religion, Israel (2019) argues that translation can be understood as a description of other cultures to create identity or justify the assumptions about one. In the three cases, translating culture seemingly underscores difference towards the Other in order to comprehend it. Thus, one would expect that texts do not lose their cultural essence and distinctiveness when translated.

Initially conceived of to study literary translation (Venuti, 1995), the domestication/acculturation vs. foreignization dichotomy has often been applied to news translation studies (Scammell, 2018). However, this approach might not fit the needs for analysing this type of translated news, due to the combination of diverse translation practices here, which seemingly escape exact binarism and because of the short length of news dispatches as opposed to literary works. Instead, it is proposed to characterize the translation of culture in the news within a continuum of closeness and distance (Rodriguez-Blanco, 2024b) to analyse comprehensively the linguistic and cultural transfers. Closeness refers to translations where most information is rendered in an almost literal manner, following the same word order. Distance refers to renditions where more variation occurs, yet these remain minor and do not amount to what would be considered domesticating or acculturating.

This continuum between closeness and distance is applied with the typology of Transcultural transfers in news production (Hernandez Guerrero, 2010) as whole items, which covers Complete, Partial or Rewriting translation types. This is complemented by observing Translation techniques, understood as translation solutions that are applied ‘functionally and dynamically’ (Molina & Hurtado Albir, 2002, p.509). ‘Translation technique’ is an instrument for textual analysis that ‘allows us to study how translation equivalence works’ in relation to the original text’ (ibid. 2002, pp. 498), and that can be combined with other instruments. As in a DTS perspective, the analysis is done retrospectively, meaning that one focuses on the target versions (the ones in French or English) and the segments appearing in the translated versions are traced back to their origins (in Spanish) for analysis.

The focus on Translation techniques aims to examine the translated versions at the local level to account comprehensively for both closeness and distance. The 18 techniques proposed by Molina and Hurtado Albir (2002) are adaptation, amplification, borrowing, calque, compensation, description, discursive creation, established equivalent, generalization, linguistic amplification, linguistic compression, literal translation, modulation, particularization, reduction, substitution, transposition and variation. Analysing translation techniques is meant to contribute possible clarification to the terminological overlap found in earlier scholarship (Gambier, 2010; Hernandez Guerrero, 2021) concerning translation strategies, techniques, procedures, and methods.

This case focuses on *realia* or culture specific items, which seem to be challenging for news translators given the importance of such notions in the linguacultures (Risager, 2013) of Quechua and Aymara. The complexity to translate such *realia* does not only concern the cultural intricacies, but also

the existence of a multilingual relationship between these two indigenous languages, Spanish, and English. The translation of *realia* was previously studied mainly in terms of strategies (Leppihalme, 2010, Chaal, 2019; Davier, 2015; Scammel 2019; Schäffner, 2018). Instead, the focus on techniques has not been central, Loupaki (2010) being an exception that also proposes a comprehensive view of the workings of translation by means of literal translation, neutralization, omission, addition, and explicitation (Rodriguez-Blanco, 2024b).

3.2.3. Non-obvious translation

Chapter 7 shifts the focus from translation when contrasting whole news items, to the way the target texts represent cultures in media coverage. Seen from a translational perspective, it falls into cross-cultural research, since the relationship between source-target texts is not expressly sought (Davier & van Doorslaer, 2018; Zanettin, 2021). By employing a corpus perspective, these texts are to be read vertically, scanning for repeated patterns, going beyond the horizontal reading (Tognini Bonelli, 2001) that characterized the previous chapters.

The discursive dimension of news translation is brought to the fore to explore the construction of newsworthiness via linguistic devices (Bednarek & Caple, 2017), at the textual local level. The concept of ‘non-obvious meaning’ (Partington et al, 2013), taken from corpus-assisted discourse studies (CaDS), refers to meaning that might not be readily available to the naked eye. This is adapted as *non-obvious renditions* to account for repeated linguistic items that are emphasised in the translated versions (in English), whose meaning is not evident either and likely enhance newsworthiness when emphasized. Non-obvious renditions are explored alongside the concept of ‘big details’ (Vandaele, 2023), which emerges from the examination of translation and ideology, to account for translation shifts that may be infrequent, but might have larger consequences in the translated texts discursively.

As a methodological combination of corpus linguistics and discourse analysis, CaDS is defined as a subset of corpus linguistics that studies the form and/or function of language ‘as *communicative discourse* which incorporates the use of computerised corpora in their analyses’ (Partington, Duguid, & Taylor, 2013, p.10, emphasis in the original). This aims to achieve ‘greater soundness and breadth in [the] research’ (Taylor & Marchi, 2018, p.5), an epistemological choice that takes the form of a Cross-CaDS as an intersection to translation studies (Taylor & Del Fante, 2020).

These concepts are applied in bilingual study corpora dealing with electoral news coverage about Bolivia to identify linguistic patterns in the translated versions and then corroborated in bilingual reference corpora taken as comparable non-translated texts in the target language (Bernardini, 2022). Two-phase analyses are commonly found in CaDS studies and designed in an incremental manner: this one starts at the level of frequent words and collocations, and increases the length of analytical

units through concordances to examine further the behaviour of the identified linguistic devices. This behaviour is examined in terms of their semantic preference, within sets of related words, and semantic prosody, relying on collocative clashes (Baker & Ellice, 2011; Bednarek, 2008; Sinclair, 2004). For this, positive and negative evaluation is sought as the expressions of the writer's stance towards the matter that is being treated (Thompson & Hunston, 2000).

3.2.4. Convergent translation

It was noted earlier in this thesis that global news agencies have diversified their news production, from their traditional provision of 'wires' as text news dispatches only, to photo and video services as well. Also, their traditional role of news 'wholesalers' (Boyd-Barrett & Rantanen, 1998), that relied exclusively on media retail clients for news distribution, has partly shifted into forms of direct outreach to the general audience, especially via social media platforms. Both aspects can be seen from the paradigm of media convergence in journalism. In their application of 'Convergence' to multilingual news production, Davier and Conway suggest that this is 'more than an empty shell' (2019, p.3) that incorporates technological aspects and processes of news production.

Convergence has been referred to as 'multiple-platform publishing' or 'cross-media production' (Quandt, 2008; Larrondo et al., 2016, in Davier & Conway, 2019) and even that it is 'the inevitable result of changing media environment' (Carey & Carey, 2022, p.404). Ultimately, it refers to the news organizations' needs to repurpose content for multiple media to tailor the content to the features of varied media and meet the customer needs. Since the convergence paradigm has prompted these diversified textual layouts of news, it seems relevant to reflect on the place of translation in convergent contexts of multilingual news production and whether the above-mentioned changes shift the role of news translation/translators and their visibility.

A brief reflection on 'convergent translation' will be provided along with the ethnographic account as a description of audio-visual products. This has two main purposes: first, to underscore the textual component of news production as a basis for other types of news, where text takes various shapes that evolve permanently. Second, to characterize the place of translation in these varied modes of news production, by means of the central concepts that support the remaining analytical chapters. The fact that convergent translation is not the object of a fully-fledged presentation in this thesis does not diminish its value. On the contrary, the room afforded to precise descriptions open the view onto future research focusing on the coexistence of multilingual and multimodal news coverage. As Carey and Carey argue (2022), writing is no less important than it was in the past, but writing for multiple media is today a prerequisite for professional journalists.

To understand better media convergence further definitions are needed. Carey and Carey suggest that three cornerstones of convergence are business consolidation (efficient news production within wide media properties), technological integration of media (type of devices that provide text, music, graphics, videos, etc.), and the merging of services (news stories provided in multiple formats). Paraphrasing Jenkins (2006), Convergence alters how technologies, industries, markets, genres, and audiences relate and the logic by which media organizations function and by which media consumers interpret news and entertainment, as a process of coexistence and intersection (Zanettin, 2021) between media systems. Thus, media convergence implies a shift in the journalists' mindset since they must reflect multimedially and plan the repurposing of content across platforms (Carey & Carey, 2022). In the converged media environment, this new mindset implies considering that news consumers are more active and responsive, mainly on social media platforms. These represent an opportunity and a competitor for news organizations (ibid.) as diverse audiences rely on them to consume news.

In such a flexible multilingual news production setting, the translation tripartite division (Jakobson, 1959) is seen as all-encompassing because translation proper not only exists, but also takes the shape of interlingual and intersemiotic translation, as diversified multilingual news products are materialized in subtitles, voice-over, narrative captions, photo captions or infographics. Moreover, this will likely bring together the 'journalistic translation' (Lagneau, 2007) and 'cultural translation' (Hannerz, 1996) as interpretations of events/cultures that are worthy of becoming international news.

Aragrande proposes a 'convergent framework' (2019, p.42) to study multilingualism in audio-visual news, arguing that such a framework responds to a methodological demand for more flexible research in news translation studies. This is in line with the kaleidoscopic view proposed in the present work to harness the potential of interdisciplinary synergies.

Figure 3.1. illustrates 'convergent translation' as one of the four types of news translation with broken lines, while the remaining three have solid lines. On the one hand, this aims to show that convergence is equal in hierarchy to the three other components. On the other hand, it displays that it has been treated differently here, in the sense that it was taken as a complement to the ethnographic findings to expose the flexibility of multilingual news products and its potential to pinpoint more precisely the location of translation, in Chapter 4.

For this, descriptions of two news types will be provided. First, audio-visual bilingual news coverage concerning a bi-national dispute on national dances serves to describe audio-visual translation in subtitles, voice-over, and narrative captions (*i.e.*, the type of captions that are embedded in short news videos as the narration of the event unfolds and which seem a regular format in news agencies products, label that is proposed in this work). Second, photos and its corresponding captions

taken from the news set informing chapter 7, treating the discursive dimension, will serve as examples of visual distance and closeness in translated news dispatches.

Finally, it is worth recalling that paratextual evidence (Batchelor, 2018) is central to understanding the genesis of news production. This type of evidence becomes particularly relevant in this description since excerpts from bilingual news dispatches appear to act as gateways in social media platforms so that the reader can later access the whole news product, be this of textual or audio-visual nature.

3.3. Methods

This section presents, albeit briefly, concrete methodological aspects that constitute this framework, since its theoretical grounding was already presented and it is applied to the next analytical chapters.

3.3.1. General

This thesis applies mixed methods, where the combination of different methods and datasets is needed due to the uncertainty of the status of the producers and products being analysed, namely what “the” author, translator, text, and translation are (Davies & van Doorslaer, 2018: 254). The aim is to triangulate text analysis of translated news with corpus assisted discourse analysis and workplace ethnography (ibid.), to contribute a better understanding of the views and values of the journalists.

Triangulation, then, refers to using multiple methods to secure an in-depth understanding (Denzin, 2012) of the phenomenon under examination, by gathering and analysing empirical evidence from different angles. Taking a step further, Richardson (1998) and Ellingson (2011) have contested ‘triangulation’ by considering it a narrow understanding of research that employs different methods to validate findings. Richardson claims that triangulation implies a ‘fixed point’ (1998 p. 1416), while incorporating multiple text genres involves recognizing that far more than ‘three sides’ exist. Then, ‘we do not triangulate; we crystallize’ (ibid.). She proposes that the central concept is not the triangle—understood as a rigid, two-dimensional object—rather, it is a crystal or prism that reflects externalities and refracts within itself, creating different patterns and projecting in different directions.

This research framework proposes the image of the kaleidoscope, since it acknowledges the relevance of including several perspectives to achieve in-depth understanding—as a triangulation—and dethrones the three fixed perspectives—as a crystallization. This perspective enables a versatile artifact that employs different lenses through which one can approach one object at a time without losing perspective of the other ones that equally constitute the whole object. Also, etymologically *kaleidoscope* carries the root *skopein* in Greek as ‘look at’ or an instrument to observe, which matches the root of *skopos*, the functional theory that is central to this translational framework.

3.3.2. Multilingual news sets

Moving on to the specifics of the datasets informing this thesis, four criteria were preestablished to select the data, *time-frame*, *language*, *taxonomy*, and *topic*, which are summarized in *Table 3.2.*, along with the global news agencies and the amount of news dispatches considered. Further descriptions are provided in the corresponding analytical chapters (4-7), as this section describes the overall methodological anchorage.

Clearly defining the typology and taxonomy of news coverage for analysis can be confusing, since several types of categorizations exist (see Trilling & van Hoof, 2020, Sterling, 2009), as reviewed in Chapter 2. Because of this complexity, I defined the period for selecting the news dispatches, in the overall, as comprehending 12 months that from January until December 2020². Focusing on specific case studies, each analytical chapter delimited a shorter time-frame (one week, one month, or two months representing specific peaks of news production).

CRITERIA	Chapter – <i>central case studies</i>		
	Chapter 5 - CS1	Chapter 6 - CS2	Chapter 7 - CS3
Time-frame	14.10.2020 - 20.10.2020	21.01.2020 - 09.11.2020	25.09.2020 - 24.10.2020
Topic	Political - electoral	Cultural - faith	Political – socioeconomic
Taxonomy	Hard news	Soft news	Hard news
Language	Trilingual (ES/FR/EN)	Bilingual (ES/EN)	Bilingual (ES/EN)
Global news agency (GNA)	1 GNA: AFP	3GNAs: AP, EFE, RTR	4 GNAs: AFP, AP, EFE, RTR
Amount	6 triplets (18 texts)	6 pairs (12 texts)	24 pairs (48 texts)
Total: 78 texts			

Table 3.2. Summary of news dispatches by *time-frame*, *topic*, *taxonomy*, *language*, and *global news agency*

An additional study was carried out to examine audio-visual news production. It follows the same criteria described above and considers bilingual news coverage published in 2021 (one month).

Additional case study: Chapter 4, CS4					
<i>Time-frame:</i> 01.05.2021 – 31.05.2021	<i>Topic:</i> Cultural - heritage	<i>Taxonomy:</i> Soft news (audio-visuals)	<i>Language:</i> Bilingual (ES/EN)	<i>2 GNAs:</i> AFP, RTR	<i>Amount:</i> 7 videos/texts

Table 3.2.1. Selection criteria for additional case study

The multilingual news coverage was approached based on ‘topics’ as thematic areas that can, first, encompass multiple events and, second, where the taxonomies of hard news (spot and developing news), soft news, or full summaries can fall. Each case study dealt with one broad topic: political (focusing on electoral or socioeconomic matters) or cultural (faith or national heritage).

² While I present the 12 months time-frame, covering the analytical chapters from 2020 (5-7), the study on audiovisual news coverage is from 2021, which is only included in chapter 4 as an illustration of the contemporary dissemination of multilingual news via social media and does not amount to a proper analytical chapter. The full case study was presented at the Conference “Les Fêtes dans les Amériques: histoires, pratiques, politiques” (2022, Univ. Sorbonne, Inalco, Inst. des Amériques).

The third selection criterion refers to language. Each case study contrasted news coverage originally conceived in Spanish and its translations: one dealing with French and English (trilingual) and three dealing with English (bilingual).

Once the available news sets were found, another aspect considered in the design of case studies concerned the news agencies involved. The first case study deals with coverage from one agency (AFP in trilingual mode); the second one with three agencies (AP, EFE, and RTR, in bilingual mode); the third one with all agencies studied in the thesis (AFP, AP, EFE, and RTR, in bilingual mode); and the additional one with two agencies (AFP and RTR, bilingual and multimodal).

The total amount of selected news dispatches is 78 texts, in Spanish, French and English. These were analysed according to each case study as described earlier and in the corresponding chapters. All news dispatches can be found in Annex 1. The resulting corpora are heterogeneous in nature: the bilingual corpora dealing with cultural news can be considered parallel (Chapter 6), since a clear ST-TT alignment can be performed, while the ones dealing with political matters are comparable (Chapter 5), since a ST-TT alignment is less obvious. One case study combines bilingual study and reference corpora (Chapter 7). The reference corpora could be called ‘monolingual parallel corpus’ (Granger, 2003, p. 20), consisting of translated and originally produced dispatches in English.

Similar heterogeneity exists at the level of language: the first case study is trilingual, the second, third and fourth are bilingual. The analytical focus in the first and second is on all languages involved, while in the third and fourth it is on English, meaning the translated versions. Less asymmetry in the corpus design exists in the topical balance between cultural and political news sets, each studied twice.

Nexis Uni database was used to access this news coverage (formerly known as Lexis Nexis) and the websites of global news agencies were consulted to find out if related news coverage existed and corroborate findings from Nexis Uni, every time possible. Furthermore, social media of the news agencies were consulted to have a gist of the way in which they disseminate their contents, via Twitter (currently ‘X’), Facebook and YouTube, in the case of audio-visual news production.

3.3.3. Studying the selected multilingual news sets

This subsection describes specific methodological matters that were required to approach the selected datasets throughout the case studies, concerning paratextual evidence (Batchelor, 2018), framing devices (Tankard, 2001), and glosses to read the multilingual analyses.

First, paratextual evidence is examined to establish translational relationships between the news sets, *e.g.*, datelines, bylines (or initials), and precise hours of publication. Originally conceived for literary studies, paratexts (Genette, 1997) refer to ‘thresholds’ surrounding texts. This evidence serves to access the texts and its subsequent contrastive analysis, and to corroborate the evidence found in the

ethnographic work, especially to understand the flow of news dispatches within the comprehensive structure of news agencies. Using paratexts thoroughly for each news agency at a time was highly insightful, rather than crossing them over the four agencies (described in chapters 4 and 5).

As translated news dispatches are not acknowledged as such, the general reader is unable to collate target versions towards the source ones (Hernandez Guerrero, 2010). The value of examining thoroughly sets of paratextual elements relies chiefly on bringing together small and isolated paratexts to shed light on the genesis of the multilingual news production as a whole process.

The second methodological matter refers to the textual segments used to analyse the selected datasets. Relying on the concept of 'frame' (Goffman, 1974) to approach how an event is represented by emphasizing some elements above others (Vreese, 2005) and where certain parts of news texts are focal points that concentrate frames, Tankard proposed a typology of framing devices to identify news frames (2010). This was adapted in this work to support the selection of nodal textual elements, that comprehend *headlines, subheads, leads, quotations, and closing statements*. Chapters 5 to 7 examine these framing nodes, particularly, headlines, lead, and quotations.

Referring to Chapter 7, it focuses specifically on the discursive dimensions of translated news and builds on study and reference corpora in a two-phase methodology. The textual segments analysed emerge from exploring the study corpora, which comprehends news dispatches in Spanish and English selected based on the general criteria applied in the thesis. Exploratory findings are corroborated by means of reference corpora, specifically the JSI Timestamped 2014-2022 corpora in Spanish and English, hosted on the SketchEngine platform.

A third matter refers to the glosses provided throughout the analyses of the translated segments, which are all provided by Google Translate in order to be consistent and as impartial as possible, so that the reader can compare the results, if needed.

3.3.4. Ethnographic work

Having already presented the relevance of ethnographic work to better understand the role of translation in the context of global news agencies in the theoretical section of this chapter, I shall now refer to methodological aspects of this endeavour, Chapter 4 is instead entirely dedicated to the findings of ethnographic analysis. 11 journalists³ from the four global news agencies agreed to collaborate with this research by answering a questionnaire during interviews in presence, online video calls, phone

³ Regional journalists from the BBC, CNN, El País, and El Ciudadano also kindly collaborated in informal interviews to guide my understanding of the multilingual news production process, the representation of Bolivia and the South-American region and of their perception of translation. Their answers are not reported here since these media do not fall in the category of global news agency.

calls, Whatsapp audios, or in writing via email. They were all contacted via institutional mail and agreed in writing to collaborate.

To guarantee the anonymity of the journalists interviewed and their personal and occupational safety, *Tables 3.3.* and *3.4* report the essential information relevant to understand the location and status of the participants, the news agency they belong to and methodological aspects concerning dates, languages, mode of interview, and number of minutes or words in the case of written responses.

Agency	Type of desk	Agency	Type of desk
AFP	Local, subregional, regional	EFE	Local
AP	Local, regional, central	RTR	Local

Table 3.3. Participants according to Global news agency and type of desk they belong to

Table 3.3. shows that insights from every global news agency were gathered from the perspective of journalists located at the local, subregional, regional, and central desks, to achieve the most comprehensive view possible. Additionally, *Table 3.4.* shows the interview number, the corresponding code (reported in Chapter 4) and dates, the function of the journalist, the language and interview mode, with the duration in minutes or in words in the case of written responses.

Code	Date	Function	Language	Mode	Minutes /words
<i>Int.1</i>	16.12.2020 & 20.02.2021	Regional editor	Spanish	Email, phone interview	48:12 mins.
<i>Int.2</i>	23.01.2021	Chief editor	English	Email, written responses	382 words
<i>Int.3</i>	10.04.2021	Correspondent	Spanish	Email, written responses	1207 words
<i>Int.4</i>	23.07.2021	Correspondent	Spanish	Email, 15 audio messages	22:15 mins.
<i>Int.5</i>	24.02.2022	Desk editor	Spanish	Email, chats, phone interview	67 mins.
<i>Int.6</i>	01.04.2022	Correspondent	Spanish	Email, chats, in person interview	99 mins.
<i>Int.7</i>	01.04.2022	Correspondent	Spanish	Email, in person interview	68 mins.
<i>Int.8</i>	04.04.22	Stringer	Spanish	Email, chats, phone interview	55:05 mins.
<i>Int.9</i>	09.07.2022	Desk editor	French	Email, written responses, and video interview	75 mins. +1186 words
<i>Int.10</i>	23.08.2022	Stringer	English	Email, chats, in person interview	64 mins.
<i>Int.11</i>	13.01.2023	Correspondent, deputy regional editor	Spanish	Email, video interview	84 mins.
Total: 11 interviewed journalists in 7hrs 42mins 33secs and 2775 words of written responses					

Table 3.4. Interview number, date, journalistic function, interview language and mode, minutes/words

A wide variety of journalists statuses was considered (*e.g.*, chief/regional editor, desk editor, correspondent, stringer) in more than seven hours of interviews. During interviews note taking was crucial. After the interviews, notes were partially transcribed with automatic tools (such as Transkript) and the transcriptions were then refined manually, triangulating the most relevant information with the notes to establish broad categories. To report the data, responses were manually categorized as: journalists' role (official and actual tasks), profile (and skills for the job), journalistic and news values, teams, relevant topics, imagined audience, perceptions on language and on translation, valid sources, workflow within news agency, competing media, presence of news agencies, specificities about Bolivia/the Latin American region, cultural and political intricacies.

3.4. Conclusions

The present chapter had the purpose to bring together the theoretical and methodological framework that was needed to study the multilingual news production by global news agencies from a translational perspective and nurtured by journalistic, discursive, and ethnographic approaches. To be versatile and sound enough to cover such different, yet complementary components, it is devised as a kaleidoscopic artifact that allows the researcher to focus on one or more elements at a time, without losing sight of the remaining elements that compose such a complex translation phenomenon.

This research is first and foremost motivated by a descriptive and functionalist translational approach to highlight the social and contextual factors that influence and condition the transfer of meanings between languages and cultures, in this case, via translated news produced by global news agencies. Informed by political and cultural multilingual news sets, the framework intends to describe how translation works in news settings concentrating on the purpose of the products and the producers.

Moreover, since translation is here conceived as a dynamic process, this framework is interdisciplinary in nature, therefore concepts from the disciplines of journalism, anthropology, and corpus linguistics set the base of the analytical chapters and regard 'journalistic translation', 'cultural translation', 'non-obvious meanings' and 'convergent translation'. Their pertinence is gauged by applying them through a translational lens.

Caimotto and Gaspari suggest that the boundary that separates translation studies from corpus-based comparative studies 'appears to be between texts and discourses' (2018, p. 213), the first discipline focusing on texts and the latter on discourse. However, this apparent boundary separating the analysis of texts from discourse becomes blurred if the important cultural and linguistic mediation which has characterized news translation is considered. This underscores the relevance of converging complementary approaches.

This basis allows for furthering the analysis at the textual level, by focusing on transcultural transfers to have a gist of the type of translational relationship (as complete, partial, or rewriting), and of the amount of translated information, and ultimately, to trace the genealogy of the multilingual sets. A closer analysis is done by looking at translation techniques to characterize translation as closeness and distance, understood as a continuum of translational practices.

By looking at the discursive dimension of news translation with a corpus approach, the relationship between source and target texts is not expressly sought, rather the way in which translated texts represent a country and act by means of discursive patterns and non-obvious renditions. As Davier argues ‘writing and translating is acting culturally and socially’ (2017, p. 10, my translation).

This framework equally integrates an ethnographic approach to better understand the context where multilingual news production happens and the agents that produce it. This contextual perspective does not only encompass the actual textual journalistic processes, but also the institutional and geographical contexts that condition the production of multilingual news, meaning global news agencies and Bolivia, a non-mainstream context that can exemplify the Global South, more generally. The heterogeneity in the resulting news corpora is not uncommon in studies involving corpus, translation, and journalistic approaches because of the inherent complexities that characterize this type of research as opposed to ‘traditional’ categories for comparison, as found in previous works as well (Aragrande, 2015; Gagnon et al, 2018; Hernandez Guerrero, 2022).

Finally, a potential contribution of this framework is to provide concepts and tools to recognize the ‘multilingual nature of journalistic practice’ (McLaughlin, 2011, p.114), in a context where translation seems to be ubiquitous, yet is not always acknowledged. This may be beneficial for advancing research and improving practices in the disciplines of translation and journalism, and the understanding of journalistic discourse.

PART II

Chapter 4. Entering the world of Global News Agencies

4.0. Introduction

Global News Agencies are central sources of journalistic news coverage about events happening geographically and culturally far from their international audience, as is the case of the country studied in this thesis, the South American country of Bolivia. This chapter provides an overview of the global news agencies' organizational structure, role, presence, and working practices from the perspective of agency news workers located in Bolivia and regional desks. The main basis of this chapter is the interviews I conducted with agency news-workers from AFP, EFE, Reuters, and AP, accompanied by an account of agency guidelines and stylebooks, updated information on their websites, and calls for recruitment of multilingual journalists. By drawing on the perspective of journalists and translators as news producers, this chapter intends to enrich the textual examination of the multilingual product, that is the core of the following chapters.

Earlier scholarship in news translation intersecting textual and contextual data suggests it is fruitful for research (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009; Davier, Van Doorslaer & Schöffner, 2018; Filmer, 2015; Matsushita, 2019; Valdeón, 2015; Scammell, 2019; Riggs, 2021, reviewed in Chapter 2). Chapter 3 presented this thesis' theoretical and methodological grounding and underscored the relevance of multimethod approaches in translation studies. This chapter is ethnographically oriented to provide a comprehensive understanding of the practices in multilingual contexts of news production, by 'triangulating' (Denzin, 2017) or 'crystalizing' (Richardson, 1998; Ellingson, 2011) the textual data.

In this vein, the image of a kaleidoscope seems to illustrate the complexity of studying the phenomenon of translation in multilingual journalistic settings. The textual, contextual, and discursive analytical pieces compose the whole and are far from being disentangled from one another: when rotating a kaleidoscopic visual artifact the pieces combine differently, at times a piece occupies a central position and irradiates patterns connected around it, at times it becomes peripheral, but remains inside the system being observed. I would like to propose this ethnography with a kaleidoscopic will, where the perspectives of journalists and news agencies, as multilingual news creators, are brought to the fore to enrich the subsequent contrastive translation and discursive analysis of news production (examined in Chapters 5-7).

Two research questions are at stake: *How are Global News Agencies organized to produce multilingual news coverage in general and, more particularly, in Bolivia?* and *What the (multilingual) journalistic product is and who produces it?* To answer these questions, Section 4.1. will provide a general perspective of these news agencies' structure, their consolidation as news wholesalers, their

role in the international news flow, and the current shift in this traditional role. Section 4.2. will observe more specifically the institutional flow of news production and the news workers, to discuss the nature of these multilingual contexts. Section 4.3. will take the specific case of Bolivia to elaborate on the value of this type of interdisciplinary studies. Section 4.4. will deal more specifically with the process and practices of multilingual news production and the place of translation in news writing. Section 4.5. will illustrate different types of agency news products, especially focusing on the audio-visual products that derive from text news dispatches. Finally, Section 4.6. offers general conclusions.

Before delving into the matter, it is worth recalling that 11 news workers, located at these news agencies' local, regional, and central desks, agreed to be interviewed for this research project (reflected in *Table 4.1*, further details in Chapter 3). The interviews were carried out in Spanish, English, or French, and amount to 8 hours of conversation in presence, via video and cell phone calls, and written responses. They were contacted via institutional emails and accepted to participate with the permission of their news agency, yet every interview was conducted outside the agencies' premises and working hours on their request⁴. It was chosen to anonymize all participants, as most of them requested it, and given that agency handbooks and stylebooks state that bylines to journalists can be omitted when the safety of their staff can be compromised due to dangerous circumstances (Reuters, 2008) and socio-political factors. When this research started, the Bolivian context was one of political instability indeed, and some news coverage analysed is political, hence I prioritized the safety of the participants.

Type of desk	No. of the interview	Language of interview
Local	Ints. 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10,	Spanish and English
Regional and subregional	Ints. 1, 5, 9, 11	Spanish, French, and English
Central	Int. 2	English

Table 4.1. Relation of desks where interviewed journalists are located, numbering, and language

This ethnographic work was carried out at different stages of the doctoral project and guided my understanding of the object of study. A documentary review of these global news agencies handbooks, deontological charts, annual reports, and recruitment calls, all available online complements the ethnographic findings. Additionally, precise audio-visual news coverage (video and photo services) is provided at the end of the chapter to throw light on the convergent paradigm of multilingual news production, by illustrating the variety of agency news products beyond their textual output.

⁴ Both facts are telling of the working pressures of news agency journalists and I feel indebted for their willingness to share their perspectives with me.

This chapter is placed as a prelude to the linguistic analysis to invite the reader to enter the world of these news agencies, their journalists, and their changing practices before actually dealing with their textual news production. Due to this chapter's interdisciplinary nature, specific journalistic terminology is provided in footnotes.

4.1. General perspective

To understand the specificities of news translation in the context of global news agencies, it is necessary to be aware of the evolution of such agencies and their structure. Since their locations are scattered across the globe, each news agency has different structures and working practices. These vary according to regions, the amount of news coverage produced, and the size of local desks, as previous ethnographic studies on news translation in agencies have demonstrated (for a review refer to Zanettin, 2021). I will describe, in brief and general terms, the four news agencies studied in this thesis, AFP, EFE, Reuters, and AP, to then move to more specific aspects concerning the practices of multilingual news production.

For this, three general premises can guide the reader to the world of global news agencies. The first premise is that translation accompanied journalism from its very origin: for instance, the first English newspapers or *corantos* 'were for the most part translations from Latin, German and French' according to Beller (1927, p. 276, in Valdeón, 2015, p. 636). The second one is that international news flow is not only multilingual, but also heterogeneous, as Chakars states, 'news travels unevenly across borders [in] a flow that is dominated by news agencies based in the United States and Europe' (2022, p.847). The third one is that global news agencies remain key stakeholders in international news flows, that originally concentrated on reporting foreign news and financial news and contributed to globalization by having been 'the first international media organizations' (Bielsa, 2008, p. 2).

4.1.1. Agence France-Presse (AFP)

The case of Agence France-Presse illustrates the advent of these institutions into the media landscape across the globe since it is considered the world's first news agency. Its precursor—the Agence Havas—was created in 1835 in France as an agency that specialized in international press and foreign affairs and was constituted as a news agency in 1944. Back then, this agency had already put in place a 'network of correspondents and translators' (AFP, 2023) and laid the groundwork for the future working structure of news agencies, along with journalistic and translatorial practices for producing multilingual news (Rodriguez-Blanco, 2024a).

Considered today the third major global news agency (Boyd-Barrett, 2022), AFP currently operates in 151 countries and produces news coverage in six languages⁵ (French, English, Spanish, German, Portuguese, and Arabic), providing ‘ready-to-publish’ news services of text, photo, video, graphics, audio, and more recently, fact checking. Its content is considered generalist and pays important attention to human interest stories, focusing on environment, migration, diversities, and technologies. More particularly, ‘Latin America is the fastest-growing region’ for AFP’s operations (AFP, 2016) and Spanish is AFP’s third most important language in terms of global distribution, after French and English (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009). AFP reports that media, digital platforms, companies, and institutions compose its client base, which encompassed 3500 clients a decade ago (Hoog, 2012), and scholars refer to ‘embassies, government agencies and banks’ as key clients (Hamilton & Jenner, 2004, in Valdeón, 2012). Its main funding is subscribing clients and ‘public funding as compensation for carrying out its mission of general interest’ from France (AFP, 2023). A common trait with AP is that both agencies still retain organizational features of a cooperative (Boyd-Barrett, 2022).

Two historical remarks are worthy of note: the use of carrier pigeons in 1840 to distribute its news production and its participation in the treaty that divided worldwide territories between the agencies Reuters, Wolff, and Havas in 1859, also known as ‘News Cartel’ (Sterling, 2022). South America was then designated as Havas’ territory (Read, 1999).

4.1.2. Agencia EFE (EFE)

Agencia EFE was created in 1939 in Spain as the first news agency in Spanish and is considered today the fourth largest in the world. Its precursor—Agencia Fabra—was constituted in 1919 with Agence Havas (precursor of AFP) as one of its main stockholders. EFE operates today in 110 countries and provides services related to text, photo, audio, video, and multimedia to ‘more than 2.000 media outlets worldwide every day, with a potential audience of 250.000.000 people’ (EFE, 2023), in Spanish, English, Arabic, and Portuguese, along with Catalan and Galician. It divides its product offer for media companies and for other companies and institutions.

Relevant historical facts regard the start of EFE’s international information service for distribution in Latin America in 1966, when local offices ‘in every country of the American continent’ opened and launched limited services in English. The EFE agency reports that it produces 40% of the content by international news agencies in Latin America and that ‘Associated Press and Reuters platforms’ host its audio-visual news from 2019⁶ on.

⁵ According to Boyd-Barrett, AFP is considering the addition of new languages using automatic translation of certain categories of news as a strategy for market expansion (2022, p.59).

⁶ [La Agencia EFE amplía su oferta de vídeo mundial con Reuters; https://agenciaefe.es/historia-de-efe](https://agenciaefe.es/historia-de-efe)

4.1.3. Reuters (RTR)

Founded in 1851 in the United Kingdom, Reuters⁷ operates from over 200 ‘locations’, about 130 countries (Palmer, 2022), and describes itself as ‘the largest, most verified international news provider’. In 2017, Reuters reported having a client base of 3780 subscribers between TV broadcasters, media customers, and publishing clients, reaching daily a potential audience larger than 1 billion people through multiple platforms.

It merged with the Canadian Thomson Corporation in 2008, becoming Thomson Reuters. It offers ‘Ready to publish content’ in multimedia, video, audio, events, graphics, pictures, text, and live video formats. It offers news services in nine languages: Arabic, Brazilian, Portuguese, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Spanish (European/Latin American) and Russian.

It categorizes its news topics as sports, science, technology, human interest, environment, business and finance, politics, lifestyle, and health. Reuters initially provided fast financial reporting and diplomatic news reporting since its founder (Paul Reuter) was a businessman, who worked as a financial reporter in Agence Havas (AFP’s precursor). Such a reporting was fundamental for stock markets and international trade. Reuters was part of the treaty dividing news agency territories with Havas-Wolff and was allotted the then U.K colonies in North America, Africa, and Asia (Read, 1999).

4.1.4. Associated Press (AP)

Associated Press was founded as an independent news cooperative in 1846 in the United States and is the only non-European agency considered within the ‘big four’ agencies in this thesis. It operates from 101 countries, offering ‘customized production’ to clients that range from broadcast and digital newsrooms, corporations, to government and educational institutions. It reaches 4 billion people and ‘more than half the world’s population see AP journalism everyday’ (AP, 2023). It provides ‘factual’ reporting in the formats of video, text, photos, data, audio, and archive. Its news offer categorizes the topics of breaking news, sports, politics, business and finance, entertainment, lifestyle, religion and faith, science, and health.

Three historical references are worthy of notice. First, the ‘inverted pyramid’⁸ structure in journalistic writing is attributed to AP, a paramount feature of agency news coverage that has been predominant for the last century. This structure includes the summary lead (Mindich, 1998; Walters,

⁷ <https://cutt.ly/JwSPz53d>

⁸ Journalism historians state that AP was instrumental to the creation and development of the inverted pyramid, since (1) the U.S. Civil War (1861-1865) and unreliable telegraphs pushed reporters to place their most important news in their first paragraphs; (2) wire services used this model because they needed to be ‘impartial’ (Mindich, 1998, pp.67-91). The first example is L. Gobright’s news dispatch for AP of Lincoln’s assassination.

2007), where most important facts are reported above and developing successive layers below, as opposed to chronological reporting. Second, in 1846, AP provided news services across the U.S. ‘via Pony express’ (AP, 2023), a reminder of the carrier pigeons employed by AFP to distribute the news. Third, AP introduced the first system to transmit photographs via wire in 1927 (Shemberger, 2022).

4.1.5. News wholesalers in a shifting media landscape

Since their creation in the middle of the 19th Century, global news agencies have consolidated as legitimate and trustworthy sources of international news that acted as news wholesalers. They were formerly the only media organizations with the capacity of operating across the globe and they catered news services that were deemed impartial and reliable to media worldwide. Their mottoes are sufficiently telling of this mission: for Reuters ‘To tell all sides but take none’ and being ‘the source’; for AP ‘Advancing the power of facts’; for AFP ‘the global reference of information’; and for EFE ‘Siempre está’ (*Always present*).

Beyond mottoes, global news agencies have established decalogues of principles and values that not only guide their journalistic work, but also serve as a reference of journalistic practices and writing style in general. Broadly speaking, these sets of values are founded on journalistic independence, integrity, accuracy, impartiality, and reliability. In terms of style, their handbooks and style guides are studied by journalistic departments worldwide, bearing almost a prescriptive role at the level of linguistic and stylistic correctness.

The case of EFE is particularly interesting, since its stylebook ‘Manual del Español Urgente’ prompted the creation of the Fundación del Español Urgente (Fundéu) in 2005, in collaboration with the Real Academia Española and BBVA bank. It has become a key reference for linguistic correctness in the broad Spanish speaking world, especially for ‘media, social media, and digital platforms’ (Fundéu, 2023), illustrating the transcendence of this institution. This is similar in AP, whose stylebook is largely adopted by anglophone media and journalism schools.

The value of studying global news agency products seems evident given their central role in shaping the agenda of international news still today: they are reproduced by media worldwide and have been the ones to approach and describe crucial events and new realities across the globe for the last 160 years. This is coupled to their referential role in language use.

However, their traditional role of news wholesalers has been challenged by the creation of large news media that also provide international news since the 1980's and, later, the advent of the internet and social media. First, the media I refer to concern 24-hour TV news, such as CNN or Sky News

(Palmer, 2019, p.372)⁹, who had ‘greatly accelerated the news cycle’ (Sambrook, 2010, p.7), and that are news agencies’ clients at the same time. Second, the internet allowed individual users to consume more volumes of information every day, at the very least, and even to produce it, such as in citizen journalism. This growth of online media diversifies the circulation of instantaneous information from around the world, defying global news agencies as the only sources of international news. Similarly, the former CEO of AFP claimed that global news agencies no longer have the monopoly of speed and breaking news (Hoog, 2012).

Several journalists interviewed are aware of the change in these news agencies’ roles; as one correspondent stated: ‘this [role] has shifted with social media, formerly if we didn’t cover something, it didn’t exist. Now it’s simply about the velocity in which the world finds out by others, and of course, the quality of information out there’ (Int.6, my translation).¹⁰ At the same time, the diversification of rapid sources of international information underscores the central role of news agencies as current providers of verified international news (Sambrook, 2010).

Having once focused solely on text news services, or wires, agencies started providing journalistic photographic services in the 20th century. For instance, AP is the news agency with more Pulitzer prizes, including 35 for photography; an editor suggested prizes are central in this agency’s world vision (Int.11). Similarly, AFP has committed to enhancing its multimedia news production, focusing especially on audio-visuals in the last decade, as stated by its Latin American regional director (Lorente, 2023). Vast resources were invested in training their text staff to produce news video and digital skills, considering that a customer that buys video products, generally acquires text and picture as well. This apparent bid for multimedia products and its main output being video coverage that incorporates audio and text outputs to be sold separately, might diversify the revenues of news agencies. As Boyd-Barrett suggests, 40% of AFP’s revenue in 2017 derived from visual services, out of which 80% came from outside of France (2022).

This investment in multilingual products is acknowledged by two chief editors, who state that journalism will only be multiproduct and based on audio-visual criteria in the future (Int.4) and that this investment in training staff to produce quality audio-visual news ‘has begun to pay off [for AFP]’

⁹ Online multilingual news provided by national or regional media also produce translated news and are reproduced by other media, acting these as news agencies in some sort, *e.g.* the BBC or Euronews. Journalistic process BBC has been referred as a ‘factory translation’ (Valdeón, 2022c, p.902). News coverage by Euronews is available in 13 languages.

¹⁰ Further information on all interviews can be found in Chapter 3, Sect. 3.3. These are coded as Int.#.

(Int.11). Rantanen (2019, p.2) argues that the shifting priority from text to video responds to the latter becoming the main source of revenue for most European news agencies.

Formerly, news agencies did not provide news services to individual users. Nowadays, a fraction of their news coverage is directly accessible to the general public: videos hosted in online platforms (*i.e.*, YouTube) or social media; and part of text news is published on the websites of AP, Reuters, and EFE. One might presume that the aim of making these fractions of news coverage publicly available is to remind of their existence, especially considering the current economic crisis of global news agencies' historical main clients: print or online media (Hoog, 2012). The *raison d'être* of news agencies seems in doubt and their business' model continuity.

The role of news agencies as news agenda-setters has long been undisputed among scholars (see *e.g.* Boyd-Barret & Palmer, 1981; Davier, 2021). Moreover, in the 1980's, critics to their news agenda and journalistic representational work¹¹ considered that they depicted developing countries as unstable, violent, and irrational in 'stereotypical images of developing societies' (Williams, 2011, p.22) where 'conflict [was] made the main subject' (Martini, 2002, my translation). Considering these shifting dynamics and challenges, one might ponder about the extent to which this is still at play.

Summing up, global news agencies epitomized globalization before globalization existed and were pioneers as communication organizations, global institutions, and partly as translation agencies, operating especially from the former colonies of their countries. Almost two centuries after their creation, the questions are whether they can reinvent themselves and dynamize their work to cope with the contemporary challenges and to embrace the opportunity of portraying the world in a more diverse, fair, and inclusive manner.

4.2. Institutional context of multilingual news production

Having thus far overviewed the origin of global news agencies and their central role in shaping international news flow, I shall now move to describing the organizational structure and work.

4.2.1. Dual system: *Structure and flow*

Each of the global news agencies in this study employs around 2500 journalists worldwide (2400, 3000 and 2500 for AFP, EFE, and RTR respectively in 2023), organized in local, regional, and central desks.

¹¹ The role of western media and news agencies was questioned in the 1970s and 1980s, which culminated in the MacBride report (International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, MacBride, and UNESCO, 1984) and called for new world information and communication order (NWICO). In essence, the critics concerned the limited amount of news coverage by these media concerning the then termed 'Third World' and the negative approach that was common in such news coverage (Palmer, 2019; Williams, 2011).

This organizational network has been termed ‘dual system’ (Boyd-Barrett, 2000; Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009), considering the local and the central offices of news agencies, though it appears to be more of a triadic nature. Triadic because this system starts with local teams producing news coverage from ‘the field’, which travels to the regional desks (sometimes to subregional ones first), to be approved by regional editors, where content is organized hierarchically for edition in or translation into other language services. Once approved the parallel versions, their journey continues to central headquarters.

As stated earlier, it would be vain to try and generalize these four news agencies’ working structure across their operations worldwide, for they are global corporations. However, observing precise contexts may unearth insightful information about commonalities in their working flow between local-regional-central desks, the reason for proposing the case of Bolivia as example. The journey I describe starts in this country, as shown below in *Figure 4.2*.

In ideal circumstances, news output in Spanish departing from Bolivia is coordinated between local teams and regional desks of AFP, AP, EFE, and RTR, which are based in Uruguay, Mexico, Colombia, and Argentina or Mexico, respectively. In the case of AFP and AP, it travels first to the subregional *Cono Sur* desk (South Cone) in Peru or Chile. The regional desks centralize regional content in Spanish, managing the output of all Latin American offices and their translations into English by in-house desk editors or news translators. In AFP specifically¹², the central desk in Uruguay coordinates the output from 21 countries and the translations into French, English, and Portuguese (AFP, 2016; Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009). According to the interviews, the central office of AP in Mexico has a dedicated translation desk.

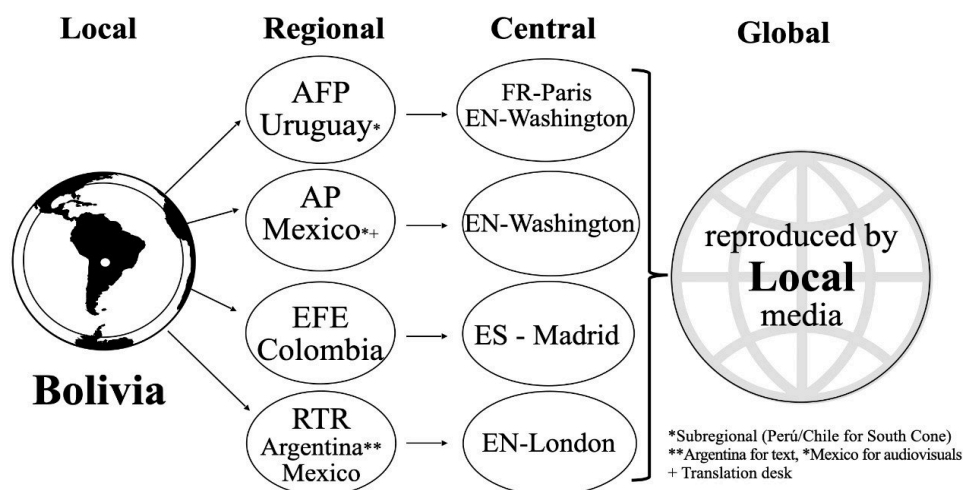


Fig. 4.2. News dispatches’ journey within the ‘dual system’ (from local, regional, and central desks to global reach).

¹² The regional editor of AFP recently stated that this agency is expanding considerably its operations in Latin America, with the aim to decentralize the long-standing Montevideo edition desk in Uruguay to install one in Colombia and one in Mexico to serve better their services from/in Spanish. Another Spanish desk in Singapore is planned, within a working policy labelled ‘follow the sun’ to reinforce the 24-hours provision of news, in coordination with the corresponding desk in Madrid (Lorente, 2023).

Once the information is processed, edited, and translated, news dispatches are proofread in the central headquarters: French and English versions go to Paris and Washington for AFP; and English versions for AP, EFE, and Reuters go to Washington, Madrid, and London accordingly. Upon editorial approval, these are made available to subscribing clients. Reuters, particularly, makes efforts to synchronize the publication of its multilingual output, be it text or video (Int. 4). News coverage enters a global realm at this stage, when media reproduce it worldwide and becomes local again. The complex journey between the local and the global is thus achieved.

Having explored the circulation of news output within this system, I now refer to the coordination between journalists and editors to pinpoint the filters involved in producing a news dispatch departing from Bolivia until its final global audience. In ideal circumstances of news production or with crucial news coverage, the interviewed journalists report that as many as 8 news workers might be involved. From left to right in *Fig. 4.3.*, this starts at the local desk, goes through the regional one, and finishes at the central one, illustrating the languages (Spanish or French/English) concerned at each stage and where a journalist, desk/subregional chief, regional editor, news translator/editor, or chief editor is involved (*i.e.*, J, DE, RE, NT, or ChE, respectively). The functions of writing, revising, validating, or translating are also signalled (*i.e.*, Wr, Rev, Val, Tr). The overlaps and asterisks stand for stages not always in place.

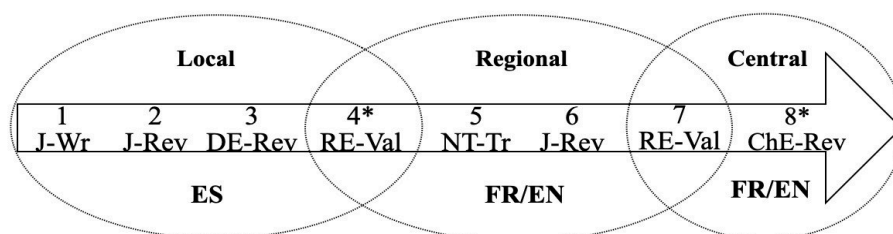


Fig. 4.3. News workers involved in the news dispatches' journey.

News workers are aware of the multiple authorship that makes this chain of multilingual news production. Once a news item passes from the local desk to the regional one, the chief editor checks it to validate and upload it to the Spanish 'thread' or service. Here it becomes available for the different language services and the corresponding editors decide on its newsworthiness and level of priority for translation. One news translator/editor stated that 'we can simply translate it or produce an abridged version, a more contextualized one by adding information, or blending two or more news dispatches into one translation' (Int.9). These various approaches to translation will be analysed in terms of complete, abridged, and blended translations in Chapter 5, with further details on the news flow drawing on paratextual evidence.

4.2.2. Local teams: *Multifaceted and multilingual*

Two general remarks should be made concerning these news agencies' teams. Firstly, teams located in Bolivia are considered rather small when compared to the neighbouring ones, for these are normally constituted by 4 to 5 journalists who focus on producing text, video, or photo. Stringers¹³ collaborate with the agencies on a regular basis. Several local correspondents perceive that the small size of local teams equips journalists with enough skills to be versatile and produce multiproducts, reinforcing the initial claim about the future of journalism within a convergent multimedia paradigm.

Information from the interviews indicates that the statuses of agency news workers range from stringer and freelance journalist, local journalist under contract, local correspondent, foreign correspondent located in Bolivia, and director or chief editor of the local office. Some news agencies have local administrative staff. It was also indicated that foreign staff rotate every 3 years on average, while local staff tend to be more permanent, with some journalists working for over a decade for the same agency. AP and Reuters editors claimed that an increasing reliance on local staff as 'newsgatherers' (Ints. 9,11) is convenient not just in economic terms, but also in efficiency for they 'speak local language[s], are immersed in local political and economic life and have contacts developed over years', also suggested by Sambrook (2010, pp.49, 98).

Secondly, the multilingual nature of this context emerges when looking at the local and regional desks. In this vein, journalists from two agencies suggested the local teams are multilingual because at least one journalist is bilingual in Spanish and an indigenous language, *i.e.*, Quechua, Aymara or Guaraní, the most common ones in Bolivia, and others have working or full proficiency in English and/or French. Since interviews to local sources often entail indigenous languages, efforts are made to interview them in their own native language, which is underscored in Reuters (Int.4). Thus, interpreters or translators are not hired and translation from these languages into Spanish is done locally. Chapter 6 offers references on this.

In reference to multilingualism at the regional desks, several news workers stated that the editors of the different linguistic services work closely in the same office (Ints. 5, 6, 9, 11). This vicinity allows French and English editors/news translators to work and assess together the arriving news dispatches in Spanish to produce their parallel corresponding versions and to reflect collectively upon specific cultural, terminological, and stylistic challenges if needed.

¹³ Stringers are local journalists that regularly collaborate with international media on a freelance basis. They may work in different functions, such as reporting, doing photo or video coverage, translating, or even guiding when special correspondents from the agencies arrive at a country.

4.3. Socio-geographical context

Moving forward to more specific aspects concerning agency news production from and about Bolivia, I shall draw on similarities across news agencies concerning their teams and topics of news coverage with the aim of proposing possible generalizations. Three common threads were found during the interviews, which are presented in the following subsections:

4.3.1. ‘Boom’ of international media, 2019 crisis, and current agenda

Bolivia underwent a socio-political transformation process from 2006 on, with the arrival of the first indigenous president, the passing of a new State Constitution, the becoming of a Plurinational state, the nationalization of natural resources—related to the production of natural gas and exploitation of mines—and the enterprises providing energetic and telecommunication services, the alignment to a progressive political regional current, and the establishment of redistributing economic policies (as introduced in Chapter 1). All of this involved ostensible changes at the social, economic, educational, and cultural levels that were praised by the international community and reported by international media in general.¹⁴

This key period between 2006 and 2013 was often referred to as the ‘boom’ of international press in Bolivia by the international and local agency journalists interviewed, since permanent teams were deployed and installed locally. Not only global news agencies consolidated bigger operations than the ones working today, but also foreign newspapers and media installed correspondents in Bolivia, instead of relying ‘solely’ on agency news coverage. In the words of one stringer, ‘there was a massive amount of foreign journalists back then, every agency had 2 or 3 correspondents and even newspaper had permanent teams, like *The Times* or *Le Monde*’ (Int.10) or as a correspondent claimed ‘suddenly clients were expecting news from Bolivia, a country without plenty attention beforehand’ (Int.6).

However, the attention decreased afterward and international local teams shrank, consequently ‘as far as foreigners on the grounds, there’s not many of us anymore’ (Int.10). This might be linked to a general trend in the decreasing of foreign correspondents, as discussed by Sambrook (2010), and to most foreign correspondents in Latin America being based in Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico (Cazzamatta, 2022). Between 2014 and 2019 international news coverage was seemingly ‘routinized’ (Tuchman, 1979), with important coverage to spot news concerning socio-political and economic matters and feature stories focusing on regular topics, *i.e.*, national festivities, traditions, and rituals.

¹⁴ Formerly political domestic tensions also existed, but the shadings for its summarized description escape the limits of this study and are more object of sociopolitical domains, reason why I concentrate on the evident transformations that were reported internationally, which I witnessed as a Bolivian citizen.

Environmental concerns and antinarcotic policies became part of their news agenda and, to a certain degree, topics on gender and minorities.¹⁵

In late 2019, in a context of post electoral conflict and social upheaval, former president Evo Morales was overthrown after more than a decade of political stability and the country underwent a critical period. The regular working conditions of global news agencies were affected, along with their human resources on the streets. Nonetheless, news coverage was urgent and it was indeed amply reproduced worldwide due to the conflictive situation. One might consider this the second peak in international news coverage about Bolivia over the last two decades. As one foreign journalist stated, ‘we would coordinate with regional and central desks more directly, with continued updates, delivering twice the regular news coverage and they edited urgently, for time’s sake’ (Int.10). An interim government took power immediately after and Covid-19 arrived a few months later, having both vastly restrained the regular life conditions of the Bolivian population and the conditions of news production.

After the 2020 general elections and the newly elected democratic government (treated in Chapter 5), critical pressing matters decreased and international news coverage became more routine again, covering especially matters of socio-political and societal interest. In recent years, a topic that has gained increasing attention of local and international political stakeholders and media is the exploitation of lithium, given that Bolivia sits on the largest reserves worldwide¹⁶, which creates large expectations in a diverse and global news audience and counters the initial premise of news coverage about Bolivia not being of transactional interest.

4.3.2. Expectations and difficult balance

News agency journalists make the unfamiliar familiar to their global audiences on a regular basis and ‘crossing cultural barriers and interpreting cultural difference’ (Williams: 2011, 42) is paramount in their activities of foreign correspondence. While looking for potentially relevant news coverage from Bolivia for subscribing clients, interviewed journalists mentioned they choose topics with two approaches. One refers to covering global topics from a local perspective and constantly reflecting on

¹⁵ News coverage about minority and gender sensitive topics appears to be trending based on these agencies’ reports and the interviews that I carried out. For instance, the representation of Bolivian women across the four agencies focuses vastly on the ‘Cholitas’, indigenous women that no longer live only in the rural areas but also in urban ones, especially in La Paz, and who wear traditional colorful costumes. Over the last decade, news agencies have amply covered them as ‘Cholitas skaters’, ‘Cholitas wrestlers’, ‘Cholitas climbers’, ‘Cholitas models’, an image of empowered women that exists, but is far from being the only one. Surprisingly, this representation transcends the news coverage and is equally present in institutional reporting by these agencies, where Bolivian indigenous women appear to be the frontpage image, while no actual data is provided to refer to their reality (see Memoria institucional 2021, EFE; AFP Promotional Latam video, 2023; Reuters Institute report, 2021). The question is whether this type of news coverage and institutional reporting helps to empower women and indigenous people or accentuates the long-standing stereotypes that provide an exotic imagery of the country and its population, covered as local ‘color’. Further aspects are drawn across the textual analysis of news coverage (Chapters 5-7).

¹⁶ Some references: Nasdaq, 2023 <https://cutt.ly/LwSHmqRB>; Associated Press, 2023 <https://cutt.ly/3wSHmmuR>; Reuters, 2023 <https://cutt.ly/8wSHmZPV>

‘what is relevant’ about this topic as seen from Bolivia. The other one refers to covering local and culture-bound matters and explaining them globally, which ‘is the basis of [our] expertise’ (Int.4). Both approaches recall the image of correspondents acting locally and thinking globally, where keeping ‘Bolivian cultural colour’ is central (Ints. 4, 6, 7).

To account for the type of news coverage that is normally produced—and the one that is translated—it is worth recalling first that fixed categorizations of news coverage often escape the practical nature of the journalistic profession, as stated in Chapter 3. What could be considered ‘hard news’ often overlaps with ‘soft news’ and borders between spot, developing, or continuing news become blurred¹⁷. This seems more evident when it comes to global news agencies that make the most of single ‘events-as-news’ (Tuchman, 1973) happening remotely from the global audience to cater news products in multiple formats.

From the outset, the 2020 Bolivian electoral event can be deemed hard news and typified as continuing news, deriving, at the same time, from earlier spot and developing news coverage. Yet, that event also yielded diverse soft news coverage (*i.e.*, news dispatches on *Shamans*¹⁸ that read coca leaves to predict the election winner, published in Spanish and French). This classificatory overlap motivated choosing specific *dossiers* (Laville, 2007), as general groupings of ‘events-as-news’ (in Chapter 5).

In this vein, one editor mentioned that as one ‘dominant event’ unfolds (Int.5), an event that is amply covered due to its global impact, it may sequentially encompass the journalistic genres of: *flash*, *alert*, *urgent*, *factual*, *central note*, *report*, *biographical note*, *focus*, *chronology*, and *account*, the working typology within AFP in an incremental order. In this sense, only the genre of *account* could be considered merely soft news, the rest being hard news a priori. *Flash*, *alert*, and *urgent* could be considered spot news, *factual* as a developing story, *central note* and *focus* as continuing news. As Tuchman argued based on an ethnographic study on routinization of news coverage, similar blurriness was characteristic of his participants’ responses (1979).

An important part of their everyday journalistic functions involves searching for potential news coverage topics in any of the above-mentioned genres. For this, local media is taken as a reference, but journalists emphasize that their (respective) news agency is ‘the source’. One correspondent mentioned an interesting strategy for this, stating ‘I usually find unique ‘colourful pips’ when checking extensively the rural and smaller local press’ for feature stories on environmental and genre-related

¹⁷ In rather broad terms, spot news can be considered live and current news; developing news refers to running stories covered over a period of time; continuing news refers to a series of stories on the same topic.

¹⁸ ¿Quién será el nuevo presidente de Bolivia? Chamanes consultan a la coca ; Qui sera le prochain président bolivien ? Les chamans consultant la coca. (AFP, 16 and 17.10.2020)

matters (Int.4), as opposed to the centralization of news coverage in La Paz city (in the Andean and Aymara region), that prevails in news agencies.

However, journalists and editors at the local and central desks stated that achieving a balance between such expectations of ‘colour’ and conciseness in coverage about Bolivia is a challenging task. This remits us to the initial premise of interpreting the cultural difference, not only related to Bolivian culture, but also to the one of a global ‘imagined audience’ (Coddington et al., 2021). How can ‘enough’ background, detail, or colour be measured? For this, Chapters 5 and 6 apply the interdisciplinary notions of ‘journalistic translation’ (Lagneau, 2007), referring to the act of translating the context of reported events into news agencies’ journalistic conventions, and of ‘cultural translation’ (Hannerz, 2004), as the explanation of the cultural other. Both notions entail intralinguistic, interlinguistic, and intersemiotic translation (Jakobson, 1959).

Journalists equally mentioned the centrality of reporting local sources from ‘the field’ (Ints. 6, 9), which legitimates the local operations of news agencies and ultimately serves the purpose of ‘bearing witness’ (Sambrook, 2010, p.8) to the major events that are reported. At a more general level, a difficulty shared by most of the interviewees concerns the limited access to reliable institutional sources, and especially to authorities, when it comes to policy making, not only in Bolivia, but in the Latin American region as well. Even though handbooks of global news agencies establish that rectifications are central in their news practices, journalists perceive that these should be avoided to the maximum extent possible.

4.3.3. The circle between local and international media

To understand better what makes newsworthiness about Bolivia while considering the relevance of local media as referential sources, I carried out a brief exercise to observe the presence of news coverage by Global News Agencies in the main national private news media in Bolivia¹⁹ in the opposite direction of the thesis. This was done to observe the interrelationship between local and international media as a circular news flow, which might indicate the business ties they hold. For this, I examined the international news section of local media with the widest circulation and audience in Bolivia (six newspapers printed and online *i.e.*, El Deber, La Razón, Página Siete, Los Tiempos, Opinión, Correo del Sur, in decreasing order) over ten days.

This brief examination showed that international news is presented under the labels of Mundo, Internacional, or Planeta (*world, international, or planet*), from global news agencies, but also other media organizations. Results can be narrowed down to AFP and EFE being the dominant agencies

¹⁹ The same exercise was done for state owned media, but no recent publications from news agencies were found. The newspaper Página Siete closed in July 2023, but data about it was already gathered for this work.

(each present in three media), followed by Deutsche Welle, BBC, Europa Press, Xinhua, RFI, and Infobae (each present in one). Worthy of note is that BBC is not a news agency, but provides international news, and the online media Infobae and RFI are themselves clients from these agencies, thus provide agency news coverage indirectly. Although this information is limited, it aims at providing a gist on the agencies' presence and clients base in a concrete context. Three aspects seem noticeable: first, AFP and EFE are the sole European news agencies present in Bolivian media; second, the remaining news providers also are of European origin; third, the presence of the Chinese news agency, Xinhua, might indicate a shift in the hegemonic role of European media, as suggested by Boumans et al. (2018).

Having thus far exposed key aspects of news coverage about Bolivia and the specifics of achieving a balance between clarity and expected local colour, I shall now pinpoint possible generalizations deriving from this specific context. First, Bolivia is indeed a pluricultural country, whose social dynamics and population are culturally ingrained. Ample agency news coverage of human interest exists about Bolivia, which can also be found in regional countries such as Mexico, Peru, or Ecuador, seemingly providing 'colour' to the media landscape. Second, the topics that are suitable for hard/spot news, covering socio-political matters often focus on the conflictive reality of regional countries, where ideological and discursive implications of news production are central, especially in the contextualization and re-contextualization of pressing issues and political stakeholders.

A third generalizing trend would concern news coverage about natural resources. Bolivia is often portrayed as materially rich, but humanly poor, a formula that is not exclusively applied to this country (these trends can be seen further in Chapters 5 and 7). I mentioned earlier an increase in news coverage on the exploitation of lithium and an evident relationship can be drawn between Bolivia, Chile, and Argentina, countries that belong to the 'Lithium Triangle' and are currently in the spotlight due to their vast reserves of this increasingly valuable resource.

4.4. Practices in multilingual news production

4.4.1. Translating and editing news

Moving forward from the local dynamics of news production in Bolivia, I shall now concentrate on the processes at the regional and central desks to explore the role and features of translation in news agency multilingual production.

Desk editors working in the different language services are generally the journalists in charge of news translation. Their post is described as editor, but about 70% of their work is devoted to translating or 'reworking' news items (Ints. 4, 9). Recruitment calls for these posts are addressed to 'bilingual journalists' with English as working language, with excellent or fluent command of two other

languages, a fourth one being a ‘plus’. Interestingly, combating misinformation and avoiding ‘literal translation’ is underscored in the two most recent calls found.²⁰ Translation is thus fully inserted within news production practices, even if not openly acknowledged, and carried out by bilingual journalists with an awareness of their translatorial agency. These experts might be considered paraprofessional translators (Piekkari, Tietze, & Koskinen, 2019).

Various news translators/editors explained that, to translate, their linguistic skills in the target language should be the ones of a native speaker. However, near native speakers might be hired or asked to translate urgent news dispatches when no other professionals are available (Ints. 5, 9, 11). During interviews, it was stressed that the main value is having sound experience as an agency journalist since the ‘agency journalistic language and codes’ are built with years of experience. They mentioned that upon arrival at the job, having a high command of the local/source text language is not mandatory, since the ‘language can be quickly acquired once in the context and technology or colleagues can help us to translate’.

Here, ‘technology’ seemingly works as a euphemism for online machine translation tools, a practice that was mentioned twice, always in third person as someone else’s practice (Ints. 5, 11). Similarly, early in the job, the multilingual news archive from agency was mentioned as a tool to learn and start translating news dispatches concerning specific countries and topics. Chapters 5 and 6 refer further to the use of the agency archive and machine translation.

As stated earlier, when a Spanish news item is uploaded to the thread, it is normally up to the editor to decide if its translation is a priority. An agency editor said that once it is decided, the guiding principle is that a translated news dispatch ‘does not imply more questions than the answers it provides’, so clarity, unambiguousness, accuracy, and enough context are central; another editor added the need for conciseness (Ints. 9, 11). The news values they uphold are speed, trustworthiness, and comprehensibility. Furthermore, two editors mentioned a strategy prior to translating a dispatch: the news item is broadly taken as two informational parts, the news and the background context (Ints. 6, 9). The first one normally refers to key updated information about the event being reported, referring to the ‘5W’ that should make a sound lead. The second part refers to background information that contextualizes the event for the general and global reader within a broader time spectrum.

It is in this second part, the background context, where more bits of information are amplified, substituted, or deleted in translating news and information is taken from texts published (translated or not) in predating news dispatches by the agency or official sources that are deemed ‘trustworthy’, such

²⁰ Recruitment calls: Bogotá, Colombia: News Producer/Video Journalist – AFPTV (AFP, February, 2023); Spanish Language Translator, Democracy and Misinformation (AP, May, 2023).

as universities, ONGs, and other institutions (Ints. 5, 9). This can be read as patchwork (Davier, 2015) or cumulative news writing, a practice that is extensively covered in Chapter 5. The news and the context ‘parts’ are not always ordered as such in the news dispatch, namely, at the top or the bottom: this seems more of a cognitive planning strategy, that varies according to the topic being covered and expectations of the imagined audience.

In this vein, news translators mentioned that they apply the principle that ‘less details, but always more context’ (Ints. 5, 9) serves the purposes of catering for the global audience, which means to condense and explicitate information altogether.

Moreover, the coordination between local and regional desks to collate the information offered in the parallel news versions seems to vary across agencies. Closer coordination appears to exist in AP, in the sense that once a translation is ready it normally returns to the Spanish speaking journalist appearing in the original byline; in the case of AFP, coordination is more related to asking for clarifications or further sources, rather than on the resulting translated news dispatch, but exceptions may occur when treating crucial news coverage; as for EFE and RTR, coordination relates more to general aspects of what news coverage is a priority for translation, as local correspondents and news translators/editors report (Ints. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8).

One bilingual editor suggested that ‘an interesting type of translation is the one in between Spanish(es)’ (Int. 5), which recalls to the translation tripartite proposed by Jakobson (1959) that encompasses intralingual, interlingual, and intersemiotic translation. Journalists writing in Spanish explain that to cope with intralingual translation of wording that is ‘not RAE’ (Real Academia Española, meaning ‘non-standard’) a strategy is writing the specific non-standard term as a note of local colour and spelling out between commas or parentheses what was meant by that. This is specially done when local sources are quoted, considering that Spanish speakers from the Americas and from Spain may be represented in news coverage and be its audience as well.

Consequently, when translating interlingually, journalists attempt to keep the original local expression and translate only the standardized clarification into English or French, which was already unpacked in standard Spanish, as described earlier. Chapter 6 discusses the intralingual translation of culture-bound concepts and their relationship to Quechua and Aymara linguacultures (Risager, 2013; examined further in Rodriguez-Blanco, 2024b).

4.4.2. News translators/editors as gatekeepers

White (1950) broadly referred to news editors as ‘gate keepers’ in the journey of news items through certain communication channels that function as ‘gates’. The author claims that editors hold a position of ‘power’ to decide the news that get ‘in’ or ‘out’ the next gate. This role has equally been applied in

the study of news translation (Valdeón, 2015; 2022). The role of news agency editors can be interpreted as the one of gatekeepers, since they decide which news items arriving to their desk are translated—in a complete, blended or abridged manner—and based on the hierarchical relevance of the simultaneous events being reported.

An editor ‘also copy-edits and writes the headlines for [the] stories’ s/he chooses to publish (White, 1950, p.383), as the interviewees commonly reported on the chief editor’s role at the regional desks. It normally is her/him who translates the alerts, urgents, flashes, and briefs, and the final headlines of every translated news once the dispatch is ready to be uploaded to the language thread prior to making it available to subscribers (Ints. 5, 6, 9, 11). One might argue that the gatekeeping role is shared by different editors in the production chain of news agencies.

4.4.3. Self-reflections on the value of translated news

Interviewees mentioned that it is uncommon for news translators or local journalists to receive a report of the reach of the news items they produce, whether because the agency does not provide it or because of time constraints. In this uncertainty, one editor said that the main impact measure of an agency’s local and regional desk output is the news coverage in English, at least in AP (Int. 11), pointing to the pressure of producing news that are prioritized for translation. This coheres with a claim by another correspondent in Bolivia who stated that he feels proud whenever his news dispatches are translated into English, as this is an indicator of a good coverage that is worth the time of being translated, which meets the standards of clarity, colour, interest, and conciseness. He added that translations of news dispatches are ‘little children’ that circulate more widely than the Spanish originals and transcend the Spanish speaking audience (Int. 6). This co-existence of multilingual versions recalls the heterogeneous polysystem in which literature exists once translated (Even-Zohar, 1978).

A final remark concerns self-reflections of the interviewed journalists, about their being the ‘eyes of the agency’ in Bolivia to select the daily events to be covered. This bears a major responsibility since their journalistic output is ‘automatically reproduced’ by media worldwide (Int.6). It seems paradoxical that news workers also resent their anonymous role as agency journalists in the chain of news production, an aspect that can be related to the invisibility of news translators and, more generally, of translators (Venuti, 1995).

Global news agencies do not openly refer to using translation to publish multilingual news coverage. An exhaustive review of their guidelines shows references to translation only to indicate how something should be translated concretely. This statement is an exception: ‘We are translators between people who speak the language of science and ordinary readers who don’t.’ (First *writing tip* in Associated Press, 2020, p.468). Beyond the intricacy of translating scientific language, this

reference portrays how all-encompassing translation is, functioning as a bridge, not only across languages and cultures, but especially from wide-ranging domains of knowledge and general readers who consume their news production worldwide.

4.5. Convergent multilingual news

In the pursuit of a holistic approach to multilingual news production, this section displays, albeit briefly, multilingual news dispatches from its surroundings, meaning that the focus is brought to the audio-visual news products that are related to the textual news about Bolivia informing this thesis. The main aim is to describe how global news agencies cope with media convergence through multimedia products and social media, and to locate the use of translation in such a flexible news production scenario, where translation has been claimed to be convergent (Davier & Conway, 2019). Due to the ample breadth of audio-visual products and to be cohesive with the following analytical chapters (5-7), I concentrate solely on video provision, taking the example of cultural news coverage, and on photo provision, drawing on political news coverage. This will correlate to the current dissemination of agency news coverage through social media.

As observed in the literature review and the theoretic-methodological framework (chapters 2 and 3), the convergence paradigm can be broadly defined as a standard in current media news production, published in multiple platforms and formats. Davier and Conway suggest that convergence can take a ‘multiplicity of coexisting shapes’ and formats (2019, p.4), and that its definition requires to be continually updated. This implies the existence of flexible forms of news production and of diverse channels for diffusion, such as social media platforms. These latter came at a cost for ‘traditional news organizations’ that were prompted to provide more video news stories than formerly, a practice that has been termed ‘pivot to video’ (Carey & Carey, 2022, p.406). This seems costly in economic terms, but also in training journalists to produce and distribute news that meet the expectations of a ‘multiplatform media environment’ (ibid.).

Subsection 4.5.1. concentrates on bilingual video news coverage, tracing its genesis and relating it to the use of social media. Subsection 4.5.2. will focus on the photographic provision accompanying bilingual news coverage. Further methodological aspects can be found in Chapter 3 as they relate to the general criteria applied in the analytical chapters.

4.5.1. Multilingual news videos

The videos that are described in this subsection refer to a bi-national dispute between Bolivia and Peru over traditional dances that are considered part of the national heritage of both countries. They were published in May 2021 by the agencies AFP and Reuters in Spanish and English. The aim of describing this audio-visual news coverage is to pinpoint the place of translation in such a convergent news

coverage, its materialization in precise audio-visual components, and the role of social media for the dissemination of multilingual news coverage by global news agencies nowadays. Such news coverage ultimately invites to reflect on the relevance of the translation triad proposed by Jakobson (1959) due to its simplicity and versatility, to understand translation as an all-encompassing interpretative and productive process that is intralingual, interlingual, and intersemiotic.

The set of audio-visual news pieces was chosen as an illustration of convergent translation for three reasons: first, the topic being primarily of cultural value, soft news, it also is rich in socio-political matters that go beyond the national scope and entail realities from two countries (Bolivia and Perú). Second, both news agencies covered the same event, providing textual and audio-visual bilingual dispatches in similar formats, which is convenient for comparability. Third, the social media platforms where these were made available are the same in both cases, *i.e.*, Twitter (currently X) and YouTube, which supports the centrality of a convergent paradigm of news production. In what follows, I describe this bilingual audio-visual news coverage, starting by its genesis, then its audio-visual and translational features, and finally, the way these were disseminated through social media.

4.5.1.1. *Genesis of news dispatches: relationship between textual and audio-visual*

The examined news coverage was published by AFP and RTR the 14th and 19th of May, 2021 in Spanish and English. In both cases, text news dispatches precede the audio-visual ones. To show this genesis, I shall concentrate on describing the case of AFP, by relating an initial text news dispatch in Spanish, to the subsequent audio-visual dispatch in Spanish, and the audio-visual one in English (the first two published on the 18th May, the third one the 19th May, 2021). Headlines of AFP's news dispatches are credited to Bolivia's desk: 'Entre música y coloridos trajes, bolivianos reivindican danza andina en disputa con Perú' [*Between music and colorful costumes, Bolivians reclaim Andean dance in dispute with Peru*] (Text, 662 words); 'Bolivianos reivindican danza andina en disputa con Perú' [*Bolivians vindicate Andean dance in dispute with Peru*] (Audiovisual, 314 words); 'Bolivia reclaims folk dance in cultural dispute with Peru' (Audiovisual, 215 words). These were accessed through Lexis Uni and the YouTube channel from AFP, which are also available in AFP's media clients. These are contrasted later to one from RTR 'Bolivia, Peru tussle over a traditional dance' (Audiovisual). No news coverage in French was found in AFP in this case, as one would expect from a French news agency, this may ultimately reveal a shift in their targeted audience.

To illustrate the correspondence of segments by colouring them, *Figure 4.4.* shows the three news dispatches analysed. The left column shows the initial text dispatch in Spanish, the middle and right ones correspond to the audio-visuals in Spanish and English, respectively. To display the audio-visual dispatches, their corresponding headlines and captions on YouTube were copied verbatim and the

see that the content from the initial text dispatch in Spanish is translated, both intralingually and interlingually, into the narrative captions and subtitles added in English.



Fig. 4.5 Contrasted footage of AFP's videos in Spanish and English

I shall briefly relate these features to the videos in English provided by AFP and Reuters (the latter lasts 1:27 mins.). The audio-visual format chosen by both news agencies is similar since information is provided in embedded narrative captions and subtitling. The narrative captions highlight specific key words in colours (blue for AFP and orange for RTR, as in their logos). These differ in that AFP provides on spot footage, while Reuters uses more shots from TV footage and refers to the topic more than to the event. These are closely related content-wise and refer to the dance's origin and name, its cultural and national value as stated by national authorities. Words from the Bolivian Cultures Minister are present in both videos, while Reuters adds the ones of the Peruvian homologue.



Fig.4.6 Contrasted footage of AFP's and RTR's videos in English (It was chosen not to repeat AFP's images from Fig.4.5)

An additional remark should be made on the content highlighted in the narrative captions, as summarizing key words. In the case of AFP, these are: 'Morenada', Andean folk dance, dispute with Peru, Peru declared the dance a "cultural heritage", causing outrage, national identity, historians,

pain and suffering of slaves, Ministry of Culture, go to Unesco. In Reuters, these are: *diplomatic row, 'La Morenada', Bolivia and Peru, Oruro, Puno, African and indigenous elements*. One can see, then, the relevance of highlighting the identity, cultural and historic value and the diplomatic scale of the dispute. Given that this format seems to be becoming standard practice to deliver audio-visual news, studying further the discursive dimension of narrative captions can bear important value for translation, corpus linguistic, and media studies, allowing researchers to shed light on the discourse news values (Bednarek & Caple, 2017) of multilingual media content.

Concluding this subsection, one could argue that intersemiotic translation encompasses the whole process of transforming the initial text dispatch into audio-visual contents, be they in Spanish or English, as different semiotic systems interact in the voice-over segments, the colourful display of narrative captions, as the footage unfolds providing a background context (with the music, dances, and costumes that are equally reflected in the text dispatch).

4.5.1.3. Diffusion through social media

This final subsection describes briefly how global news agencies make their audio-visual news content available to the general public through social media, shifting their traditional role of news wholesalers to a certain degree. This is not to say that all their content is open, nor that their retailer media no longer reproduces them. Yet, these two means seem complementary.

Focusing only on the dissemination of the news coverage examined in the previous section through Twitter/X, I shall now compare both agencies' publications. To the left of *Fig. 4.7.*, the post from AFP (Spanish only), carries the headline of the text news dispatch and incorporates photos from the event of the video, along with a hyperlink and a tag to the photojournalist in charge. Instead, Reuters seems to use this platform more, since three posts were found: one in Spanish and two in English. The English headlines vary slightly from one another. All posts have the news videos inserted, no hyperlinks are included and hashtags (#) refer to Bolivia and Peru. Doubling the post in English might be a strategy to increase the interaction with the public.



Fig. 4.7. Contrasted use of Twitter for dissemination of AFP and RTR videos

Finally, it should be noticed that to trace this textual and audio-visual news coverage across the different platforms, paratextual evidence (Batchelor, 2018) proved useful to examine the surrounding texts that allow to access the main dispatches. This means that partial segments of the text news

dispatches are used as headlines or leads on Twitter or YouTube, however, one needs to be meticulous to trace some textual variation across these platforms.

4.5.2. Photo provision in multilingual news

The next examples are based on the dataset informing chapter 7, that examines the discursive dimension of multilingual news production. That case study considers bilingual political news coverage, in Spanish and English, about the Bolivian 2020 General elections, published by the four news agencies. In the present subsection, I shall focus on contrasting one parallel news dispatch from Associated Press, to concentrate more specifically on the pictures and the captions that accompany these bilingual versions. This was decided because, amongst all news agencies and all the bilingual news dispatches selected for the case study (44 texts), AP provided more substantial photos and captions. In order to relate to what is examined in detail later in the thesis, this data will be described in terms of closeness and distance between the bilingual pair, a relationship that is at the core of the translational analysis, treated extensively in chapter 6.

The selected bilingual pair was published on October 19th, 2020, and the Spanish version predates the English one. The headlines are ‘Varios adelantan el triunfo de Arce en elecciones de Bolivia’ [*Several anticipate Arce's victory in Bolivian elections*]²¹ and ‘Morales party claims win as Bolivia seems to shift back left’. Both news dispatches refer to the non-official results in the aftermath of the general elections and are signed by the same local journalists. The English version credits the contribution of AP’s Latin America correspondent, who one might presume is anglophone based on his professional information provided online. Earlier subsections suggested it is expected that headlines involve more distance between the parallel versions, an aspect to which chapter 6 will return.

In Spanish, 18 pictures accompany the news dispatch and 14 the one in English, with their corresponding captions. Overall, the pictures are about the electoral ambience: MAS candidates when the unofficial count announces their victory, voters lining up, electoral ballots, people in the streets, and the main political stakeholders. The pictures in *Fig. 4.8* illustrate the closeness between the bilingual pair: these are present in both versions, although with a different order (first position in Spanish and fourth/ninth in English), and their captions are closely rendered²², referring to the *who*,

²¹ As a recap, Luis Arce was the 2020 candidate for MAS party (Movement towards Socialism, in Spanish), whose leader is former president Evo Morales. Translation provided by Google Translate. These news dispatches are available in AP’s webpage, their subscribing clients, and via Lexis Uni database.

²² Corresponding captions. ES: ‘Luis Arce, al centro, candidato a la presidencia de Bolivia por el Movimiento al Socialismo, levanta las manos en señal de victoria durante una rueda de prensa unos minutos después del lunes 19 de octubre de 2020 en La Paz’ [*Luis Arce, center, Bolivia's presidential candidate for the MAS, raises his hands in victory during a press conference a few minutes later Monday, Oct. 19, 2020, in La Paz*]. EN: ‘Luis Arce, center, Bolivian presidential candidate for the Movement Towards Socialism Party, MAS, and running mate David Choquehuanca, second right, celebrate during a press conference where they claim victory after general elections in La Paz, Bolivia, Oct. 19, 2020’.

where, and when. In English, a short reference to Arce’s running mate is added, which can be deemed as necessary background information for the international audience.



Fig. 4.8 Contrasted headlines and photo provision by AP in Spanish and English

The pictures distance themselves in the focus of political stakeholders: in Spanish, one picture portrays Luis Arce and one Carlos Mesa (both electoral runners up), and two former president Evo Morales; in English, two pictures portray Luis Arce, three Morales, and none Carlos Mesa, and are accompanied by various close portraits of MAS supporters. When comparing the portraits of the president-elect, the pictures in Spanish and English seem to be taken at different moments. In Spanish, it is when Arce casts his vote, while in English it is during a press conference right after the preliminary results were announced, where he was credited to win the election with 55% of the vote. This choice might be due to the difference in hours of publication between both versions, as can be seen in *Figure 4.9*:



Fig. 4.9. Contrasted headlines and photo provision by AP in Spanish and English

The most obvious difference relates to the pictures portraying former president Morales. Even though both versions provide footage from a press conference where he claims the victory of MAS party from the city of Buenos Aires (where he was in exile at the time), his depiction varies substantially in quantitative and qualitative terms: in Spanish, two out of 18 pictures portray him, while in English, three out of 14 do so, thus, being more central in the English version (in *Fig. 4.10*). Such numerical variation will also be seen extensively in the textual analyses (chapters 5 and 7).



Fig. 4.10. Contrasted headlines and photo provision by AP in Spanish and English

In terms of quality, one can notice that, in Spanish, he is portrayed serene, as he prepares to talk, information also provided in the captions²³. Instead, in English, the three pictures from the same event seem to portray him in varying emotional states: one picture wearing a mask on his eyes (not on the mouth); one speaking with histrionic gestures; and one appearing fatigued. The captions render similar information than in Spanish and add references to the Covid-19 mask, the right-wing interim government, and the *leftist leader resigning and fleeing* Bolivia in 2019.

The distance found here will complement the textual analysis of political news coverage that concentrates on translation practices and on its discursive dimension (Chapter 5 and 7), where the portrayal of the former Bolivian president seems equally variable between the trilingual news versions.

4.6. Conclusion

This chapter attempted to provide a storytelling account from the perspective of the producers of this multilingual news coverage, as informed by the interviews with agency news workers. It was guided by the belief that one needs to observe the context of production of the multilingual journalistic product to fully understand it. To further contextualise the textual analysis that follows, this ethnographic work was accompanied by a documentary review of global news agencies institutional reports and an illustration of their current audio-visual products.

Global news agencies seem to be the ultimate producers since they put in place a complex chain of news producers and production. This starts at the local desks, continues at the regional edition desks where the multilingual news versions are produced, and finishes at the central headquarters (in this case, from La Paz to Montevideo, Bogotá, Buenos Aires, and Mexico DF, and then to Paris, Madrid, London, and Washington, respectively). The journey ends at the point when it is made available to their subscribing clients around the globe.

²³ Corresponding captions. ES: 'El expresidente boliviano Evo Morales ofrece una rueda de prensa en Buenos Aires, Argentina, en las primeras horas del lunes 19 de octubre de 2020, horas después de las elecciones presidenciales en su país' [Former Bolivian President Evo Morales holds a press conference in Buenos Aires, Argentina, in the early hours of Monday, Oct. 19, 2020, hours after his country's presidential election]. EN: 'Former Bolivian President Evo Morales puts on his mask, amid the Covid-19 pandemic, after giving a press conference in Buenos Aires, Argentina, one day after the general elections in his home country, Oct. 19, 2020. Morales' party claimed victory in a presidential election that appeared to reject the right-wing policies of the interim government that took power in Bolivia after the leftist leader resigned and fled the country a year ago' (1/3).

Throughout these sequential stopovers, journalists, news translators, and editors contribute to the creation of a multilingual product by translating, editing, proofreading, and validating it. In this multiple authorship, the quality of the journalistic product seems measured by the expectations of an ideal global readership and the conventions proper to each agency. Journalists as paraprofessional translators (Piekkari, Tietze, & Koskinen, 2019) are experts of their multilingual news product, expertise that is built within the news agencies' workflow. From an ethnographic translation studies lens, this expertise is co-constructed and negotiated (Risku & Schlager, 2021) in a collective perspective of extended translation (Risku, 2013). This was perceived from the journalists and editors' view on acquiring the journalistic and stylistic codes through years of experience working with various news agency teams 'on the field' or at the edition desks, and on their self-reflections about translation proper and interlingual transfers.

Furthermore, this survey suggested that journalists value the translated news product, since it circulates more widely than the monolingual one and because these news agencies measure impact by the amount of news coverage in English, as seen particularly in the case of AP. However, the translation process and role of translators did not seem to carry the same value. This might be due to the multiple roles that bilingual journalists have during their career within news agencies: producing their own news coverage from the field as correspondents might entail more agency than reworking versions from a desk as news translators/editors.

Moving to the fruitfulness of studying a concrete context of multilingual news production, insightful findings can be seized at the institutional, topical, and geographical levels. The focus on agency news coverage about Bolivia enabled, first, to trace a wide map of these agencies' workflow and the profiles of news workers to elaborate then on their journalistic practices, roles, and on the apparent omnipresence of translation to efficiently deliver multilingual news.

Second, the topics about Bolivia found to be reported mainly concentrate on socio-political matters and on human interest, the former in the form of spot and developing news and the latter as feature stories. Journalists suggested that newsworthiness about Bolivia is related to depictions of local colour—be it literal or metaphorical—and the provision of enough context to make understandable the event or issue being reported, particularly with conflictive ones. Nonetheless, it is not always possible to study with fixed categorizations an issue potentially relevant of becoming an unfolding 'dominant event', as news agencies optimize the material information constituting their news product: one initial dispatch might result in various subsequent foci. When reporting about a remote country, 'hard news' and 'soft news' may carry traces of each other, since pressing societal matters cannot be disentangled from the culture surrounding them and vice versa and provide background context to each other.

The topics of news coverage about Bolivia that were found worthy of becoming international multilingual news may be generalizable to the Latin American region: culture-bound matters can find parallelism in Ecuador, Mexico or Peru; the dominant reporting on socio-political tension and politics is commonly found in the region; and the treatment of natural resources, such as lithium, can be seen also in Argentina and Chile. Seen regionally, the representation of political stakeholders and local citizens in reported speech seems interesting for future research. These topics are studied from a translational perspective in Chapters 5 and 6.

This thesis introduced the condition of Bolivia as a non-mainstream context that is perceived in being remote and peripheral from the European centre of news agencies and in the minor volumes of international news about the country. On the one hand, this condition seems paradigmatic of other regional countries in terms of newsworthiness and reported topics. On the other, the apparent limited datasets that emanates from its observation allows the researcher to collect wide-ranging information that seems representative of the whole, such as the rich evidence found in this ethnography, that considers the full diversity of news producers involved, to complement the subsequent textual analysis.

Third, this survey briefly provided evidence about the dominance of the AFP and EFE news agencies in the Bolivian media landscape, which is in line with the original division of territories by news agencies, where Latin America was once assigned to AFP in the 20th century and with the close ties of EFE with the former Spanish colonies. The relationship colonizer-colony was a key element when global news agencies were founded in the 19th century.

Furthermore, the brief review of global news agencies that introduced the matter in this chapter showed that not only was AFP the first global news agency, but its model of multilingual news production was influential to other European agencies. This finding motivates the choice of focusing on AFP's news production in Chapter 5 to observe the phenomenon of news translation concentrating on one fully-fledged context.

Fourth, the general tendency towards the increase of multimedia news production was found in news agencies publications, the perception of news workers, and scholarship on communication and news translation. This showed the news agencies' commitment to equipping their staff with technological skills to enhance their production of video news coverage, interwoven with text and audio. In these multilingual versions, voice-over, subtitling, and narrative captions come into play, reinforcing the pertinence of studying translation phenomena in multilingual news production from a convergence paradigm (Davies & Conway, 2019). One might presume that an "audio-visual turn" is likely in this subfield, where the perspective of audio-visual translation is central and discursive studies might point to what is deemed newsworthy in the interlinguistic, intralinguistic, and intersemiotic translation of multimodal and multimedia products. In this sense, a small dataset of bilingual audio-

visual news products was described to explore the role of translation within convergent multilingual news production.

On the one hand, the multilingual news videos here analysed showed that text news dispatches precede the audio-visual ones and that the information provided in both modes is closely related to one another. Seemingly taking the text dispatch as a basis of the event covered, the audio-visual products incorporate footage taken on spot that includes the views of relevant stakeholders, *e.g.*, local authorities and citizens, as reliable information sources that add ‘colour’ to the news products. The translated versions of such news videos keep the “original” footage in Spanish and employ subtitling and narrative captions to render the information in English.

Particularly, it seems that ‘narrative captions’, as proposed in this work, have potential value for future studies, since these were found as a common contemporary format across news agencies that encapsulates as much information as possible. This implies reducing the original text to avoid risks of saturating the news consumer, while bearing the identity of each news agency, that is seen in the colours highlighting key words, and keeping a format trendy in social media, that is denominated *lower thirds* by the industry.

On the other hand, the photo provision accompanying news dispatches show that some pictures are closely related between both linguistic versions, while others differ substantially. Such variation seems to concentrate on the way a specific political stakeholder is depicted (*i.e.*, former president Morales), which may be in line with the variation to be found in the textual content of electoral and political news coverage (examined in chapters 5 and 7). This shows the potential of analysing photo provision and accompanying captions in terms of translation and discourse. Paratextual evidence (Batchelor, 2018) was also found useful to relate textual components surrounding these text and audio-visual news dispatches.

The bid for producing audio-visual news reinforced the perception of a shifting role of news agencies as news-wholesalers or retailers since their audio-visual products are now more commonly made available to the public, often through social media. This reminds us that, back when news agencies were created, they employed the available technology to disseminate their news production: ‘carrier pigeons’ or ‘pony express’ in AFP and AP; then they contributed to the development of the telegraph and news were fashioned as ‘wires’. One can extrapolate this evolution to the dissemination of multimedia news coverage in the era of social media, where another bird is one important channel of news dissemination: the ‘blue bird’ of Twitter, where text, (audio)visuals, and hyperlinks condense the news product. At the time of writing, the Twitter’s long-lasting bird logo became a typographic character (X), reinforcing the evanescent nature of information and media as an object of study.

Despite the affordances of an ethnographic approach as a complement to the focus on textual analysis, two limitations are worth mentioning. The first one relates to the important effort needed to trace, contact, and coordinate with the potential participants, considering that they are located across the American continent and in Europe and that the researcher can be seen as an outsider. This was worsened by the Covid pandemic, that occurred as this research developed. Once the participants agreed to collaborate, their work-related and contextual vulnerabilities surfaced. Efforts were also made to guarantee that they are not identified in this account and I acknowledge this might limit the strength of this research product. The second one is the considerable time required to examine this audio-visual output and the methodological and conceptual tools needed for its description, which go beyond the textual focus of this work. Nonetheless, audio-visuales are so important in agencies news production today that they should become part of comprehensive future research on news translation.

To conclude this chapter, the kaleidoscopic approach of this thesis took an ethnographic form to prioritize the journalistic lens over the translational and discursive ones, to understand the multilingual news production of global news agencies. Given the interdisciplinary nature of this research and inherent complexity to clearly define the disciplinary intersections, this visual metaphor enhances the belief that when one focuses on one component, the remaining ones are not excluded. Instead, they make the surroundings of the whole and allow the researcher to examine the crux of the matter in depth with more flexibility than with a triangle. The following chapters continue this line of thought and rotate this visual artifact to move away from the producers and concentrate on the journalistic product and its translation instead.

Chapter 5. Journalistic Translation of a Crucial Electoral Event

5.0. Introduction

This chapter is informed by a case study that serves as an overarching approach to multilingual news coverage representing specific events or topics and focuses on the relationship between the multilingual versions of news dispatches composing such news coverage. I borrow the metaphorical notion of ‘Journalistic translation’ from media studies (Lagneau, 2007) to tackle this comprehensive study. Its specifics intend to show the breadth of translation’s role in multilingual news production in two ways. First, it concerns trilingual news coverage, *i.e.*, in Spanish, French, and English, so the translational relationship is apparently pushed to the limits in direct and indirect terms, as will be explained next. Second, it involves multilingual news coverage published sequentially, which allows us to have a broader perspective on what is published chronologically within a given period.

Establishing this preliminary hypothetical relationship sets a baseline to understand the complexities of studying translation in multilingual news production. Consequently, the translation analysis proposed here can be further enriched by focusing on the textual, contextual, and discursive dimensions of multilingual news production, about which precise applications are proposed in this chapter, that will be developed subsequently in the thesis in parallel studies.

I intend to apply an analytical framework in two stages: the entry level and the text analysis. First, the entry level aims at establishing from the outset the type of relationship between the multilingual news dispatches belonging to the event being represented. Second, the text analysis is undertaken with a descriptive and retrospective perspective, meaning that the analysis starts from the ‘assumed’ target texts and heads back towards the sources. This essentially consists of systematically observing translated news at the macro-level to characterize the relationships holding among the components of multilingual news coverage. Chapter 3 suggested that a macro-level analysis should be followed by a micro-level one, highlighting concrete types of linguistic transfers via translation strategies and techniques employed during the translation process. The relationship between the macro- and the micro-levels will be dealt with in Chapter 6, focusing on translation proper (Jakobson, 1959).

The topic of this news coverage is the 2020 general elections in Bolivia²⁴. This study analyses six trilingual sets of parallel news dispatches in Spanish, French, and English from Agence France-Presse

²⁴ As introduced in *Chapter 1*, Bolivia underwent a period of socio-political crisis after the annulled 2019 general elections, when former president E. Morales was overthrown/resigned after 13 years in tenure and having won the 2019 elections. I employ this slash purposely: the narratives around his unfinished tenure are conflicting and still in force. The interim government of J.

(henceforth, AFP), which amount to 18 news dispatches in total. The Spanish versions seem to be the originating ones as they pre-date the French and English ones, these latter two being normally published in that sequential order. Then, one may presume a direct relationship exists between Spanish and French versions and one between Spanish and English versions. However, the English versions also appear to be indirectly related to the French versions, since they carry some traces from these as well, to be explored in sections 5.3. and 5.4.

Chapter 4 explored how these global news agencies operate and the practices of agents producing multilingual news about international events and realities within these agencies, information that is globalized by subscribing media outlets worldwide. The inherent remoteness and complexity of international news production calls for organizing multilingual news coverage for its systematic study, especially when societal matters are represented.

I will apply *a priori* the perspective of ‘journalistic translation’ proposed by the sociologist of information Erick Lagneau (2007, *my translation*) and journalist of political coverage in AFP. Lagneau refers to ‘traduction journalistique’ as the way in which an electoral event is ‘translated’, ordered, and put in conventional journalistic formats for its production and diffusion. This metaphorical notion of translation will be coupled with concepts from news translation studies concerning the re-contextualization of political communication and translation (Schäffner, 2010), along with ‘patchwork’ practices (Davier, 2017) in multilingual news production to understand the complexities when studying multilingual news coverage.

Building on news coverage from AFP, this overview of the news translation phenomenon aims to answer the first general research question of this thesis and its subsequent sub-questions: *What characterises the multilingual news production about Bolivia from Global News Agencies? How are the multilingual news dispatches related? (i.e., can translation be considered a type of news writing?) Can this contrasted evidence contribute to discussing the role of translation in multilingual news production more widely?* This chapter will also explore the discursive dimension of news translation, albeit briefly, a topic which is at the core of the third research question.

A cautionary note should be voiced concerning this chapter’s length. Its greater extent compared to the following analytical chapters is justified since it intends to provide an overarching perspective from the translation phenomenon in multilingual news writing and about complementary analytical approaches to studying news translation *stricto sensu*. Then, I suggest reading this chapter as a

Añez started soon after until the 2020 elections, which MAS party won with over 55% of the votes (Morales’ Movement towards Socialism party, with L. Arce as presidential candidate).

superordinate one, whereby the subsequent analytical chapters emanate from this one to focus on specific matters identified and discussed here.

Returning briefly to my proposal of reading this phenomenon as a kaleidoscope, this chapter precisely wears that polymorphous lens. Even though the focus here is on translation as a key enabler for multilingual news production, I will draw on precise potential applications of this translational framework to the contextual and discursive dimensions, and vice-versa.

5.1. The Electoral ‘Journalistic Translation’ Translated

With the purpose of exploring the relationship holding this multilingual news coverage together at the entry level, this section describes in a nutshell the selection, organization, and contrast of the data, along with a brief analysis of its genealogy.

5.1.1. Selecting the data

The multilingual news dispatches under analysis constitute the electoral dossier by AFP covering the 2020 Bolivian general elections, for president, vice president, and the parliament. It provides a general background of the country; economic, electoral, and socio-political analysis; a depiction of the main presidential candidates; the vote results and key issues at stake for the president-elect, all of which include a diversity of direct quotes from political stakeholders and local citizens. It summarizes these different angles in the span of 7 days surrounding the actual event: the Election Day, 18th October, between the 14th and the 20th of October, 2020.

This dossier includes 21 dispatches in Spanish, 11 in French, and 10 in English. Out of these 42 news dispatches, 18 parallel texts were selected, which constitute 6 multilingual sets of news dispatches concurrently published in Spanish, French, and English. The remaining news items from this dossier that were not selected as multilingual sets were not published in parallel trilingual versions. The ones selected matched the linguistic, topical, temporal, and taxonomic criteria methodologically pre-established, aspects that were addressed in Chapter 3.

5.1.2. Organizing the data

Once having constituted the 6 sets of trilingual versions, the contextual and temporal relationship between the Spanish, French, and English versions became increasingly evident, meaning that the existence of key moments concentrating more news production in multilingual nodes surfaced. To organize this news coverage and transcend the analysis from isolated articles, I considered important identifying such key moments over the electoral event represented by AFP. Borrowing the concept of ‘journalistic translation’ (Lagneau, 2007) from media studies seemed relevant since key ‘electoral moments’ apparently lead to producing multilingual news coverage and devoting more human and

economic resources to it only at specific moments. These 6 multilingual sets conform with the 6 electoral moments displayed in *Table 5.1.*, in addition to the selection criteria explained in Chapter 3.

Due to its extension and apparent topical complexity, it seemed relevant to deconstruct (Lagneau, 2007) the whole election into typical micro-events, namely, pre-electoral, electoral, and post-electoral ones. The news coverage analysed can thus be sub organized as pre-electoral (1-3), electoral (4), and post-electoral (5-6), as follows:

N.	Topic	Dates (October)	News items
1	Closure of the electoral rallies and profile of main contenders	14 th and 15 th	1a, 1b, 1c
2	Summary on key economic, electoral, and political issues	15 th and 16 th	2a, 2b, 2c
3	General contextualization about Bolivia	15 th and 16 th	3a, 3b, 3c
4	Reporting the electoral day and general national ambience	18 th and 19 th	4a, 4b, 4c
5	Unofficial results and the elected president's profile	19 th	5a, 5b, 5c
6	Introducing the future president, key issues and political updates	20 th	6a, 6b, 6c
Total of parallel news items			18

Table 5.1. Temporal key nodes in multilingual electoral news coverage

5.1.3. Contrasting the data

Each linguistic version was first analysed independently—in Spanish, French, and English—to observe its structural and topical features and to contrast them later as multilingual sets of news coverage. At this point and in order to track down the genesis of these multilingual versions, paratextual evidence surrounding each news dispatch was considered (Batchelor, 2018), also referred as co-textual evidence (Davies, 2017), *e.g.* metadata providing precise information about elements of news production, such as time and date of publication (see Ch.3). With the aim of garnering this paratextual evidence to establish a preliminary translation relationship, *Table 5.2.* showcases the headlines of the news dispatches analysed, along with their language, datelines, order of publication, and word length, relationship that will be described in the next section.

N.	Multilingual Headlines	Language and Dateline	Or.	Wrds.
1a	Mesa y Arce cierran en Bolivia campaña electoral polarizada por la figura de Evo	ES - El Alto Oct. 14, 2020 6:04 PM	1	773
1b	Derniers meetings de campagne pour l'élection présidentielle en Bolivie	FR - El Alto Oct. 15, 2020 3:56 AM	1	535
1c	Bolivian rivals end campaigns ahead of Sunday vote	EN - La Paz Oct. 15, 2020 6:30 PM	1	274
2a	Bolivia golpeada por la pandemia y la economía vuelve a las urnas	ES - La Paz Oct. 15, 2020 3:14 PM	2	813
2b	Les Boliviens rappelés aux urnes après l'échec du scrutin présidentiel de 2019	FR - La Paz Oct. 16, 2020 4:45 AM	2	700
2c	Bolivia set to vote for president after polarized campaign	EN - La Paz Oct. 16, 2020 5:31 AM	2	748
3a	Bolivia, el país de América con mayor cantidad de indígenas	ES - La Paz Oct. 15, 2020 7:18 PM	3	738
3b	Bolivie: un des pays du continent à la plus forte proportion d'Amérindiens	FR - La Paz Oct. 16, 2020 5:05 AM	3	713
3c	Bolivia: Turmoil in Latin America's indigenous heartland	EN - La Paz Oct. 16, 2020 10:10 AM	3	672
4a	Presidenta interina de Bolivia pide "paciencia" por lentitud de escrutinio electoral	ES - La Paz Oct. 18, 2020 11:15 PM	4	845
4b	Bolivie: la présidente demande de la "patience" devant la lenteur des résultats	FR - La Paz Oct. 19, 2020 00:40 AM	4	818
4c	Outgoing president calls for Bolivia patience with slow vote count	EN - La Paz Oct. 19, 2020 8:00 AM	4	796
5a	Candidato de Evo Morales se impone en primera vuelta de presidenciales de Bolivia	ES - La Paz Oct. 19, 2020 5:14 AM	5	789
5b	Bolivie : Luis Arce, dauphin d'Evo Morales, vainqueur de la présidentielle	FR - La Paz Oct. 19, 2020 5:49 AM	5	791
5c	Bolivia 'has recovered democracy' says Arce as exit poll suggests win	EN - La Paz Oct. 19, 2020 8:30 AM	5	741
6a	Arce tomará las riendas de una Bolivia polarizada y en crisis económica	ES - La Paz Oct. 20, 2020 2:44 AM	6	790
6b	Bolivie : Arce sera le futur président, Morales "tôt ou tard" dans le pays	FR - La Paz Oct. 20, 2020 3:17 AM	6	767
6c	Morales says will return to Bolivia after ally's election victory	EN - La Paz Oct. 20, 2020 3:29 AM	6	751

Table 5.2. Multilingual headlines by sets 1-6, where a, b, and c reflect ES, FR, EN, respectively

A strong correlation in times of publication can be seen in the information offered in *Table 5.2.*, where Spanish predates the two other languages in every case, with an average of 2 hours difference between Spanish and French, and 4 hours difference between Spanish and English publications. The news dispatches in Spanish appear to work as temporal, linguistic, and contextual guides for the ones in French and English, even hinting to the key electoral moments into which global news agencies ‘translate’ an electoral event, more precisely AFP.

Another relevant piece of information in *Table 5.2* is the correlation between the news dispatches’ length. The Spanish versions are 791 word long on average, the French ones 721, and the English shorter yet, with 664 words. These figures represent 9% and 16% of text reduction from Spanish into French and English, respectively, matching the average of translated text reduction from Spanish as industry data suggests: 10% into French and 20% into English²⁵.

5.1.4. Focusing on the genesis of ‘journalistic translation’

Having described this translation relationship in general terms, I shall briefly recall that Chapter 3 described the use of paratextual evidence to interrelate different types of textual data and to formulate sounder hypotheses about the complex relationship between translated news dispatches. This procedure ultimately aims to enlarge our understanding of news translation practices. Datelines, bylines, initials, times of publication, and word count can be considered paratexts, the thresholds (Genette, 1987) surrounding texts that allow the reader to enter the main texts. Chapter 4 approached the usefulness of observing precise times of publication and word length to map the genealogy of multilingual news items within news agency dossiers (Rodriguez-Blanco, 2024a). I now consider the potential of studying the attributions provided in AFP news dispatches, namely, the closing initials.

Due to space limitations, I will use one random set to illustrate the use of initials as paratextual evidence of a news dispatch’s journey throughout the different edition desks, in *Table 5.3*. A common trait here concerns the presence of initials ‘bur-jf’ in the trilingual versions, which demonstrates that the Spanish version generates the other two: *bur-* accounts for the desk (or ‘bureau’ in French) and the initials for the journalist in charge (bolded and corresponding to the Spanish editor, here). These initials are reused in the French and English versions followed by a slash and other subsequent initials, which stands for the passing to other edition desks that retake the original news item, *i.e.*, the Spanish one.

News dispatch	⇒	ES <i>2a</i>	FR <i>2b</i>	EN <i>2c</i> ²⁶
Paratext	⇒	bur-jf /pb/gm	bur-jf /lab/bj/roc	bur-jf /pb/gm/bc/jm/leg

Table 5.3. Paratexts across one multilingual set: Relevant initials in **bold**

²⁵ <https://abctranslations.com/text-expansion-and-reduction-in-translation-services>

²⁶ In tables: Spanish (ES), French (FR), English (EN), whereby the news item number corresponds to *1a*, *1b*, *1c*, etc.

I will focus next on the case of all French publications to illustrate this further, in *Table 5.4*. Every news item analysed here carries the initials bolded below, whether in the role of journalist in charge of translating the news item (*i.e.*, 1b, 4b, 5b, 6b, placed in initial positions), or as a proof-reader (*i.e.*, 2b, 3b, placed in rear positions) (in this case, corresponding to the French editor). Again, *bur-* indicates that information from a previous desk—Spanish—has been retaken to produce the French versions. Under a different format, the initials before the slash specify the journalists collaborating in the Spanish version in news item 3b (*i.e.*, *ber-mm-ang/*), while the journalists working on the French version are mentioned after the slash, included the bolded initials that I elaborated on previously (*i.e.*, */cds/bj/roc*).

News dispatch	FR 1b	FR 2b	FR 3b	FR 4b	FR 5b	FR 6b
Paratext	bur-jf/dga/ bj / sg/plh/cn	bur-jf/lab/ bj /roc	ber-mm-ang/ cds/ bj /roc	bur- bj / pz	bur- bj / ahe	bur- bj / bds/am

Table 5.4. Paratexts across all sets in one language: Relevant initials in **bold**

Fundamentally, this evidence does not only show the complex journey that news items go through across different agency desks, shedding light on its genesis, it also illustrates the multi-authored nature of multilingual news writing: some news items may carry up to 6 initials, meaning that at least 6 journalists were involved in its writing, translating or editing, such as the English version in 2c, above. The potential of observing paratextual evidence seems promising, I will elaborate on it in reference to patchwork as a news writing practice (Section 5.4.).

A limitation should be pointed out to conclude this analytical section. Having accessed these AFP news dispatches consistently through Nexis Uni, I acknowledge that accounting for the actual timing of publication and provision of news dispatches to AFP clients is beyond the scope of this research. This access being doubly mediated (by AFP and by Nexis Uni), I am aware information may not be complete and minor errors in paratextual evidence might exist.

5.2. Translational relationship

5.2.1. Topical distribution

The previous section dealt with the hypothetical relationship between multilingual news sets. I examined particularly the ‘journalistic translation’ of the event into key electoral moments and the methodological potential of observing paratextual evidence to accompany this approach. Thus far, this translational relationship has proven to exist in linguistic, topical, temporal, and paratextual terms, so I may now endeavour a deeper understanding of it. To do so, the topical distribution of information is contrasted across these multilingual sets.

Since these six sets were sequentially published within one week, I shall illustrate the information distribution with the initial, middle, and final sets (sets *n. 1, 3, and 6*; news items *a, b, and c* in each), to be as objective as possible. The aim is to identify the topical distribution of equivalent segments that

are present in the three versions. In this sense, linguistic aspects concerning translation proper will not be dealt with here, since they will be more thoroughly covered in subsequent sections. The information blocks within each news dispatch were traced down and then coloured accordingly. Chapter 3 stated that the approach to analysing the texts is retrospective from target to source texts: I start reading closely the French and English versions to annotate the existing segments and then go back to the Spanish versions to find their intertextual relationship. In broad terms, the resulting types of relationship found here can be categorized in a continuum of intervention, as follows in *Figure 5.5*:

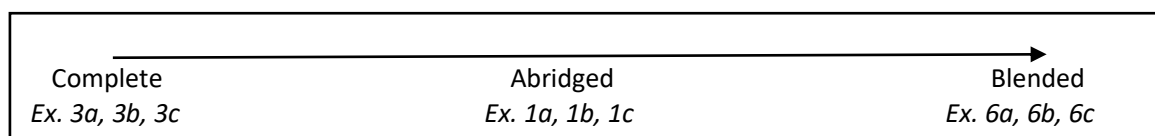


Figure 5.5. Continuum of intervention: Complete, Abridged, and Blended translation.

To the left of the continuum, a Complete intertextual relationship stands, meaning that all segments constituting the target news dispatches (in French and English) derive from the presumed original (in Spanish) with slight precisions added. This comprehensive interlingual transfer seems evident in *set n.3*. An Abridged relationship stands in the centre, since all segments kept in the target news dispatches derive from the Spanish version and are closely rendered, but in shorter versions, showcased in *set n.1*. To the right, *set n.6* illustrates a Blended relationship, where most segments from Spanish are rendered in the target versions, involving reordering and additions of previously published or new information.

I will now delve further into each type of relationship, by characterizing it in topical, quantitative, and qualitative terms. At the end of this section, *Figure 5.6* illustrates this continuum, where corresponding segments across the multilingual versions are showcased by colours, along with *Table 5.7* summarizing this analysis.

5.2.1.1. Complete relationship

This type of relationship is reflected by *set n.3* (news items *3a, 3b, 3c*), which provides a full summary and general contextualization about Bolivia few days before the Election. Its leads give a pre-electoral overview, followed by five subheads and information blocks covering key historical, sociopolitical, economic, and geographic information. All three versions respect this macro-structure, with slight segment re-orderings within each information block.

When observing this relationship quantitatively, 30 out of 33 segments²⁷ in Spanish were rendered in the French and English versions. The totality of segments in French derives from the Spanish one

²⁷ By segment, I refer to the units provided by AFP and Nexis Uni, which I did not segment myself. These range between 2 and 5 sentences. One-sentence segments are more common in English. Some segments were split in two during the linguistic transfer, but are still traceable interlingually. My counting may seem uncoherent for this reason. It is worth mentioning that English versions are not larger in words, but that may involve more segments, since these have been split, adding up its total number.

(29 out of 29), while in English, only one segment does not (31 out of 32). In qualitative terms, the three short segments from Spanish that were omitted referred to: main electoral contenders, former president E. Morales (concerning social welfare and environmental policies), and interim president J. Añez. The only segment added in English briefly characterises Bolivia as an Andean country.

5.2.1.2. *Abridged relationship*

The abridged relationship is reflected by *set n.1* (news items *1a, 1b, 1c*), which covers the topic of closing electoral rallies, with a brief profile and direct quotes from the main electoral contenders. Its heads and leads are similar, portraying the pre-electoral ambience across the trilingual versions. The Spanish version carries two subheads, while French and English versions have omitted them, but keep the information blocks originally contained under them. Spanish and French versions provide some background about the 2019 annulled elections as well.

In quantitative terms, 12 out of 22 segments have been rendered from Spanish. Every segment in the French version derives from Spanish (14 out of 14), while in English only one segment does not (8 out of 9). The only segment added in English is a sentence literally translated from the Spanish alert brief that was published few hours earlier. Even though all segments in French and English versions derive from Spanish—except for the one just mentioned—, a considerable number of segments from Spanish were not rendered, since French and English versions are abridged (especially the English one). Still, they seem to derive only from one Spanish source and its interlinguistic relationship remains clearly traceable. Not having rendered various Spanish segments, the qualitative variation seems major. The omitted segments offered information concerning facts about Bolivia, its electoral body, and international electoral observers, originally placed at the end of the Spanish version (ss.#17-22).

5.2.1.3. *Blended relationship*

The third type of relationship, the blended one, can be illustrated by *set n.6* (news items *6a, 6b, 6c*), which reported about the electoral winner, key foreseeable issues for his future tenure, and updates about relevant political actors and foreign affairs. The three leads carry the same information and involve slight reordering. The Spanish and English versions are structured within two subheads, while the French version comprises only one. The second half of the French and English versions involve more reordering than the first one, as well as apparently new paragraphs, additions that will be examined in subsections 5.3 and 5.4.

In quantitative terms, 4 out of 26 segments from the Spanish version were not rendered. In the French one, 21 out of 24 segments come from Spanish, while in English 25 out of 32 do so. Additionally, one segment in English seems to result from the French version. As for the qualitative

variation, the 4 segments omitted from Spanish concern direct quotes by local citizens (in reference to political and religious matters), details about the new government’s tenure, and the Parliament.

Furthermore, the paragraphs added in the French version report about the future president’s profile (Arce), the interim president (Añez), the former president (Morales), and the 2019 political crisis. The 3 segments added were already published in previous news dispatches, pointing into practices of patchwork news writing. Instead, the English version added 7 segments: 4 appear to be rewritten (with new information) and 3 to be recycled from previous publications in the dossier. I shall return to the recycling of segments across French and English news dispatches in subsection 5.4, when exploring the cumulative nature of multilingual news writing. *Figure 5.6* and *Table 5.7* below aim at providing a visual guidance to read these multilingual sets and summarize the issues covered thus far.

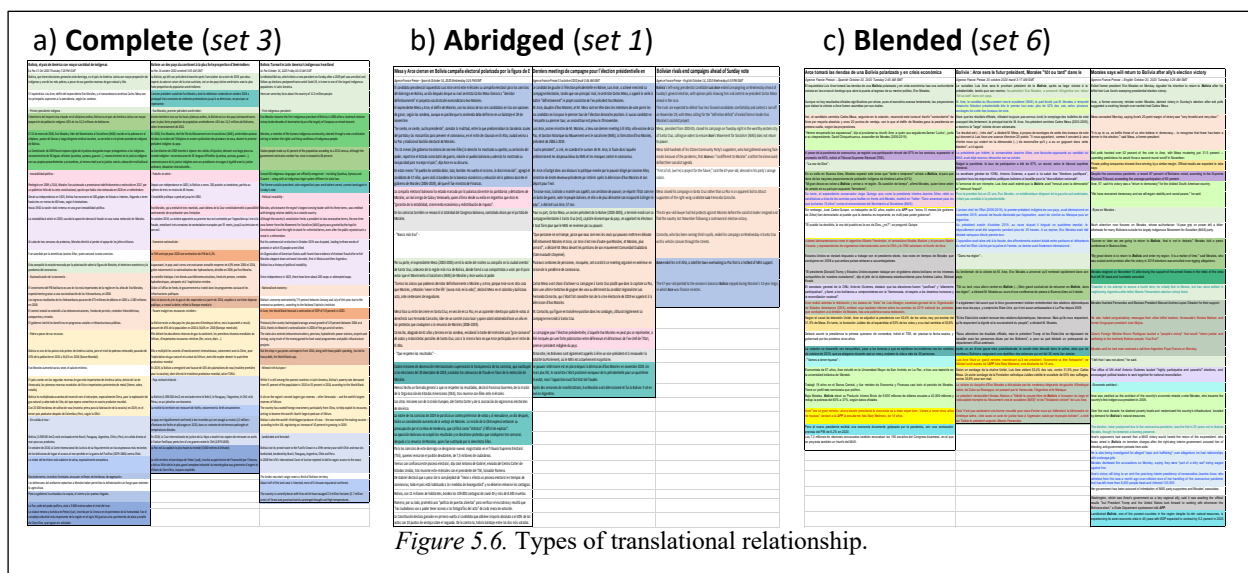


Figure 5.6. Types of translational relationship.

Fig. 5.6. displays the multilingual sets, with the Spanish version to the left, the French one in the middle, and the English one to the right. The shading colouring showcases the correspondent segments so that their redistribution and reordering across the multilingual versions can be appreciated comprehensively, rather than focusing on the texts. Segments without correspondence have not been coloured (in white), whether they exist only in the Spanish version or are added in the French and English versions, which do not seem interlingually traceable.

In (a) *Complete relationship*, the information transfer seems uniform, the structure remains similar, slight reordering occurs within each subsection, and the articles length corresponds fairly to one another. In (b) *Abridged relationship*, while the Spanish version is considerably longer than the French and English ones, a strong topical and linguistic correspondence is visible: every segment in French was translated from Spanish and it basically follows the same thematic structure. Instead, one segment was added in English and some information is presented in a different order. In the (c) *Blended*

relationship, the articles length matches across versions, but substantial reordering occurs, especially in the second half of the articles. Moreover, several paragraphs were added in French and English versions, both appearing to interrelate bilingually as well. This opens the perspective of an indirect relationship between the French and English versions; I will return to it in subsection 5.4., when examining cumulative news writing.

Table 5.7. summarizes the main findings concerning the dimensions of the multilingual relationship under the perspective of the ‘Journalistic translation’ of an electoral event.

Entry level							
	Overall Relationship			Formal relationship (1 close to 5 distant)			
	ES/FR	ES/EN	FR/EN	Headlines	Leads	Subheads	Word length
Set 1	Complete	Abridged	None	1	2	5	5
Set 3	Complete	Complete	None	2	1	1	1
Set 6	Blended	Blended	Abridged	3	2	3	2
Macro-textual analysis							
	QUANTITATIVE (Amount of segments)			QUALITATIVE (Topics)			
	ES	From ES in FR	From ES in EN	ES (Omitted)		FR – EN (Added)	
Set 1 (%)	22	14/14 (100%)	8/9 (89 %)	TSE, OAS, Bolivian data		<i>Partial</i> : profile Mesa	
<i>Omitted Added</i>	11	- 0	- 1 CNR				
Set 3 (%)	33	29/29 (100%)	31/32 (97%)	Añez, Morales, welfare, environment		<i>Partial</i> : economy, geography	
<i>Omitted Added</i>	3	- 0	- ½ CNR				
Set 6 (%)	26	21/24 (88%)	25/32 (78%)	Elections, parliament, new tenure, Arce, local quotes (Añez, God)		Arce & MAS party, Añez, Morales (2019 crisis, exile, charges)	
<i>Omitted Added</i>	4	- 5 CNR	8 3 CNR, 4 RWR				

Table 5.7. Summary of entry level and macro-textual analyses. CNR: cumulative news writing; RWR: rewriting

Table 5.7. points to two key issues that arise only by viewing this comparative data in a summarized fashion. At a topical and qualitative level, the information that appears to be generally omitted from the Spanish versions concern detailed local information that may be deemed routine and irrelevant for the global audience: facts about the country, the electoral body, the elections, and the parliament, welfare and environmental policies, local citizens’ religious views, or detailed information about the interim president (Añez) and the future president (Arce). In parallel, the information that is systematically brought into focus or added concerns economic and geographic precisions, profiles of political actors: references to former president (Morales) were vastly repeated in relation to the 2019 crisis, his exile, presumed charges, his political party and political “heir” (*i.e.* then president-elect), all carrying negative evaluation.

From a quantitative perspective, this summary hints to the cumulative and multi-source nature of multilingual news writing as a practice of patchwork (Davier, 2012): general information rendered in the three cases appear to derive directly from the parallel versions, but information added—which

would be considered new—is actually recycled from previous news dispatches. This fact is more visible in the fifth and sixth news dispatches, which are the last ones. Furthermore, this last set shows how few re-writings exist (only 4 segments) and that the French and English versions are indirectly related, particularly, when segments are recycled. This ultimately highlights the expertise of journalists (in this case, French or English editors/news translators), that prioritise some topics over others to tailor their translations to functionally meet the expectations of their ‘ideal’ global reader.

5.2.2. Heads, leads and framing devices: functional journalistic translation

Having elaborated so far on the chronological, linguistic, and topical relationship, broadly categorized as Complete, Abridged, and Blended, and on the structural and topical redistribution of information in French and English versions, I shall now analyse the functional relationship between multilingual news dispatches. For this, I will analyse the closeness and distance between these multilingual sets focusing on their headlines, along with leads and other framing devices.

The working hypothesis is that the distance between headlines anticipates the information that will be added or omitted in the body of the French and English versions. However, and under the light of the cumulative writing that was encountered thus far, what would be considered added information seems in fact to be reused segments (monolingual or bilingual) from previous news dispatches in the same dossier, that were already published or translated. For this part and due to space limitations, I concentrate on the working typology of relationship to examine one rendition per news set in the first two cases (*i.e.*, a bilingual relationship) and conclude with the trilingual one. I present these cases in chronological order as if one was reading them as the event unfolds.

N.	Headlines
1a	Mesa y Arce cierran en Bolivia campaña electoral polarizada por la figura de Evo [Mesa and Arce close electoral campaign in Bolivia polarized by the figure of Evo] ²⁸
1b	Derniers meetings de campagne pour l'élection présidentielle en Bolivie [Last campaign rallies for the presidential election in Bolivia]
1c	Bolivian rivals end campaigns ahead of Sunday vote
3a	Bolivia, el país de América con mayor cantidad de indígenas [Bolivia, the country in the Americas with the largest number of indigenous people]
3b	Bolivia: un des pays du continent à la plus forte proportion d'Amérindiens [Bolivia: one of the countries on the continent with the highest proportion of Amerindians]
3c	Bolivia: Turmoil in Latin America's indigenous heartland
6a	Arce tomará las riendas de una Bolivia polarizada y en crisis económica [Arce will take the reins of a polarized Bolivia in economic crisis]
6b	Bolivia : Arce sera le futur président, Morales "tôt ou tard" dans le pays [Bolivia: Arce will be the future president, Morales "sooner or later" in the country]
6c	Morales says will return to Bolivia after ally's election victory

Table 5.8. Multilingual headlines analysed in section 3.2. (news sets n.1, 3, and 6)

²⁸ As described in Ch.3, all [glosses] provided from ES/FR into EN were produced by Google translate.

5.2.2.1. Closing rallies: Abridged relationship

In the initial news set (n.1), the headline in Spanish ‘Mesa y Arce cierran en Bolivia campaña electoral polarizada por la figura de Evo’ was rendered in French as ‘Derniers meetings de campagne pour l’élection présidentielle en Bolivie’. The reference to ‘polarization’ around former president was omitted in French, focusing instead on a plain description of the electoral event and the closing rallies. As previously described, every segment in the French version derives from the Spanish one without additions, however the rendition is shorter (770 vs. 535 words), so various segments were omitted.

A) Close renditions in leads and direct quotes

Spanish and French leads seem to relate very closely: they provide an overview of the electoral ambience, brief profiles of the two main contenders, and direct quotes from the cheering during the closing rally and from the candidates. The following example concerns the rendition of a key segment in the lead, the opening sentence:

ES (s.#1)²⁹ - El candidato presidencial izquierdista Luis Arce cerró este miércoles su campaña electoral para los comicios del domingo en Bolivia, un día después de que su rival centrista Carlos Mesa llamara a "derrotar definitivamente" el proyecto socialista del exmandatario Morales. [*The leftist presidential candidate Luis Arce closed his electoral campaign on Wednesday for Sunday's elections in Bolivia, a day after his centrist rival Carlos Mesa called to "definitively defeat" the socialist project of former president Morales.*]

FR (s.#1) - Le candidat de gauche à l'élection présidentielle en Bolivie, Luis Arce, a achevé mercredi sa campagne électorale, tandis que son principal rival, le centriste Carlos Mesa, a appelé la veille à battre "définitivement" le projet socialiste de l'ex-président Morales. [*The left-wing candidate for the presidential election in Bolivia, Luis Arce, ended his electoral campaign on Wednesday, while his main rival, the centrist Carlos Mesa, called the day before to defeat "definitively" the socialist project of the ex-President Morales.*]

The whole segment has been comprehensively and closely rendered. Two deictic elements have been slightly changed and concern temporal references: the election day was omitted (*i.e.*, Sunday), and the closing rallies day underwent a translational modulation (shifting the perspective of the day, *i.e.*, after or before in Spanish or English). The following information in the body has been rendered with almost no variation, keeping interlinguistic cohesion in the argument and information blocks.

B) Slight distance in reorderings

All segments in French are rendered from the Spanish version, the main distance relates to the reordering of some paragraphs. The most noticeable one concerns a segment in the Spanish lead describing a polarizing electoral campaign, that has been moved to the bottom of the article in French and involves a precise omission and addition. It was rendered as follows:

ES (s.#6) - La campaña electoral boliviana ha estado marcada por la polarización entre los partidarios y detractores de Morales, un leal amigo de Cuba y Venezuela (...). [*The Bolivian electoral campaign has been marked by polarization between supporters and detractors of Morales, a loyal friend of Cuba and Venezuela (...)*]

FR (s.#11) - La campagne pour l'élection présidentielle, à laquelle Evo Morales ne peut pas se représenter, a été marquée par une forte polarisation entre défenseurs et détracteurs de l'ex-chef de

²⁹ All tables contrasting news segments show the language first and are followed by the segment number: **ES** (s.#1)

l'Etat (...). [The campaign for the presidential election, in which Evo Morales cannot run, was marked by strong polarization between defenders and detractors of the former head of state (...)]

This rendition is almost literal except for the underlined omission/addition in the corresponding versions. In Spanish, the reference to former president Morales is accompanied by his presumed closeness to Cuba and Venezuela, while in French this closeness is omitted and a precision is added about him being unable to run for the elections. This phrasing in French is repeated in several occasions across the subsequent news dispatches, an aspect to be discussed in subsection 5.4. and in Chapter 3.

These examples illustrate an *Abridged relationship* since, on the one hand, a very close translation occurs, that could be considered literal and it results solely from one source. On the other hand, it involves several segment omissions. In other words, the translational relationship seems clear: all information in French can be tracked down to the Spanish source that predates it (shown in Section 1). Nonetheless, its partiality relies in the variation in the amount of information offered—the Spanish version offering more—, involving some rearrangements in the ordering. One might then presume that their diverging length responds to a shift in their functional purpose, which can be anticipated in the headlines: namely, the French version offers a state of things and prioritizes electoral general matters.

5.2.2.2. *Contextualizing Bolivia: Complete relationship*

The middle news set (*n.3*) was closely rendered both into French and English and can exemplify the complete translational relationship, as shown in *Fig. 5.3*. In general, little distance exists between the translated whole items and I will focus on the relationship between Spanish and English, since the Spanish and French ones hold an even closer relationship. The Spanish headline ‘Bolivia, el país de América con mayor cantidad de indígenas’ [*Bolivia, the country in the Americas with the largest number of indigenous people*] was rendered in English as ‘Bolivia: Turmoil in Latin America's indigenous heartland’. The most evident distance here is the addition of the lexical item ‘turmoil’ in first position of the headline, along with the rendition of ‘indigenous heartland’ as equivalent of ‘con mayor cantidad de indígenas’. As suggested by Sidiropoulou (1995) and Hernandez Guerrero (2022), news headlines are rarely translated intact, which seems even expectable. I shall examine the initial segment of the leads:

ES (s.#1) - Bolivia, que tiene elecciones generales este domingo, es el país de América Latina con mayor proporción de indígenas y uno de los más pobres (...). [*Bolivia, which has general elections this Sunday, is the Latin American country with the highest proportion of indigenous people and one of the poorest*]

EN (s.#1) - Landlocked Bolivia, which elects a new president on Sunday after a 2019 poll was annulled and follow-up elections postponed twice (...), is home to one of the largest indigenous populations in Latin America.

The addition in English (underlined in s.#1) comes from a later segment in the Spanish version (s.#16), which was summarized and upgraded to the English lead, variation that is also present in French. This segment is about electoral and sanitary pressing matters and was chunked and moved to the English

lead, which may hint to a priority of consistency with the addition of the word ‘turmoil’ in the headline, since no mention to a conflictive situation exists in the Spanish headline nor lead. Also, the phrasing ‘Landlocked Bolivia’, heading the English lead, repeats across several news dispatches in this dossier; this point will be discussed in Chapter 7 concerning the discursive dimension of news translation.

This set was categorized as a Complete translational relationship and the most accurate way to illustrate this closeness is by drawing on the five subheads under which the text body is structured, all of which were comprehensively rendered in the English and French versions, and the information blocks within them cohere topically and linguistically between the multilingual versions. *Table 5.9.* below compares the Spanish and English ones:

	Spanish	English
1	Primer presidente indígena [<i>First indigenous president</i>]	First indigenous president
2	Inestabilidad política [<i>Political instability</i>]	Political instability
3	Nacionalización de la economía [<i>Nationalization of the economy</i>]	Nationalized economy
4	Pobre a pesar de sus recursos [<i>Poor despite its resources</i>]	Mineral-rich but poor
5	Sin salida al mar [<i>Without access to the sea</i>]	Landlocked <u>and forested</u>

Table 5.9. Bilingual subheads in set n.3

The sole variation in the English renditions concerns the addition of ‘and forested’ (#5 underlined) in the fifth subhead, whereas the Spanish version only mentions the Bolivian condition of being landlocked (‘Sin salida al mar’). However, this complete and close rendering in subheads was not common across the remaining multilingual sets analysed, since these tend to be paraphrased and were not rendered literally, as in this case.

5.2.2.3. *Introducing the president-elect and foreseeable issues: Blended relationship*

Lastly, the final news set (*n.6*) was categorized as Blended due to its apparent multisource nature. One might argue that this is the least evident type of news translation to the ‘naked eye’ (Partington, 2014) and it may illustrate the extent to which translation is pushed to its limits in multilingual news writing. I shall draw on the trilingual relationship to reflect on the overarching complexities of this study.

The headline in Spanish ‘Arce tomará las riendas de una Bolivia polarizada y en crisis económica’ [*Arce will take the reins of a polarized Bolivia and in economic crisis*] was rendered in French as ‘Bolivie : Arce sera le futur président, Morales "tôt ou tard" dans le pays’ [*Bolivia: Arce will be the future president, Morales "sooner or later" in the country*] and as ‘Morales says will return to Bolivia after ally's election victory’ in English. First, I will focus on the distance between these translated headlines, to then move on to their closeness.

The most evident change in French and English is the reference to former president Morales, which does not exist in Spanish. In the case of French, this reference is the second piece of information and follows the reference to Arce as future president. Instead, it is prioritized to the first position in English.

Additionally, it is worth noticing that the English version does not provide a name for the future president and it only addresses him as ‘Morales’ ally’, diminishing his agency (further references are made in Chapter 7). Furthermore, one might argue that the French headline stands in between the Spanish and the English ones: on the one hand, it renders ‘tomará las riendas’ from Spanish (*he will take charge of*) as ‘sera le future president’ (*he will be the future president*), but also reports on Morales returning to Bolivia ‘tot ou tard’ (*sooner or later*), which is mentioned in English, but not in Spanish. With these changes in mind, I may now relate these headlines to their leads, as compared below:

ES (s.#1) - El izquierdista Luis Arce tomará las riendas de una Bolivia polarizada y en crisis económica tras una contundente victoria en las urnas el domingo que abre la puerta al regreso de su mentor político, Evo Morales. [*Leftist Luis Arce will take the reins of a polarized Bolivia in economic crisis after a resounding victory at the polls on Sunday that opens the door to the return of his political mentor, Evo Morales.*]

FR (s.#1) - Le socialiste Luis Arce sera le prochain président de la Bolivie, après sa large victoire à la présidentielle, tandis que son mentor, l'ex-président Evo Morales, a annoncé d'Argentine son retour "tôt ou tard" dans son pays. [*Socialist Luis Arce will be Bolivia's next president, after his big victory in the presidential election, while his mentor, ex-president Evo Morales, announced from Argentina that he would return "sooner or later" to his country.*]

EN (s.#1) - Exiled former president Evo Morales on Monday signaled his intention to return to Bolivia after his leftist heir Luis Arce's sweeping presidential election victory.

The most evident distance in here is the focus on former president Morales, in conformity with the shifts in the multilingual headlines. The Spanish version prioritizes reporting Arce’s resounding victory, his future presidential challenges in a polarized country facing an economic crisis, and the possibility of Morales returning to Bolivia (4 sub-topics). The French version also prioritizes the reference to Arce’s victory but omits the reference to Bolivian socioeconomic situation and reinforces Morales’ return in more conclusive terms (3 sub-topics). The English version prioritizes Morales’ intention to return after Arce’s victory and the socioeconomic reference is omitted (3 sub-topics).

It seems worth exploring the degree of certainty around how Morales’ presumed return is depicted: while in Spanish the wording ‘*abrir la puerta*’ (to open the door) subtly suggests such a return, it is reinforced in French by the addition of ‘*tot ou tard*’ (sooner or later) and of Morales’ place of residence, *i.e.*, Argentina; in English, the condition of ‘exiled’ is added. This return is only a possibility in Spanish, while it seems more certain in French and English.

In sum, information around Morales is present in the three leads: it backdrops the victory of future president and the Bolivian socioeconomic context in Spanish; it follows the electoral victory in French; and it is prioritized over the electoral victory in English. With this contrastive background in mind, I shall move on to the remaining half of the leads:

ES (s.#2) - Aunque no hay resultados oficiales significativos por ahora, pues el escrutinio avanza lentamente, las proyecciones que daban la victoria a Arce fueron asumidas por sus rivales. [*Although there are no significant official results for now, as the scrutiny is progressing slowly, the projections that gave Arce victory were assumed by his rivals.*]

FR (s.#3) - Alors que les résultats officiels, n'étaient toujours pas connus lundi, le comptage des bulletins de vote avançant très lentement, le principal rival de M. Arce, l'ex-président centriste Carlos Mesa (2003-2005), a reconnu la "large" victoire de son adversaire. [*While the official results were still not known on Monday, the counting of the ballots advancing very slowly, the main rival of Mr. Arce, the centrist ex-president Carlos Mesa (2003-2005), recognized the " wide" victory of his opponent.*]

EN (s.#2) - Arce, a former economy minister under Morales, claimed victory in Sunday's election after exit polls suggested a crushing triumph over centrist rival Carlos Mesa.

These leads show that the background of a slow count and of the unofficial but clear electoral victory is present in the three cases—rendered more explicitly in French—, along with two components: Arce's victory and his rivals. In Spanish, the electoral rivals concede, reported without further detail; in French, only the main rival does (*i.e.*, centrist former president Mesa) and it is contextualized; in English, it is Arce who claims victory over the centrist rival, reported more precisely, again with a reference to Morales. The fact that this is the third example where Morales' figure is brought to focus in key nodes of information, especially in the English renditions, points to the newsworthiness (Bednarek & Caple, 2017) that is construed around this political stakeholder and to the way translation provides the linguistic means for it. Subsections 5.3 and 5.4 will address this matter and more fundamentally Chapter 7.

This section aimed at showing how precise distance in headlines is often accompanied by similar shifts in the leads, where key sub-topics are prioritized over others in each version. This does in no way mean that equivalent segments are not traceable, even after sub-topics are reordered. Instead, I wish to claim that they mostly are interlingually traceable, but that subtle changes in the heads and leads will already guide the reader into the reordering and eventual additions/omissions in the subsequent text body, cohesively and functionally. I will return to this in the next two sections of the present chapter: statements from relevant international and national political stakeholders will be analysed under the light of re-contextualization of translated news (Schäffner, 2010), and the socioeconomic context of Bolivia will be analysed from the perspective of patchwork (Davies, 2017) in news writing.

Finally, the need for argumentative cohesion in translated news dispatches to conform with their respective heads and leads seems to go in line with the purpose of each linguistic version, and consequently, its audience expectations. Then, we may be faced with multilingual translations of journalistic texts that meet functional needs in terms of the context of news production (the geographic location, the news agency, the teams of journalists, or the timing pressures) and the expectations of their global 'imagined audience' (Coddington et al., 2021).

Returning to the words of Lagneau, the 'journalistic translation' of an electoral event cannot be reduced to an incoherent publication of sequential news dispatches, nor to simple factual reporting from the event (2007, p.117, my translation); rather the planning of such news coverage entails setting

priorities around micro-events, relevant actors, and facts, and narrating in a more interpretative fashion than a merely descriptive one. This ‘translation’ intends to give sense to the reported event. This metaphorical notion of ‘journalistic translation’ seems to be in line with a central role in news translation, the one of translators as *gatekeepers* (White, 1950).

5.3. Recontextualization

The previous section explored how the news dispatches in this electoral dossier (Laville, 2007) relate at the linguistic, topical, temporal, and taxonomic levels and constitute the ‘journalistic translation’ (Lagneau, 2007) of the 2020 Bolivian elections. By means of paratextual evidence (Batchelor, 2018), it was observed that Spanish versions always predate the French and English ones. News coverage in Spanish seemingly guides the production of the two other languages, thus, serving the purposes of an information offer for French and English edition desks. Even though it is not acknowledged, one may presume these multilingual news dispatches are translated.

Thus far, I argued that the distance between headlines may hint to the subsequent changes to be found within the body of multilingual news dispatches. I also observed that the first half of the news dispatches interrelate more closely than their second half, since leads and initial paragraphs centralize the most relevant and updated information, which tends to be shared across the multilingual versions, probably because a wider audience “consumes” only the first halves. Then, it might be assumed that the second half of news dispatches involve more distance since subtopics are to be developed further, and probably, refocused. In this section, I shall examine the development of these subtopics by contrasting the multilingual versions.

The metaphorical notion of journalistic translation takes shape as the event evolves and continuous updates are sequentially ‘translated’ by journalists according to key moments of journalistic multilingual production, as accounted for in subsection 5.2. Against this backdrop, I shall move from this translation metaphor and examine further the linguistic transfers occurring in multilingual news coverage, drawing on the recontextualization of key subtopics and focusing on the distance between multilingual versions. The relevance of observing ‘recontextualization’ should be pondered under the light of the preliminary findings, broadly understood as the processes under which political discourse is transferred (Schäffner, 2010). As the previous analytical section suggests the present topic is importantly political, this exploration will relate to potential intersections to complementary research approaches, such as ethnography and discourse analysis (Chapters 4 and 7).

I will now concentrate on the representation of subtopics that transcend Bolivian national borders in this electoral news coverage and which may carry local colour at the same time (Van Leeuwen, 1996). Schäffner argues that international political interaction ‘crosses linguistic and cultural

boundaries as a result of translation’ (2010, p.273), interactions that, on the one hand, reflect the institutional conditions surrounding them, and, on the other, derive from recontextualization processes. In other words, reactions to statements regarding one country are frequently prompted by statements made in another country, which are in fact ‘reactions to the information as it was provided in translation’ (Schäffner, 2004, p.120).

This subsection examines the recontextualizations that exist in multilingual news coverage and elaborates on the extent to which this recontextualized news coverage contributes to the dialogue from Bolivia and the international community at a specific point in time of social import as represented in this multilingual electoral news coverage by AFP. To do so, the axes explored in the following subsections concern recontextualizations of political discourse on 5.3.1. *Foreign affairs* (focusing on multinational and international stakeholders) and on 5.3.2. *National issues* (concerning local citizens and political stakeholders). More specifically, these axes are observed in the renditions of reported speech and the corresponding attributions.

I shall focus on analysing the last three sets of news dispatches (*i.e.*, sets 4, 5, 6), as opposed to the initial, middle, and last ones that informed the previous analytical section. These multilingual news sets were predated by other ones in the same dossier, so, this selection intends to draw attention to signs of cumulative writing. It is worth recalling that other monolingual or bilingual versions exist in the dossier, which were not relatable multilingually by the selection criteria set beforehand (*i.e.*, topical, linguistic, temporal, and taxonomic). Hence, the multilingual sets analysed might also carry information published in these isolated news items, the latter are not under examination. Also, these late multilingual news sets can be located within the blended type of translational relationship, taking a quick step back to the continuum (Section 5.2). These appear to be of multisource nature to a certain degree and point to the existence of ‘patchwork’ practices (Davier, 2017), here referred to as cumulative news writing (to be seen in 5.4).

This selection responds not only to the comprehensive attention devoted to interlingual transfers of quotes in this subfield (Matsushita, 2019), these providing the clearest evidence of translation in multilingual news writing. It is also because the second half of news dispatches follows a conventional structure where key information is provided in quotations to develop the argument. This is paired with the centrality of ‘sources’ for journalists themselves and for global news agencies. Studying reported speech seems to carry important research value for every dimension examined in this thesis: translational, journalistic, and discursive. Before moving on to the textual analysis, *Table 5.10*. below presents the headlines of the multilingual news sets analysed in this subsection.

N.	Headlines
4a	Presidenta interina de Bolivia pide "paciencia" por lentitud de escrutinio electoral

	<i>[Interim president of Bolivia asks for "patience" due to the slowness of electoral counting]</i>
4b	Bolivie: la présidente demande de la "patience" devant la lenteur des résultats <i>[Bolivia: the president asks for "patience" in the face of the slow results]</i>
4c	Outgoing president calls for Bolivia patience with slow vote count
5a	Candidato de Evo Morales se impone en primera vuelta de presidenciales de Bolivia <i>[Evo Morales candidate prevails in the first round of Bolivian presidential elections]</i>
5b	Bolivie : Luis Arce, dauphin d'Evo Morales, vainqueur de la présidentielle <i>[Bolivia: Luis Arce, dolphin of Evo Morales, winner of the presidential]</i>
5c	Bolivia 'has recovered democracy' says Arce as exit poll suggests win
6a	Arce tomará las riendas de una Bolivia polarizada y en crisis económica <i>[Arce will take the reins of a polarized Bolivia and in economic crisis]</i>
6b	Bolivie : Arce sera le futur président, Morales "tôt ou tard" dans le pays <i>[Bolivia: Arce will be the future president, Morales "sooner or later" in the country]</i>
6c	Morales says will return to Bolivia after ally's election victory

Table 5.10. Multilingual headlines analysed in section 4. (news sets n.4, 5, and 6)

5.3.1. Recontextualizing Foreign Affairs

In broad terms, recontextualization involves the transferring of political discourse across geographical and linguistics borders where messages and arguments are transformed (Schäffner, 2010). This transfer may concern subtle linguistic transformations (*i.e.*, adapting a quote to incorporate it in sentences), but also filtering the meaning potentials of discourse, by means of omissions, additions, and reformulations (2010, p.255-6). Then, the resulting distance in the translated dispatch may concern aspects of content, quantity, focus, or layout.

To observe the crossing of political discourse beyond national borders, in the next two subsections, I will bring into focus the way in which multinational and international institutions and leaders are represented in multilingual news coverage about Bolivia. This delimitation aims to study how translated news items recontextualize political matters from a remote country and, particularly, referring to an electoral event.

5.3.1.1. Multinational stakeholders

I shall now compare the attributions from/to the United Nations (UN), the European Union (EU), and international electoral observer bodies (OAS, UNIORE, Carter Foundation) across the multilingual sets in terms of close or distant recontextualization. A brief overview of their topical surroundings shows these references relate to developing electoral matters.

Table 5.11. below summarizes annotations of close and distant renditions (in the French and English renditions from the Spanish version of set n.4) and systematises the journalistic references according to the concerned stakeholders, topics addressed in their statements, the medium by which their statements were published, the set number and segment position, along with a comment on translational aspects (if the segments were kept, added, omitted, downgraded, upgraded, or literally translated). As mentioned earlier, the findings in this succinct yet broad systematization are to be taken as an umbrella for further complementary studies. This table shows that close renditions are at stake

when contextualizing direct quotes from the United Nations (UN) General Secretary, the European Union (EU), and other multinational stakeholders across these multilingual sets.

<i>Topic, stakeholder, direct/indirect quote, medium, set n. and segment position</i>			
	Spanish	French	English
Stakeholder	a. UE: Institutional b. UN: General Secretary c. Internat. observers	a. International obs., OAS, EU, UNIORE, F. Carter, (UN) b. EU: Institutional	a. UN Gnr. Secretary (⇒ ES) b. Internat.obs., OAS, EU, UNIORE, F. Carter (⇒ FR)
Topic	a. Congratulations for peaceful elections b. Call to respect results c. Call to remain calm	a. Deployment of electoral observers b. Congratulations for peaceful elections	a. Congratulations for peaceful elections b. Congratulations for peaceful elections
Medium: Dir/Ind quote	a. Press release b. Direct quote c. Reported speech	b. Press release	No reference
Set and segment position	Set n.4 a. Lead (s. #3) b. Body (s. #20) c. Body (s. #20)	Set n.4 a. Body (s. #18) b. Body (s. #19)	Set n.4 a. & b. Body (s. #26)
Translation comment	2 segments originally	2 segments rendered: with explicitations, (omissions), position downgrade literal, word for word	2 segments condensed in 1: with explicitations, (omissions), position downgrade literal, word for word

Table 5.11. Summary of annotations regarding close and distant renditions in set n.4. Shifts in **bold** and underlined

The phraseology employed to address these key stakeholders remains similar multilingually as illustrated in the rendering of the next statements by both multinational stakeholders. The information offered in Spanish and French report an official statement by the EU, by incorporating informative elements in form of direct and indirect speech, employing quotations marks and paraphrasing.

ES (n.4, s.#3, lead) - Al felicitar al pueblo boliviano por la jornada "participativa y en paz", la Unión Europea igualmente pidió esperar los resultados "evitando cualquier provocación o acción violenta que dañe o intente desvirtuar el actual proceso electoral", indicó en un comunicado. [*Congratulating the Bolivian people for the "participatory and peaceful" day, the European Union also asked to wait for the results "avoiding any provocation or violent action that damages or tries to distort the current electoral process," it said in a statement.*]

FR (n.4, s.#19, body) - L'UE, qui a félicité dans un communiqué les Boliviens pour le scrutin "pacifique" de dimanche, leur a également demandé d'attendre les résultats "en évitant toute provocation ou action violente qui mettrait en péril ou tenterait de fausser le processus électoral actuel". [*The EU, which congratulated Bolivians in a statement on Sunday's "peaceful" vote, also asked them to wait for the results "avoiding any provocation or violent action that would jeopardize or attempt to distort the current electoral process."*]

At the translational level, all informative elements are rendered into French in an almost literal manner and two minor variations exist. These concern the reordering of elements within the sentence: in Spanish, a congratulation heads the segment, while the subject does in French, the 'EU'; the explicit reference to the press release 'comunicado' is put forward in French; and the lexical item 'participativa' was deleted when describing the election as peaceful.

Equally worthy of note is the reporting of the UN statement as rendered in English. This example should illustrate the complexities of studying multilingual news writing, since this single segment

appears to be, paradoxically, multi-sourced and literally translated at the same time. In the first half of the English segment, the reference to international electoral observers seems to be closely rendered from the French version (except for omitting one institution, UNIORE). In the second half, the reference to the UN statement seems to be closely rendered, from the Spanish one instead, here underlined (except for employing a direct quote in Spanish and a paraphrasis in English). The conjunction ‘while’ juxtaposes both segments.

EN (n.4, s.#26) - Observer missions from the European Union, OAS and the Carter Center are present, while United Nations General Secretary Antonio Guterres has called for the result to be respected.

FR (s.#18) ⇒ Des observateurs ont été dépêchés par l'Organisation des Etats américains (OEA), l'Union européenne (UE), ~~UNIORE~~ et la Fondation Carter. [*Observers were sent by the Organization of American States (OAS), the European Union (EU), ~~UNIORE~~ and the Carter Foundation.*]

ES (s. #20) ⇒ El secretario general de la ONU, Antonio Guterres, instó a "respetar los resultados". [*UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres urged to "respect the results"*]

Based on this segment’s rendition, one could assume a multisource nature of the English version, since a direct relationship between Spanish and English seems predominant and an indirect one between French and English appears to surface as well. A remark should be made on the cumulative nature of agency news writing, since this exact segment is copied verbatim in the following news dispatch and occupies a similar backgrounding position (n.5 ss.#23,26), while no equivalent is found in the Spanish parallel version. Taking this example as a cue, section 5.5 will elaborate on such recycling writing practices, which do not seem to be exceptional.

Moving from the closeness in multilingual renditions, I will now focus on their distance, drawing on reported speech attributed to one multinational stakeholder, the UN Secretary-General, Antonio Guterres. Again, with close renditions, the Spanish, French, and English versions report similarly the salutation from this stakeholder transferring all informative elements (*i.e.*, participative and peaceful elections and call to work towards a national reconciliation). The following renditions show that the Spanish and French versions attribute the salutation statement directly to the Secretary-General, himself being the subject of the clause. Instead, the English version attributes it to ‘the office of UN chief’, coupled to the shift in his title (*i.e.*, ‘chief’). Both French and English versions omit Guterres’ reference to ‘democracy’.

ES (n.6, s.#15) - El secretario general de la ONU, Antonio Guterres, destacó que las elecciones fueron "pacíficas" y "altamente participativas", y llamó a los bolivianos a comprometerse con la "~~democracia~~-y la reconciliación nacional" [*UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres stressed that the elections were "peaceful" and "highly participatory," and called on Bolivians to commit to "~~democracy~~ and national reconciliation."*]

FR (n.6, s.#7) - Le secrétaire général de l'ONU, Antonio Guterres, a quant à lui salué des "élections pacifiques", appelant tous les responsables politiques boliviens à travailler pour la "réconciliation nationale" [*UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres hailed the "peaceful elections", calling on all Bolivian politicians to work for "national reconciliation."*]

EN (n.6, s.#21) **The office of UN chief** Antonio Guterres lauded "highly participative and peaceful" elections, and encouraged political leaders to work together for national reconciliation.

Having dealt with examples of recontextualization of statements by multinational institutions, I will now analyse reporting about international stakeholders to explore the bilateral political dialogue constructed in multilingual news coverage.

5.3.1.2. International stakeholders

Based on the electoral moments that translate an electoral event into news coverage (Lagneau, 2007), I move now to the post-electoral moment, when the victory of the president-elected was announced, the rivals conceded victory, and the international community published statements. It seems that international stakeholders engage in a political dialogue based on the certainty of the vote outcome and proceed to congratulate, salute, or show expectations about the country.

This type of reporting about international political stakeholders—as opposed to multinational ones analysed thus far—was found in the last set of the electoral dossier (n.6). I will now examine the recontextualization of these stakeholders’ positions (governments, presidents, or leaders from specific countries) about the electoral outcome.

From a general standpoint, the information blocks referring to foreign affairs and Bolivia in this multilingual set concern *a) Latin American leaders, b) the United States, and c) the United Nations*. These three blocks exist across the trilingual versions, yet reordering occurs, involving some precise translation shifts. The Spanish version presents these sub-topics in the order *a) b) c) a)*, the French one as *c) b) a)*, and the English one as *a) c) b)*, as displayed in *Figure 5.12*. comparing this multilingual topical distribution. Each block contextualizes sub-topics to introduce a direct or indirect quotation from a president, leader, or representative.

ES	FR	EN
Líderes latinoamericanos como el argentino Alberto Fernández, el venezolano Nicolás Maduro y el peruano Martín Vizcarra, y representantes de organismos internacionales como la OEA y la ONU saludaron el triunfo. A	Le secrétaire général de l'ONU, Antonio Guterres, a quant à lui salué des "élections pacifiques", appelant tous les responsables politiques boliviens à travailler pour la "réconciliation nationale". C	He also hailed congratulatory messages from other leftist leaders, Venezuela's Nicolas Maduro and former Uruguayan president Jose Mujica.
Estados Unidos se declaró dispuesto a trabajar con el presidente electo, tras roces en tiempos de Morales que condujeron en 2008 a que ambos países retiraran a sus embajadores. B	Il a également fait savoir que le futur gouvernement bolivien entretiendrait des relations diplomatiques avec tous les pays, y compris les Etats Unis, qui n'ont aucun ambassadeur à La Paz depuis 2008. B	Cuba's Foreign Minister Bruno Rodríguez called a "people's victory" that would "return justice and wellbeing to the brotherly Bolivian people. Viva Evo!" A
"El presidente (Donald) Trump y Estados Unidos esperan trabajar con el gobierno electo boliviano en los intereses compartidos de nuestros ciudadanos", dijo el jefe de la diplomacia estadounidense para América Latina, Michael Kozak. C	"Si les États-Unis veulent renouer des relations diplomatiques, bienvenue. Mais qu'ils nous respectent, qu'ils respectent la dignité et la souveraineté du peuple", a déclaré M. Morales. B	Morales said he had even received a call from Argentine Pope Francis on Monday.
El secretario general de la ONU, Antonio Guterres, destacó que las elecciones fueron "pacíficas" y "altamente participativas", y que a los bolivianos a comprometerse con la "democracia, el respeto a los derechos humanos y la reconciliación nacional". C	"Nous attendons les résultats officiels, mais le président Trump et les États-Unis se réjouissent de travailler avec les personnes élues par les Boliviens", a pour sa part déclaré un porte-parole du département d'Etat américain. C	The office of UN chief Antonio Guterres lauded "highly participative and peaceful" elections, and encouraged political leaders to work together for national reconciliation. C
Arce recibió además la felicitación y los deseos de "éxito" de Luis Almagro, secretario general de la Organización de Estados Americanos (OEA), entidad cuyo lapidario informe sobre los comicios de 2019 estimuló la abstención que condujeron a la dimisión de Morales, tras una polémica nueva reelección. A	La victoire du dauphin d'Evo Morales a été saluée par de nombreux dirigeants de gauche d'Amérique latine, de Cuba au Nicaragua, en passant par le Venezuela, l'Argentine et le Mexique. A	Washington, which saw Arce's government as a key regional ally, said it was awaiting the official results. "But President Trump and the United States look forward to working with whomever the Bolivians elect," a State Department spokesman told AFP. B
[...]	Le président vénézuélien Nicolas Maduro a salué le peuple frère de Bolivie à l'occasion du large et indiscutable triomphe du Mouvement vers le socialisme (MAS) et de "l'éclatante victoire" de Luis Arce. A	[...]
	Cela "n'est pas seulement une bonne nouvelle pour ceux d'entre nous qui défendent la démocratie en Amérique latine, c'est aussi un acte de justice face à l'ingratitude subie par le peuple bolivien", a écrit sur Twitter le président argentin Alberto Fernandez.	

Figure 5.12 Topical redistribution of information on multinational stakeholders in set n.6

Based on the above information, I will now concentrate on the specific cases as distant renditions. First, as for the information distribution, the Spanish segment introducing Latin-American leaders was downgraded in the French rendition, becoming background information at the very end of the news item (signalled with an A, from ESs.#12 to FRs.#22, in Fig.5.12).

Second, in terms of information offer, this comparison reveals that the reported overview of ‘Latin-American leaders’³⁰ (sub-topic A) in Spanish comprises salutations from the presidents of Argentina, Perú, and Venezuela, which are straightforwardly described, along with ‘representatives from international organizations’ (OAS, UN, as literally reported in the segment). These salutations are addressed to the president-elect, Luis Arce. The French version rendered the salutations by ‘Latin-American left-wing leaders’ from Argentina, Cuba, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Venezuela (omitting Peru, adding Cuba and Nicaragua). Likewise, the English version reports the salutations ‘from other leftist leaders’ referring to Cuba, Uruguay, Venezuela, and ‘even the Argentine Pope Francis’ (the last two reported in the subsequent segment).

ES (s.#12) - Líderes latinoamericanos como el argentino Alberto Fernández, el venezolano Nicolás Maduro y el peruano Martín Vizcarra (...) [*Latin American leaders such as Argentina's Alberto Fernández, Venezuela's Nicolás Maduro and Peru's Martín Vizcarra (...)*]

FR (s.#22) - (...) de nombreux dirigeants de gauche d'Amérique latine, de Cuba au Nicaragua, en passant par le Venezuela, l'Argentine et le Mexique [(...) *many left-wing leaders from Latin America, from Cuba to Nicaragua, Venezuela, Argentina and Mexico*]

EN (s.#17)- (...) from other leftist leaders, Venezuela's Nicolas Maduro and former Uruguayan president Jose Mujica.

A noticeable aspect in this rendition, in translational and discursive terms, is that the equivalents ‘de gauche’ and ‘leftist’ were added in French and English to describe these leaders, while the Spanish version referred to them solely in geographical terms, not in ideological ones (e.g., Latin-American and not leftists). Adding an ideological stance to these official salutations shows how textual decision-making by news translators/editors results in a discursive and ideological recontextualization of the situation originally represented, in this case, concerning relevant foreign affairs. This is reinforced by the omission of the then Peruvian president (right-wing), who was mentioned in the Spanish version and the addition of Uruguayan former president (left-wing). This illustrates how precise translation shifts help constitute a recontextualized depiction of the complex and speedy political realignments in the international arena.

As final analytical axis on foreign affairs, precise yet crucial distance can be seen in the addressees of these salutations. If a continuum was established, the congratulatory messages are addressed to the president-elect (Luis Arce) and the Bolivian people in Spanish, instead these are addressed to former president (Evo Morales) in English, and the French version stands in between these two. I will briefly compare the addressers and addressees with the multilingual equivalent examples below.

ES a) (s.#12) - Líderes (...) saludaron el triunfo de Arce [*Leaders (...) greeted the triumph of Arce*]

b) (s.#16) - Arce recibió la felicitación (...) **de Almagro** [*Arce received Almagro's congratulations (...)*]

³⁰ For readability purposes, direct quotations in my running text correspond to the language in the analyzed news dispatch without textual alterations. It is my literal translation in case one is reported in EN, but concerns ES or FR.

- FR a) (s.#22) - La victoire du dauphin d'Evo Morales a été saluée **par de nombreux dirigeants** (...)
[The victory of Evo Morales' heir apparent was hailed by many leaders (...)]
- b) (s.#23) - **Le président vénézuélien** a félicité le peuple(...) *[Venezuelan pres. congratulated the people(...)]*
- EN a) (s.#17) - He [Morales] also hailed congratulatory messages **from other leftist leaders** (...)
- b) (s.#18) - **Cuba's Foreign Minister** (...) lauded a "people's victory" **Viva Evo!** *[Long live Evo!]*
- c) (s.#19) - Morales said he had even received a call **from Argentine Pope Francis**

Examples *a)* and *b)* in Spanish show that the elected president ('Arce') receives the greetings from leaders and the OAS secretary general ('Almagro'), be it phrased in passive or active voice. The French version addresses the leaders' greetings to the 'dauphin d'Evo Morales' (*Morales' heir*), referring to Arce, who is not addressed with a name. Briefly put, this has implications in terms of agency (Van Leeuwen, 1996): repeatedly labelling the future president as a 'heir to' relegates him to a passive role and a subjected object, that is dependent on the actions) from 'his' mentor, which diminishes him as a new leader. This journalistic representation will be addressed in Chapter 7.

The English version, instead, takes a different stance and simply does not report on Arce. The political discourse is directly built around former president Morales, *i.e.*, it is him who 'hails' such congratulatory messages, becoming its receiver, along with the reference that 'even' the pope 'called him', while the Cuban minister cheered 'Viva Evo!' (*Long live Evo!*). Worthy of note is that the expression in Spanish is kept in the English version as a note of colour (ss.#17-19). Rather than seeing this re-contextualization as a discursive manipulation that results from translation, these examples illustrate shifting priorities concerning what gets to be represented in each linguistic version, according to an ideal of a global audience.

By momentarily distancing ourselves from these concrete examples, one can relate this discussion to the image of gatekeepers, which has been examined by news translation scholars to describe the centrality of translator's role in news production. This can be read also in terms of functional translation theories. The selected information serves a purpose—*skopos*—that fulfils the expectations of news translators as service providers within a specific professional setting, the one of agency journalism. At the same time, this setting is conditioned by journalistic norms and conventions, that define the resulting news product.

The crux of the matter lies in that within these close linguistic transfers, the information offered in each version—selected and prioritized among other multilingual information that is available within the agency—seems to portray different electoral realities from this remote country. On one extreme, one reads about a country that elects its government in a participative, and peaceful electoral process that is legitimate to a wide international community (thus functioning as a democratic and sovereign state). On the other, one reads about a country whose former president 'looms large' over an electoral process (where he does not actually participate) that is only recognized by 'leftist' international leaders,

and whose democratic virtues are often represented in international media as doubtful. This systematic re-focus on former president Morales will be approached more extensively in subsection 5.3.2, examining the recontextualization of national stakeholders.

A final remark on Latin-American leaders concerns the initial hypothesis that distant translated headlines might anticipate how the information blocks are recontextualized in the subsequent body of multilingual texts. These initial results are suggestive of the priorities in headlines as central short nodes of information, especially, in the English version, which tend to be the shortest and the most distant ones. The comparison in *Table 5.10*. shows that the Spanish headline brings to the fore the president-elect and his challenges in a polarized country with an economic crisis; the French headline focuses on the future president and then on the former president (Arce and Morales, respectively); instead, the English one focuses exclusively on the former president, addressing the president-elect solely as ‘Morales’s ally’, portraying a subjugated image of him (news items *6a*, *6b*, and *6c*). One might conclude that the distance described concerning Foreign Affairs was already advanced in the focus of headlines.

I turn now to analyse the congratulatory statement by the United States (sub-topic B), which was introduced with a brief preamble and followed by a direct quote in all three versions. This salutation expresses the U.S. president and government’s will to work with the Bolivian president-elect. The distance stands in the preambles contextualizing and recontextualizing the reported statement and the person to which the statement is attributed to.

In the contextualizing preambles, the Spanish version briefly refers to tensions between the U.S. and Bolivia during president Morales’ tenure, which derived in the bilateral withdrawal of ambassadors. The recontextualization in French makes a similar reference to bilateral tensions and adds a direct quote by Morales about the future president’s will to work with all countries, if national sovereignty is respected, the U.S. included. In English, the recontextualization brings to the fore that Washington considered a ‘key regional ally’ the interim president at the time (‘Añez’). The direct quotes are then introduced with their corresponding attributions.

In Spanish, the official statement is attributed to the then U.S. Assistant Secretary for Western Hemisphere Affairs (‘Michael Kozak’), who is addressed as ‘chief of US diplomacy for Latin America’ (s.#14). Instead, French and English versions attribute the statement to ‘a spokesman of the State Department’ (s.#18 and #31, respectively). One can notice below the shift in an official State position delivered by a key and identifiable officer (in Spanish) as opposed to an undetermined one (also, using an indeterminate article, *un* and *a*, in French and English).

ES (s.#14) - “El presidente (Donald) Trump y Estados Unidos esperan trabajar con el gobierno electo boliviano (...)”, dijo el jefe de la diplomacia estadounidense para América Latina, Michael Kozak.

["President (Donald) Trump and the United States look forward to working with the Bolivian elected government (...)" said the head of U.S. diplomacy for Latin America, Michael Kozak.]

FR (s.#18) - "(...) le président Trump et les États-Unis se réjouissent de travailler avec les personnes élues par les Boliviens", a pour sa part déclaré un porte-parole du département d'Etat américain.

["(...) President Trump and the United States look forward to working with the people elected by Bolivians," a U.S. State Department spokesperson said.]

EN (s.#31) - "(...) President Trump and the United States look forward to working with whomever the Bolivians elect" a State Department spokesman told **AFP**.

To trace a line back to the recontextualization in English concerning the statement by the UN Secretary-General (in 5.3.1.1), a more indefinite wording was equally employed to address ‘the office of the UN’ instead of the secretary himself, as reported in Spanish and French. Moreover, the English renditions pushed both examples to a background position at the end of each news item, reducing the relevance of this piece of information. Also, the English version adds a reference about AFP being the direct receiver of this communication (*i.e.*, ‘told AFP’ in s.#31), non-existing in Spanish or French.

Lastly, it is worth noticing the medium by which these statements are published and then collected as sources for multilingual news production. This is in itself a topic that goes beyond the scope of this study on electoral coverage. However, it might be possible to pinpoint the span of media that are deemed valid sources of newsworthy information that constitute political discourse across linguistic boundaries: press releases (*i.e.*, the one from the EU), press conferences (the U.S. State Department and former president Morales), and official accounts in social media, more specifically, Twitter/X (the UN Secretary-General, Argentinean and Venezuelan presidents, Cuba’s Foreign Minister, U.S. State Department Subsecretary). Being press releases and press conferences already part of what Schäffner refers to discursive practices typical of political communication (2010, p.256) and where translation and recontextualization are central, statements in social media official accounts might also be included to enlarge our understanding of the phenomenon.

This span of media makes evident the use of translation in multilingual news writing: each of these stakeholders published the statement in a specific own language (concretely, Spanish or English) and exists in the trilingual news coverage (adding French, that inevitably translates from either language). Solely the multilingual journey of these statements seems complex enough and illustrates the presence of translation in news production (and possibly back translations).

The quick pace of international political interactions hints to pressing timings, also shared by media, journalists, and news translators, all of which engage in the political dialogue and contribute to its circulation (*ibid.*). One might argue that the metaphor of ‘journalistic translation’ (Lagneau, 2007) does involve the dissemination of a political event and also contributes to shaping it, since interactions between political stakeholders are responses to statements by others, which may be published through institutional official channels and as multilingual news coverage. Worldwide media are not the only

clients of global news agencies, but also are international organizations, and governmental or private institutions (Cotterlaz & Fize, 2021).

To conclude this subsection on the recontextualization of foreign affairs, this detailed comparison showed that, in the linguistic transfer, close translation renditions occur along with additions, omissions, or shifts (such as ‘leftist’ or ‘porte parole/spokesman’), making the referents specific or indeterminate. However, more distance was found in the pieces of information that are included or reorganized. The variation in the inclusion of certain international leaders across multilingual versions shows that news translators/editors play a key role in selecting pieces of political discourse according to the expectations of their audience, not without ideological and discursive implications.

Finally, statements from multinational and international stakeholders occupy a leading position in Spanish, which appear to be placed as closing backgrounding in English and French appears to stand in between these two. Subtle and marked distance was found in background information, *indetermination vs. specification* of key sources, and more importantly, omission or addition of specific stakeholders based on ideological positions instead of merely geographical ones. Taking Bolivia as an example of journalistic representation about a remote country, one might wonder about the extent to which this resulting distance affects its perception by the global readership (and the international community) as a legitimate democratic country. In all cases, translation seems to occupy a central position to produce electoral news coverage in multilingual versions, where practices of literal renditions and crucial variations paradoxically work together.

5.3.2. Recontextualizing local politics

Thus far, I examined late news dispatches representing a post-electoral moment under the light of recontextualization. In broad terms, it was found that Spanish versions provide updated information that guides the French and English versions, which are closely rendered in the initial halves of all news dispatches (and where leads are placed with the most relevant information). It was also found that more distant renditions occur in news dispatches’ second halves, where subtopics that were briefly introduced earlier are further developed with varying thematic foci.

I now concentrate on more distant renditions, precisely in the news dispatches’ second halves with the presumption that more space for developing the subtopics allows for distant recontextualizations. Continuing the analysis from the foregoing sections, I focus on reported speech in two subsections: the first one explores local citizens as sources that seem to contextualize the electoral ambience; the second one analyses reporting on national political stakeholders as a summary of the observations on the workings of news translation.

5.3.2.1. *Voices from local citizens*

I shall examine direct quotes from local citizens that were found in the second halves of news dispatches as supporting argumentative information for developing each subtopic. Drawing on the corpus built for this thesis and the ethnographic work (chapter 4), it was found that AFP news dispatches tend to carry around three quotations from local voices, whether from experts or citizens. Substantial distance in source selection was found across the multilingual versions, so I organized the following findings as: A) Multilingual relationship, to examine the sources present across the multilingual versions; B) Bilingual relationship, to examine sources across language pairs (ES-EN and FR-EN); and C) Decontextualization in recontextualization.

A) Multilingual relationship

I aim to illustrate here two relationship types. First, the more evident one with close renditions between Spanish and French, that are topically and linguistically related. Second, Spanish and/or French sources being used as a cue for the English version.

ES (n.4 reused in n.5, s.#15) *a*) Es el fin de un ciclo del gobierno de Evo Morales y de la crisis política (...), dijo a AFP el politólogo Carlos Cordero, de la Universidad Católica Boliviana. [*It is the end of a cycle of the government of Evo Morales and the political crisis (...), political scientist Carlos Cordero of the Bolivian Catholic University told AFP.*]
(n.6 s.#24) *b*) Arce "era un gran ministro, ahora siendo presidente la economía va a estar súper bien. Vamos a tener cinco años de riqueza", declaró a la AFP la estudiante Ada Mary Medrano. [*Arce "was a great minister, now being president the economy is going to be super good. We're going to have five years of wealth," student Ada Mary Medrano, told AFP.*]

FR (n.4 s.#16) *a*) [C'est] la fin du cycle de gouvernement d'Evo Morales et de la crise politique, estime le politologue Carlos Cordero, de l'Université Mayor de San Andrés. [*It's] the end of Evo Morales' government cycle and the political crisis, said political scientist Carlos Cordero of the University Mayor of San Andrés.*]
(n.6 s.#20) *b*) Luis Arce "était un grand ministre, maintenant qu'il est président, l'économie va être florissante", se félicitait lundi auprès de l'AFP Ada M. Medrano, une étudiante. [*Luis Arce "was a great minister, now that he is president, the economy will be flourishing," Ada M. Medrano, a student, told AFP on Monday.*]

EN (n.4, s.#17, subhead) *a*) - 'End of a cycle' –
(n.6, s.#22, subhead) *b*) - 'Economic architect' –

The quotations in Spanish and French provide evidence about a close translational relationship. In example *a*), the political scientist's opinion was rendered almost literally, but with a noticeable shift in the name of the university where he works (*i.e.*, from *Universidad Católica Boliviana* to *l'Université Mayor de San Andrés*, both are major universities). In example *b*), the colloquial and optimistic stance from the student ('estar súper bien' and 'vamos a tener riqueza') were condensed and rendered in a more standard and neutral register ('avoir une économie florissante'). However, this distance may have been translationally compensated by shifting the reporting verbs ('declarar' and 'se felicitar', respectively), which are not semantical equivalents, rather they seem to be functional ones.

Turning on to their relationship with English, these segments became subheads and were not explicitly rendered: no complete direct quotes exist, only semantic cues from them. These subheads

seem to derive from the predating Spanish/French versions to guide the developing arguments (e.g., political and economic matters). The opinion of the expert and the praising from the student were then translated, respectively, as: (a) ‘End of a cycle’ was rendered to allude to political matters and former president Morales; the rendition of (b) ‘Economic architect’ alludes to future president Arce, former Economy minister under Morales and who developed the redistributive economic model that was praised by the international community (2006-2019).

B) Bilingual relationship

Having examined the treatment of local citizens’ quotations from a multilingual perspective, I now present its treatment bilingually. As a closer relationship was found between Spanish and French versions in terms of the quotations, I shall now focus on their relationship towards English and on distance, considering English versions as the ‘ultimate texts’ (the final and more ‘global’ ones). Quotations from local citizens in the English versions are the core of this subsection (focusing on set n.4). I will analyse examples a) and b) here and analyse c) in the next subsection.

ES (n.4 s.#14, reused in n.5) a) - El próximo presidente yo quisiera que sea un candidato que ayude al campo, a la gente pobre, dijo allí a AFP Silverio Chirinos, agricultor de 69 años. [*The next president I would like to be a candidate who helps the countryside, the poor people, Silverio Chirinos, a 69-year-old farmer, told AFP.*]

EN (n.4 s.#21) a) - I hope the next president will be a candidate who helps the countryside, the poor people, Silverio Chirinos, a 69-year-old farmer in Huarina on the shores of Lake Titicaca, told AFP.

FR (n.4 s.#15, reused in n.5) b) - Je ne sais vraiment pas ce qu'il va se passer, j'ai peur que cela soit encore pire, a confié à l'AFP Virginia Luna, 41 ans. [*I really don't know what will happen, I'm afraid it's going to be even worse,* Virginia Luna, 41, told AFP.]

EN (n.4 s.#24, reused in n.5 ss.#20-22) b) - I don't know what will happen, but I fear the worst, said Virginia Luna, 41, in La Paz.

Example a) exists in Spanish and English only and concerns a rural farmer hopeful about the future president. Instead, example b) exists only in French and English and concerns a citizen in La Paz city that expresses her fear. As shown above, both examples were literally translated and carry one precise shift. In a) the Spanish adverb ‘allí’ (*there*) was translated in English by describing the location being referred to. In b) the sentiment of fear is initially formulated in French as ‘que cela soit encore pire’ (*that it becomes even worse*), comparing the situation to another one that is unknown and indeterminate to the reader. Instead, the English version employs a superlative ‘the worst’ and construes the sentiment of fear as of high intensity.

The segment of example b) was reused in the following English news dispatch (n.5), not only as a quote, but also as a subhead ‘I fear the worst’(n.5 ss.# 20 & 22). A quick reference to framing devices (Tankard, 2001) seems in order as relevant analytical criteria to study key nodes of information (explained in Chapter 3): this sentiment of fear became a subhead, being thus promoted to a framing device to give salience to this information, that, at the same time, underwent a translation shift from French to intensify such sentiment in English.

More centrally, this English segment represents three times an electoral ambience that was not depicted as such in the parallel originating Spanish versions (and twice in French), *i.e.*, a peaceful and participative ambience. I take this opportunity to briefly intersect the analysis of recontextualization to the one of Discourse News Values (DNVA) as the way in which newsworthiness is construed with superlative and, often, negative linguistic resources (Bednarek and Caple, 2017, p.55). It was not possible to relate this quotation (*b*) to a Spanish source as it does not exist in the selected news dispatches, even though it seems plausible the source does exist since the language spoken by the quoted person is Spanish.

As seen above, the initial quote in Spanish (*a*) that was optimistic about the elections was only rendered once (in English only), instead the negative one (*b*) was systematically prioritized (in French and English). Bednarek and Caple argue that when particular news values are consistently foregrounded in reporting specific issues, the audiences will potentially perceive these only in such terms, being superlativeness and negativity news values commonly employed to describe actors and events (2017, pp. 45, 40). The following subsection briefly analyses a quotation that consistently accompanied this one in English (ex. *b*) in news items 4 and 5), but not in French or Spanish.

C) Decontextualization in recontextualization

As stated above, quotation *b*) reported an intense sentiment of fear in the English versions, which was accompanied every time by example *c*) with a similar tone. Its repetitiveness is noticeable, so, I sought it further in Spanish and French in isolated news dispatches in the electoral dossier that do not pertain to the multilingual sets, to know if more instances existed. 6 instantiations were found: 5 in English (2 in the selected news items n.4 and n.5, already accounted for, and 3 in isolated news dispatches), none in French and 1 in Spanish. To try to understand this recontextualization, I approach this comparison, first, translationally, then, discursively.

ES c) - "**Creo que** la gente se está preparando ante ese momento de crisis que esperemos no sea muy largo", dijo a la AFP Clara Quitalba, una empleada que circulaba por El Alto, bastión del Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS) de Morales y aledaña a La Paz. [*"I think people are preparing for that moment of crisis that we hope will not be very long," Clara Quitalba, a maid who was circulating in El Alto, a stronghold of Morales' Movement Toward Socialism (MAS) and adjacent to La Paz, told AFP.*] (17.10.2020)

EN c) - "**Obviously** there will be social upheaval... we just hope it won't last long," Clara Quitalba, 49, from the MAS bastion of El Alto on the outskirts of La Paz, told AFP. (18.10.2020 and 19.10.2020)

The results in Spanish and English are displayed above, with the paratextual evidence of datelines, to explore recontextualization as potential decontextualization. First, concerning translation, one may notice that in the quotation's second half, the attributed source, the location, and its political implications were closely rendered in English as: "*we just hope it won't last long*", *Clara Quitalba told AFP, El Alto on the outskirts of La Paz, MAS bastion*. Instead, the quotation's first half was not.

Also, shifts occur in terms of certainty and intensity (*i.e.*, ‘Obviously’ instead of ‘*Creo que*’ and ‘there will be social upheaval’ instead of ‘*se está preparando para ese momento de crisis*’). In Spanish, the speaker ‘believes’ that people were preparing for a moment of crisis and not that it is something obvious, as in English. Although these segments do not correspond to one another as multilingual news coverage—as methodologically delimited in advance—the English version clearly is a translation from a Spanish source from AFP, the sole instantiation found in Spanish.

Moreover, the increased certainty in English was also underscored by the omission of the reference to ‘*la gente*’ (people) in Spanish, since people were preparing for an eventual social upheaval. This might cohere with findings by Caimotto and Raus with regards to news dispatches in English that tend to foreground a framing centered on individualism (2023, pp. 166-167). These authors contrasted segments in French and English, and found that collective references tend to be more present in French and less present in English, as in this case. I will return to this point in Chapter 7, dealing more specifically with discursive features of news translation.

Second, by considering this notorious distance in the quotation’s first half, the use of ellipsis (...) within the quote in English may suggest that a segment from Spanish was omitted by the journalist when translating it. This shift may have been motivated by a wish to cohere discursively with the subhead it pertains to (*i.e.*, ‘I fear the worst’) and the accompanying quotation discussed earlier in (b) and providing a general negative evaluation.

The most striking issue, however, is that the Spanish segment was published one day before the election (the 17th October) and the English segment published only after the election (at two different moments: 18th when polls closed and, in the aftermath, the 19th October). Then, we are faced with two different contexts: the pre-electoral one in Spanish and the post-electoral one in English. In broad terms, the source stated that people were preparing in case there were post electoral problems, making a clear reference to the post electoral crisis of 2019. Since no upheaval happened (as rendered in English), the subsequent news items in Spanish (and French) did not reuse this quotation, because the actual context in Bolivia did not support it, so it became irrelevant. Then, one may conclude this segment’s repetition in English in different contexts is a case of decontextualization, not only translationally, but also factually and discursively.

Referring back to the multilingual sets initially selected, this exact quotation was reused verbatim in English (sets 4, 5, ss.#23, 21), which underscores the cumulative nature of multilingual news writing, where a practice of patchwork (Davies, 2017) seems incrementally evident, that will be explored in Section 5.4. This repetition touches on the ethical dimension of writing news for global audiences and about distant realities, such as Bolivia.

Distancing ourselves from the textual evidence by segment, the parallel subsections in Spanish news dispatches describe a *'peaceful and participative election'* day with optimistic quotations and in the words of AFP itself *'the 7,3 million voters attended the voting polls calmly'* and *"people were also respectful of the pandemic-related security measures'* (Spanish item n.4 ss.#19-20, my translations), as described in section 5.3.1., where the UN, the EU, and other international stakeholders strongly saluted the Bolivian people for it. Instead, the crucial shifts in sources of local citizens (sources from the agency itself) may bear witness of the gatekeeping role of news translators: the English versions selected the negative testimonies, with precise reordering and subtle linguistic changes, and repeated them, even, out of context.

As seen earlier, it seems difficult to shift the voices of international (and renown) stakeholders since their statements can be contrasted to other publications (from the concerned institutions, media outlets, or official social media). Instead, the distant recontextualization of local voices ultimately contributed to depict a different reality about this country, which entails translational, journalistic, discursive, and ethical implications. Sources are considered sacred in journalism, then one might wonder if local citizens are notes of 'local color' that do not amount to sources to be respected. If the maid or the rural farmer here represented had access to this news coverage, would they recognize themselves across the multilingual news versions?

Finally, the distant renditions of quotes examined in this subsection—and the next one—could be considered as 'big details' (Vandaele, 2023), meaning that these may seem minor shifts, since they may not be frequent, yet such distance may entail large consequences on the way in which the whole text/ the event is depicted and read, especially, by readers from a distant geographical location with a different linguistic and cultural background.

5.3.2.2. *National stakeholders*

Thus far, I discussed in detail the recontextualization of quotations by multinational and international stakeholders when beginning this section and the ones concerning national citizens in the foregoing subsection. I will now approach, in more general terms, the way in which statements by national political stakeholders are recontextualized in order to bring together the previous findings, furthering and concluding the analysis of recontextualization.

The focus remains on the second halves of parallel news items (sets *n.* 4-6) to observe primarily the recontextualization types. It should be recalled that these news items' first halves generally remain closer, given that these provide updated and relevant information as the electoral event unfolds (including reported speech from the main electoral contenders, top authorities, and exit polls), as opposed to the more distant second halves. With this background in mind, it was observed that direct

references to a diversity of political national stakeholders are more present in Spanish and French second halves than in the English ones.

From a general standpoint, Spanish representing this wide variety may appear logical since it concerns subtopics of domestic interest. As already stated earlier, local sources substantially aid advancing the argument of agency news dispatches and are proof of their deployment through local operations worldwide. In this sense, it was particularly interesting to find that in the final multilingual news set (n.6), Spanish and French versions represent local political matters with reported speech, while English does not (besides of the central ones present in the first halves, as characterized earlier). I will briefly illustrate this with two examples.

The first one omits a quotation by a former president (J. Quiroga), who tweeted his sorrow for Bolivia once the victory of MAS party was clear (n.6, s.#9), an example that also purports on the relevance of social media in constructing and circulating political discourse. The second one omits a local source praising Arce as former economy minister and future president (discussed in subsection 5.3.2.1) and renders it only as a brief topical cue.

Considering these omissions along with the similar word count in the parallel news dispatches (790, 767, and 751 words, respectively), one might wonder what information is worthy of becoming news in English? Who/what transcends national borders? The answer seems to point to one stakeholder that is generally represented in national and international media: former president Morales, even though he was not a presidential candidate in 2020. A practical way to locate his presence in this news coverage is by comparing multilingually the number of direct references. He is directly referred 10 times in Spanish, 12 in French, and 20 in English. Then, I shall focus on the way Morales is represented in direct quotations to him.

First, a comparison of statements attributed to Morales across the trilingual versions showed that references to his announced return to Bolivia exist in all versions in varying degree of certainty. Second, a bilingual relationship between French and English surfaces when representing the position of the future Bolivian government towards the U.S. from Morales' perspective, as opposed to the Spanish version that represents this with direct attributions to official U.S. statements (n.6 ss.#13,14). Third, only the English version refers further to Morales and presents all statements by international stakeholders from his perspective, such as having 'even received a call from the Argentine Pope Francis' and becoming the addressee of every greeting (n.6 s.#19), both facts were discussed in 5.3.1.2.

This focus on portraying Morales in English is accompanied by the non-existence of voices from local sources, that was aforementioned. He seemingly serves the journalistic purpose of a political and a local voice that is normally represented by citizens, for instance, when translating only into English

an isolated quote ‘I felt I was not alone’ (s.#20). His presence becomes almost anecdotal, deviating from the regular political one.

Moving on from direct attributions, I shall now observe an apparent direct quote occurring four times in the close vicinity of reported quotes by Morales in the English news items, which lacks an attributed source. This analytical subsection does not deal with the material proof that may have substantiated the following allegation, nor justifies the alleged behaviour. The case in point is to understand the motivation to reiterate this allegation in the English versions, especially considering it does not have an attributed source.

He [*Morales*] also promised to return to *Bolivia* "the next day" should Arce win. He is still being investigated for "rape and trafficking" over allegations he had relationships with underage girls, and even fathered a child with one. (*news items 2, 4, 5, and 6*).

This reference to "rape and trafficking" allegations within inverted comas does not have an actual source. Considering the gravity of this matter, I went back to look for predated instantiations within the six multilingual news sets dispatches selected. Four repeated instances were found in English, none in French, and one abridged reference in Spanish, which is not in the news set under analysis and did not involve quotations marks.

The prior Spanish version reports that Morales has pending charges spanning from electoral fraud to pederasty (*'fraude electoral hasta pederastia'*, n.4, s.#23). In English no occasion is a quote attributed in, yet it is repeated within inverted commas and the only possible reference in the textual vicinity is Morales himself, since a quotation from him precedes the allegation in every case. Even though these should lead to a source, not citing one is in strike opposition to AFP journalistic practices that should acknowledge every source. Their own maxim phrases ‘nothing is more important to establishing our credibility than rigor in sourcing’ (AFP, 2007, p.13, and further references in Chapter 4).

I shall make one last remark on the recontextualization of political national stakeholders based on the one actor that is mostly represented in this media coverage especially in English. Together with the translation of segments and the repeated use of previously translated and published segments—that inherently involve shifts—recontextualization seems to involve the furthering of key information already provided. This is done by rewriting few segments, meaning these relate less to the ‘source text’, whether intralingually (reuse of earlier segments) or interlingually (translation proper).

It seems accurate to equate the recontextualization practices to the ones of journalistic rewriting, in terms of Hernandez Guerrero (2010, 2022) and based on Hernando (1990), referring to ‘reescritura’ (rewriting) as a journalistic collective process where editor(s) rewrite news dispatches based on raw data from other journalists (2010, p.65). In this view, rewritten news dispatches show a substantial degree of distance from the ‘original’ (*i.e.*, the concrete parallel text). In this sense, three sources can

be identified as informing the rewritten English version: out of 32 segments, 24 and 2 segments were rendered from the Spanish and French parallel versions, respectively, 3 were recycled from English (identified as patchwork), and only 3 were rewritten *stricto sensu*, e.g., new information added by the English editor(s), as discussed above. These rewritings concentrated on former president Morales.

To conclude the topic of recontextualizing national politics, it was seen that references to the former president in English largely outnumber the ones in Spanish and French. This coheres with the general focus in English news dispatch, concentrating on one stakeholder and with the headlines' notorious shift: the Spanish headline introduces the future president and national issues; the French one presents the future president first and then the former president's future return; while the English one focuses on the former president's imminent return. In the words of Caimotto and Raus (2023), the news dispatches in English foreground a framing of individualistic ideology.

- 6a Arce tomará las riendas de una Bolivia polarizada y en crisis económica
[Arce will take the reins of a polarized Bolivia and in economic crisis]
- 6b Bolivie : Arce sera le futur président, Morales "tôt ou tard" dans le pays
[Bolivia: Arce will be the future president, Morales "sooner or later" in the country]
- 6c Morales says will return to Bolivia after ally's election victory

Ultimately, the findings concerning Morales' omnipresence in news coverage, mainly in English, one year after being overthrown and not being a candidate, invites us to ponder on the nature of news translation as a purposeful act. (De)selecting, reordering, and adding information when translating news involves decision making by bilingual journalistic experts who prioritize what is deemed relevant to appeal an ideal of global audience. Concentrating on a political stakeholder that is already known beyond national borders, and without an actual role, seems more newsworthy than focusing on pressing matters. Based on this evidence, drawing intersections between news translation, functional translation theories, and the analysis of discourse news values might be advantageous for future studies.

Bielsa and Bassnett (2009) have pointed out that news translation does not only involve adaptations to stylistic conventions, but also 'strong ideological implications' when restructuring the material in a form that is 'congenial to the target readership' (pp.12-13). Broadly speaking, the production, distribution, and consumption of translation are discursive practices as well, which are determined by socio-political factors (Schäffner, 2010, p.275). Having concluded this subsection with an issue that crosses over most analytical axes here endeavoured, I now move to the final section of this chapter: the cumulative nature of multilingual newswriting to examine the practices of patchwork.

5.4. Cumulative multilingual news writing

This section will elaborate on subtopics that were found to be repeated across the multilingual versions, a practice that has previously been referred to as patchwork (Davier, 2014, 2017) news writing.

Patchwork refers to segments retaken verbatim from earlier new dispatches—at the level of paragraph or sentence—and which seems to be done intralingually and interlingually, so, within monolingual versions or across multilingual ones.

The term ‘cumulative’ was chosen since this phenomenon became incrementally evident as the ‘journalistic translation’ of the electoral event evolved and it surfaced when analysing the recontextualizations, almost involuntarily. This cumulateness refers to the repertoire that journalists working routinely with (this) specific content appear to accumulate as the topic or event evolves, as continuing news. This practice seems not only incremental, but also multi-source as stated when analysing the *Blended* translation relationship (in subsection 5.2.1.3).

Against this backdrop, I will analyse one central subtopic that was chosen among several other reused ones, a fact that shows the extended use of this cumulative practice. The subtopic chosen concerns the general representation of Bolivia as a landlocked and poor/indigenous country, as opposed to narrower reused subtopics. I will analyse it focusing on the English version. In methodological terms, this analysis aims to summarize the analysis applied thus far and laid out in more general terms than in previous sections.

I will illustrate the extent to which this practice is applied in AFP’s multilingual news writing by displaying the recycled subtopics found across the 6 multilingual news sets on electoral news coverage. As stated above, this practice does not only exist in the French and English renditions, but it does also in Spanish versions as well (hinting to interlingual and intralingual patchwork).

Table 5.13 below suggests that the information pieces that are continuously reused across the multilingual news sets cover three broad subtopics: a) *Legislative electoral matters*, about the Bolivian State constitution, the Parliament conformation, the Electoral law, and the voters; b) *Political matters*, about the 2019 annulled elections, the post-electoral socio-political crisis, subtopics about former president Morales, and the interim government; c) *Socio-economic matters*, about Bolivian economy, demography, and status of landlocked country. The table also shows if a partial or exact recycling was employed, at the paragraph or sentence-level.

	Subtopic	ES	FR	EN
L	Electoral law , Bolivian State Constitution, Conformation of Parliament, and voters	2, 3, 4, 5, 6 Partial	2, 4, 5 Exact	2, 4, 5 Exact
P	2019 annulled Elections, social upheaval (people dead and injured)		2, 3, 6 Partial 4, 5, Exact	4, 5, 6 Partial
	Amount of years without Morales in elections	2, 4 Partial	4, 5, 6 Exact	2, 6 Partial; 4, 5 Exact
	End of interim government	3, 4, 5 Partial	2 Partial; 4, 5 Exact	4, 5, 6 Exact
	Morales’ alleged charges			2, 4, 5, 6 Exact
E	Bolivian economy , Landlocked country, Indigenous/poor country	4, 5 Exact 2, 3, 6 Partial	1, 2, 3 Partial	4, 5, 6 Exact 2, 3 Partial

Table 5.13. Subtopics concerned in patchwork news writing across multilingual sets (n.2-6).

Every news item involves segment recycling to different degrees and seems more evident in the final news sets (4, 5, 6). This common practice of recycling segments within different multilingual news dispatches was highlighted along this chapter's previous subsections, especially when dealing with reordering and apparent additions of new information across the news sets. I claim that this 'new' information—that deviates from a parallel news item—derives largely from previous published and translated segments, which are added within subsequent news items as puzzle pieces or patchwork, especially, to provide background on the subtopic being represented. I endeavour to describe this practice, first, in general terms; second, to analyse the genesis of one segment up until it becomes established for its subsequent reuse.

Drawing on the three categories mentioned above, I chose the most reused example per language (at the paragraph level). In the first category, a) *Legislative electoral matters*, the Spanish segment '*Los 7,3 millones de electores convocados también renovaban los 166 escaños del Congreso bicameral, en el que se proyecta también un triunfo del MAS*'³¹ appears in the 6 news dispatches analysed and involved slight changes in the verbal tense or articles. In the second one, b) *Political matters*³², a segment in French about the former president was reused verbatim in 3 news dispatches '*Pour la première fois en 20 ans, Evo Morales, un emblématique dirigeant de la gauche sud-américaine, n'était pas candidat à la présidentielle*'³³. The third category, c) *Socio-economic matters*, will be illustrated by analyzing a segment reproduced verbatim in 3 English news dispatches and which appears to recycle information and phrasing from 3 sources at the same time. The segment is displayed below in example *EN a)*:

Cumulative genesis of segment reuse
EN a) - Landlocked Bolivia, <u>one of the poorest countries in the region despite its rich natural resources, is experiencing its worst economic crisis in 40 years with GDP expected to contract by 6.2 percent in 2020.</u> (Nos. 4, 5, 6., ss.#30, 25, 32, Verbatim)
⇒ ES b) - Paralelamente, el país andino <u>atraviesa su crisis económica más profunda en casi 40 años, con una contracción prevista del PIB de 6,2% en 2020.</u> [At the same time, the Andean country is going through its deepest economic crisis in almost 40 years, with an expected GDP contraction of 6.2% in 2020]. (Source 1, ES nos.4, 5, Verbatim)
⇒ EN c) - Landlocked Bolivia, which elects a new president on Sunday after a 2019 poll was annulled and follow-up elections postponed twice amid Covid-19, <u>is home to one of the largest indigenous populations in Latin America. Bolivia remains one of the poorest countries in the region despite its vast mineral resources such as gas and lithium.</u> (Source 2, EN n.3)
⇒ ES d) - Bolivia, que tiene elecciones generales este domingo, <u>es el país de América Latina con mayor proporción de indígenas y uno de los más pobres, a pesar de sus grandes reservas de gas natural y litio.</u> [Bolivia, which holds general elections on Sunday, is the Latin American country with the highest proportion of indigenous people and one of the poorest, despite its large reserves of natural gas and lithium]. (Source 3, ES n.3)

³¹ [The 7.3 million voters summoned also renewed the 166 seats of the bicameral Congress, in which a triumph of the MAS is also projected].

³² Actually, the most reused segment in this category concerned the reference in English to former president Morales' alleged charges (reproduced verbatim in 4 news items), but I had already treated it in 5.3.2.2.

³³ [For the first time in 20 years, Evo Morales, an iconic leader of the South American left, was not a presidential candidate]

Table 5.14. Sources (⇒) contributing to the established segment for reuse.

Seen from a monolingual perspective, the English segment in question was found three times as a case of exact verbatim recycling, across the latest news dispatches (n. 4, 5, and 6, example *a*). Nonetheless, an earlier news dispatch (n.3) shows that shorter segments were taken verbatim from it, recycling chunks, in Spanish and English. This fact reinforces the claim about this practice's cumulative nature, since a segment becomes 'established' when carrying exact traces from earlier different sources. Once established, it was reused verbatim three times.

To trace back a genesis of this established segment, one might pinpoint at three sources across the multilingual versions, that are compared in *Table 5.14*. These are the Spanish and English versions of news item 3 and the Spanish version of news item 4. The identified cues are displayed with corresponding similar formatting (underlined or highlighted): 'Landlocked Bolivia' derives from segment *c*) in English; 'one of the poorest countries in the region despite its rich natural resources' derives from parallel segments *c*) and *d*) in English and Spanish; and 'is experiencing its worst economic crisis in 40 years with GDP expected to contract by 6.2 percent in 2020.' derives from parallel segment *b*) in Spanish.

As a concluding methodological remark, I recall that this research involves vast close reading. By closely reading the multilingual sets, I first had the impression that I had already been confronted to some pieces of information (in any of the languages at stake). This became more and more evident when deepening the analysis of the data and the need for tracing the genesis of this reused/repeated information became ineludible. Once the conceptual tool of cumulative news writing or patchwork surfaced, it showed its potential to studying the translation of news production at various dimensions.

As for the textual dimension of translation and journalism, it yielded interesting information regarding the assemblage of different text chunks to consolidate an established longer segment (at sentence or paragraph-level) that is next reused exactly. Here paratextual evidence to systematize and order the data proved useful to trace down this practice and account for its extent. Pairing this to the ethnographic findings (Chapter 4), it becomes clearer that news translators/editors translate the actual "news" being covered and translate/recycle established segments as background information that (re)contextualize such news.

This goes along a cognitive dimension, in the sense that a working topical repertoire seems to be activated in the writing practices of the journalists in charge of producing the (multilingual) news coverage, be it an individual or plural practice. This cognitive element leads me to ponder about an intersection that is beyond the reach of this thesis and concerns automatizing the analysis: I found the reused segments manually. Nonetheless this could be done making use of automatic methods, which

would probably involve creating a ‘comparallel’ corpus (Gaspari, 2013) to automatically identify intra- and inter-lingual reused segments in a wider dataset.

The discursive dimension cannot be disregarded. Key topics were repeated by extensive reuse of multilingual segments (*i.e.*, the most repeated ones concerned a former president that did not have an actual role in this news coverage’ electoral event), building a mediatic omnipresence of a character/leader by linguistic means. Focusing on repeating information about one person ultimately leaves less space to represent the electoral context of the actual event, which is not exempt from evaluative language. Studying what makes this worthy of becoming multilingual news intersects studies of translation, journalism, and discourse.

Finally, with these dimensions in mind, one might assert that recycling key segments verbatim serves the purposes of producing a ‘journalistic translation’ (Lagneau, 2007) about an event, by making efficient use of human and informational resources to publish quick and multilingual news coverage that meets the expectations of a global audience.

5.5. Discussion

This chapter provided an analysis of multilingual news production by AFP news agency, focusing on electoral news coverage from the perspective of ‘Journalistic translation’ (Lagneau, 2007) as posited by media scholars (in 5.1.). In broad terms, this metaphorical notion was used, first, to explore key features of multilingual news production that is intended to a global audience about a remote country, taking Bolivia as example. Second, it allowed for examining the role of translation proper (Jakobson, 1959) in this context of multilingual news production that ‘translates’ the evolution of the event and where, paradoxically, it often is unacknowledged.

The initial exploration yielded unexpected findings concerning the planning of electoral news coverage around key electoral moments that constitute the overarching electoral event. Temporal nodes of multilingual news coverage were found in consonance to these electoral moments. Contrasting these to the multilingual headlines provided hints about the closeness and distance found later across the body of multilingual news dispatches. At this point, using paratextual evidence proved useful to understand the genesis of the multilingual news versions.

Next, the relationship between the multilingual news sets was sought further focusing on translation (in 5.2.), where the topical distribution across multilingual versions allowed me to propose three news translation types: Complete, Abridged, and Blended. Additionally, a coloured visual guidance was provided to illustrate the redistribution of subtopics across the multilingual versions as a typology of translational relationships. It summarized the information that seems to be closely

rendered across versions as opposed to the one that seemingly deviates from regular translation practices: being reordered, omitted, or added.

Equally, this provided an initial hint to the existence of cumulative news writing, where not only French and English versions are directly related to the Spanish ones, but French and English versions are related, albeit indirectly. Then, linguistic transfers were explored under the light of recontextualization (Schäffner, 2004, 2010) to illustrate the way in which the diffusion of political discourse across national borders relies on translation and, to a certain extent, contributes to the development of it (in 5.3.) and inherently involves change. This was examined on the basis of foreign and local affairs, focusing on reported speech and attributions by multinational, international, and national stakeholders, as well as local citizens.

This subsection analysed first very specific transfers (*i.e.*, institutional attributions) and concluded with more abstract ones, exploring translation cues and confusing quotations without sources. It yielded relevant findings about seemingly opposite translation practices. On the one hand, some segments appear to be closely rendered, especially in the Spanish-French relationship; on the other, substantial reordering, omissions, and additions across the multilingual versions result in more distant renditions, especially in English.

Moreover, this showed that the news dispatches' first halves appear to be more closely related, as opposed to their second halves, where subtopics are developed further and more distance occurs. It also suggested that, in this type of news coverage, news translators play a central role in representing key political subtopics, international leaders, and local voices by national citizens, that have ideological, discursive, and ethical implications. Analysing reported speech also showed the global news agencies' capacity to work from their locations around the globe, where exclusive local sources support the central argument of news dispatches in one language and possibly involve a degree of decontextualization in another (*i.e.*, reporting 'fear' and 'obvious' social upheaval). This subsection paved the way to an investigation of the cumulative nature of multilingual news production or patchwork news writing (in 5.4).

Once having explored the subtopics with more segment recycling, it was possible to assert that the news items under study commonly involve this writing practice. Drawing on one example (*i.e.*, Bolivia represented as a landlocked and poor country in English), it was possible to observe that this segment was constituted by three sources (one in Spanish, two in English). Next, it became an established segment that was reused across all subsequent items. This showed that to translate news, agency journalists translate the new information and combine previously published established segments, to contextualize the event/issue reported, which was also suggested during ethnographic work.

This common practice of cumulative multilingual news writing shows the potential for studying news translation along with complementary approaches concerning journalism, corpus, and discourse, and the ethical and cognitive dimensions involved in the process of news production. The documented shift in the focus of news dispatches in English to concentrate on the former Bolivian president can illustrate the potential of such interdisciplinary research, a focus that goes in line with the preliminary findings on the visual products, advanced in Chapter 4.

It is equally worth pointing out some limitations of this overarching case study, which I believe are linked to its affordances, at the same time. This dataset required a trilingual analysis, which was complex and lengthy, an aspect that explains this chapter's extension. Its potential relies in that it showed the practices of news translation in a self-contained manner, throwing light on the direct relationship between Spanish and French/English versions, but also the indirect one between French and English. This finding is in line with expectations on the working conditions in this agency, *i.e.*, news translators/editors working physically close together in the corresponding edition desks, as pointed out in Chapter 4 based on ethnographic work.

Working with a careful selection of 6 multilingual news sets may seem limiting at first sight to formulate possible generalizations about the phenomenon of news translation. However, the multiple analytical layers here presented intended to strengthen the interconnections between the findings and within the approaches carried out. Methodologically, having taken multilingual sets published sequentially with a general topical thread provided a comprehensive perspective about the agency's production priorities, rather than focusing on larger amounts of isolated multilingual news dispatches.

Finally, the presence of translation in its proper sense in multilingual news production has proven to be central: be it to consider concrete practices of close or distant renditions, or in the functional and efficient use of human and information resources to quickly deliver multilingual news products. Considering that few segments were actually 'rewritten' in the French and English renditions, news translators/editors seem to take *liberties* to render their corresponding news items with functional priorities, by keeping, reordering, removing, adding, and recycling information they deem relevant to meet the expectations of an 'imagined audience'. When journalists 'translate' an event into news production, they consider the agency's journalistic conventions, provide close renditions, recontextualize key subtopics if needed, and reuse previous segments that were translated or published.

Chapter 6. Distance and closeness in the translation of cultural global news: *The journey of culture-bound themes from Bolivia to the world*³⁴

6.0. Introduction

The previous chapter concentrated on the metaphorical notion of ‘journalistic translation’ (Lagneau, 2007) borrowed from media studies. Such a perspective considers the journalistic act of ‘translating’ an event into the journalistic conventions of news agencies for its dissemination worldwide. Trilingual news coverage by AFP agency was examined, which dealt with electoral matters, involving primarily ‘hard news’ while also entailing features of ‘soft news’. The concepts of re-contextualization of political discourse (Schäffner, 2010) and patchwork (Davier, 2015) or cumulative news writing were applied to analyse journalistic translation.

In a similar vein, this chapter explores another metaphorical notion of translation from outside the discipline, that of ‘cultural translation’, whose definition has received vast attention and criticism. Indeed, several authors refer to circular scholarly discussions prevalent in the quest to define it from a translational perspective (extensively treated in Maitland, 2017). By looking at its definition in the adjoining fields of communication, anthropological, and social studies, I will explore the extent to which it can be interrelated and applied to analysing the translation of culture in multilingual news production. This is motivated by the belief that interdisciplinary dialogue is fruitful in general and to propose a practical definition concretely here.

Hence, I will ponder about the way in which agency news workers deal with ‘difficulties of comprehension, of problems of cultural translation’ (Hannerz, 1996, p.118) and if cultural translation expands the horizons (Conway, 2018) of the global audience, by analysing bilingual news agency coverage dealing with faith in Bolivia.

That being said, the sub-questions guiding the present chapters relate to the first and second general research questions of the thesis, which aim to characterise multilingual news production and to locate the contribution of translation. Hence, the first question that I now turn my attention to is *how does cultural translation come into play in multilingual news production?* This chapter seems apt for exploring culturally ingrained notions as represented by global news agencies. The second question that arises is more specific to the discipline of translation studies: *how do news translators/editors deal with translating culture?* It is here hypothesized that they attempt to balance close and distant

³⁴ An earlier version of the theoretical and methodological framework here proposed and a fraction of this dataset were presented at the EST 2022 and CIUTI 2022 conferences, and a contribution is ready for publication in Perspectives Journal (Rodriguez-Blanco, 2024b). I thank the journal editor and the anonymous reviewers who provided me with valuable feedback that has been incorporated in this chapter.

translation practices to achieve a functional and timely multilingual output, while providing enough colour and context seems needed. To achieve such a characterization, I aim at describing comprehensively practices of translating cultural news with a linguistic focus. Such comprehensive tack on news translation involves considering not only distance but also closeness (Rodriguez-Blanco, 2024b), by observing transcultural transfers (Hernandez Guerrero, 2010) and incorporating translation techniques (Molina & Hurtado Albir, 2002) in text analysis.

This chapter analyses the contribution of translation to producing bilingual feature stories published by the agencies Associated Press, Agencia EFE, and Reuters in Spanish and English, that deals with the representation of faith in Bolivia, a context that is not mainstream in the international news flow, nor has been central to translation studies. It implements further the analytical framework proposed in this thesis to characterize bilingual news coverage by describing the type of transcultural transfers (Hernandez Guerrero, 2010) and singling out the translation techniques (Molina & Hurtado Albir, 2002) applied. To this effect, I provide a contrastive textual analysis by comprehensively describing the English renditions in terms of closeness and distance, bringing into focus the renditions of culture-bound elements. The cultural and geographical boundedness of this study aims to widen existing datasets and illustrate the potential of studying functional aspects of news translation.

This news coverage entails linguistic transfers between Spanish and English and, particularly, the transfer of culture-bound concepts, some of which originate in the Quechua and Aymara languages. Additional reflections concern the role of translation in such a complex journey of multilingual news production across the local and global realms, and the potential methodological contribution of these (con)textual specificities to existing disciplinary research.

Findings point to general close renditions that may likely be considered an atypical practice in contrast to much of the extant literature on news translation, which are ostensibly purposeful both from a translational and journalistic perspective. This study ultimately attempts to evince translation's role in producing international news coverage and representing distant realities, such as Bolivia, where cultural matters seem to be as ubiquitous as political ones.

This chapter concentrates on the translational and linguistic dimensions of multilingual news coverage due to the vast amount of data unearthed by focusing on text analysis and space limitations, while this doctoral thesis also covers the contextual and discursive ones as it acknowledges that global news coverage is not exempt from these other dimensions. Some interrelations to these will be suggested, nonetheless a proper triangulation (Denzin, 1970) of textual analysis to contextual ethnographic information or corpus analysis is not endeavoured here (perspectives that are seen in chapters 4 and 7, respectively).

Section 6.1 of this chapter will contextualize the topic of faith in Bolivia as represented by Global News Agencies; Section 6.2 will review, albeit briefly, essential theoretical and methodological aspects of this case study, dealing with transcultural transfers, translation techniques and strategies, the translation of culture-bound references, along with the present dataset and the procedures for its analysis; Section 6.3 will present the findings of this study; finally, Section 6.4 will offer a discussion and general conclusions.

6.1. The context: Representation of Faith in Bolivia by Global News Agencies

The context of this chapter is threefold as stated when introducing this thesis: it concerns the locations of this news coverage, *e.g.*, Bolivia and global news agencies, and the topic being represented, faith. I shall here concentrate on the latter—the topic—relate it in essence to Bolivia and global news agencies, which are treated extensively in chapters 1 and 4.

Bolivia is a country that became a Plurinational State in 2009, with the passing of the new state constitution that recognized the existence of 36 nations, as well as their languages and system of belief (NCPE in Gaceta Oficial, 2009, Art. 1). It was a turning point that allowed the Bolivian population to embrace their cultural plurality, resulting from their indigenous and Spanish origins. Having formerly been a religious country—more particularly, Catholic—Bolivia became a secular one, guaranteeing freedom of religion and spiritual beliefs, and the diversity of world-views (2009, Art. 4). Cultural diversity and freedom of religion are key topics represented in the news texts analysed in this chapter.

The news coverage produced in Bolivia by three major agencies, Associated Press, Agencia EFE, and Reuters, concerning the topic of faith is here analysed. This topic seems of high cultural value both for the country and the news agencies and emerges as one of unique value for TS, as the topic involves the multilingual translation of various cultural notions, that are not detached from socio-political matters. This type of news coverage deals with the representation of religious syncretism present in Bolivian culture that—in the words of the agencies themselves—is ‘a unique belief system’ that is deep-rooted, where ‘the weaving of Catholicism and Pachamama’ are at stake (AP, 2020). This chapter does not hold any religious claim.

More specifically, the analysed news coverage primarily deals with two culturally ingrained concepts: *la Pachamama* and *el Ekeko*. First, ‘Pachamama’, derives from Quechua, that is the predominant indigenous language in Bolivia (Sichra, 2014). *Pachamama* is composed of two voices: *Pacha*, meaning earth, time, and space, and *Mama*, meaning mother. The Bolivian population honours Mother Earth customarily. Second, *Ekeko*, in Quechua as well, is the hispanicized writing derived from *Iqiqu*, meaning ‘dwarf or a tiny version of something’ (Laime, 2007). *El Ekeko* is the God of Abundance of the Alasitas fair, a central festivity in Bolivian culture, especially in the country’s

Andean region. Both concepts, *El Ekeko* and *La Pachamama*, originate in Quechua linguaculture (Risager, 2013) but are more visible in the Aymara context of La Paz city—in the Andean region—where news agencies centralize their operations.

These culture-bound notions are first encoded in Bolivia's dominant language, that is Spanish, and then *exported* worldwide in English. Even though this is a topic of cultural nature, it is intertwined with others of a socio-political, historical, and economic nature, as Section 6.3. discusses further. Given the geographical and contextual specificities of this case-study, one might wonder the extent to which these bilingual news dispatches, that abound in *realia*, distance from one another: do these renditions present the translation features regularly found in news translation research, meaning that the bilingual versions importantly distance from one another?

6.2. Essential theoretical and methodological background

Having contextualized this scenario, I shall now provide a succinct view of the theoretical and methodological core work that is essential to read this chapter, further explained in Chapter 3.

6.2.1. Theory

The cultural anchorage of this news coverage invites us to consider the notion of 'cultural translation', which has been defined as an 'explanation of how members of another community interpret an object or event' (Conway 2012, p. 266). Davier (2015) also explored concepts used to study the translation of culture in the news, questioning the pertinence of foreignization vs. domestication/acculturation strategies (Venuti in Bassnett, 2005). She argues that 'journalists translate literally because they have not been trained to do otherwise' (Davier, 2014). Considering this news coverage's journey to become global, I would add that functional and temporal constraints condition news translational practices when interpreting the cultural other.

Since language and culture are intertwined, approaching *realia* from a linguistic perspective is not meant to undermine its cultural boundedness; quite the contrary, it aims to grasp its sociocultural value by focusing on its material dimension as journalistically represented. For this, I focus on *realia* to refer to 'culture-specific items' (Davier, 2015) or 'culture-bound elements' that comprehend material items, notions, and phenomena, such as religious concepts, taboos, values, institutions, etc. (Leppihalme, 2011, 2010) from the original culture. These subcategories of cultural items and notions are considered with references to toponymy, history, and politics.

Broadly speaking, earlier scholarship on news translation agrees that it is 'fully integrated into the production of news' (Bielsa, 2010, p. 31) and carried out by 'transeditors' (Stetting, 1989) who, nonetheless, are often invisible in news settings (Bielsa, 2010; Davier & van Doorslaer 2018). Also, translated news items present a 'high degree of transformation' (Bielsa, 2010, p. 48) and might be

considered ‘far’ from accurate translations that are ‘true to the original’ (Hernandez Guerrero, 2021, p. 232). This is coupled to seemingly contradictory translation practices that coexist and range from literal translation to rewriting (Davier, 2021). Particularly in this contemporary ‘era of electronic communication’ (Davier & van Doorslaer 2018, p. 253), methodological considerations are crucial when studying translated news.

Moving from this general standpoint into more specific grounds of the actual transfers when translating news, I take the typology of ‘*transcultural transfer*’ proposed by Hernandez Guerrero (trasvase transcultural, 2010, p. 60), to explore from a practical and theoretical view how translation and journalism intersect. This covers three major categories: *complete transfer* (transferencia completa), *partial transfer* (transferencia parcial), and *rewriting* (reescritura). Complete transfers can be *simple complete* (completa simple), *amplified complete* (completa con amplificación), and *compilative complete* (completa compilada), while partial transfers can be *compilative partial* (parcial compilada). This typology aims to assess translated news items as whole products that derive from the ‘transediting’ process (Stetting, 1989), based on their degree of distance from the original. If a continuum from minor to major intervention was set, *simple complete transfers* refer to the closest renderings, namely translations that comprehensively transfer the original with precise transformations to adjust to the new linguistic system and *rewritings* refer to the most distant ones, whereby the original is taken as a starting point.

It was signalled earlier that overlaps exist in the use of ‘[t]erms such as *procedures, techniques, norms, tactics, methods...* [which] occasionally function as synonyms for *strategy* while at other times refer to different concepts’ (Hernandez Guerrero, 2021, p. 235, italics in original). The strategies of explicitation and specification have been observed in culture-specific referents concerning *realia*, names of places, and politicians, (Schäffner, 2017). It is considered here that translation strategies follow a planned general programme, as suggested by Gambier (2010), to be perceived mostly at the macro-textual level.

This type of analysis was seen in Chapter 5, more extensively when characterizing the Translation Relationship, where the functions of selecting, reordering, repeating, and leaving information out during the interlingual transfer are part of a *gatekeeping* process (Hernandez-Guerrero, 2010; Hursti, 2001; Shoemaker et al., 2009). These strategies are applied to composing easily understandable journalistic texts (Hernandez Guerrero, 2021) for the global audience.

Furthermore, existing scholarship (Gambier, 2010; Molina & Hurtado Albir, 2002) has suggested that the notion of translation technique may be applied as an analytical instrument at the micro-level to observe translation equivalence and transformation as the materialization of transfers, precisely the focus of the present chapter. Equivalence can thus be examined comprehensively in terms of shifts and

non-shifts, which I shall treat as distance and closeness (Rodriguez-Blanco, 2024b). Translation techniques are here approached from a ‘dynamic and functional’ perspective, as suggested by Molina and Hurtado Albir (pp. 499, 507-511).

This chapter adopts the typology of translation techniques as analytical tools to deepen the initial analysis of transcultural transfers, as this typology was originally applied to translation of culture-bound notions. This approach allows one to research interlinguistic transfers comprehensively, observing translation solutions bringing about closeness and distance. In this vein, distance can be observed in terms of *reduction*, *amplification*, and *description* techniques (which would correspond to the strategies of omissions, additions, and substitutions commonly found in news translation analysis). The opposing techniques of *generalization* and *particularization* render terms as more general or neutral, or else as more precise. In contrast, closeness is seen in the techniques of *literal translation*, *calque*, and *borrowing*, which seem to not be found when examining translation strategies only.

Given the methodological complexity of comparing source and target texts (Davier & van Doorslaer, 2018; Hernandez Guerrero, 2021) when substantial changes are found in translated news, scholars have resorted to analyse translation strategies in shifts focusing on specific elements of news dispatches, which can be formally identified in headlines (Riggs, 2021; Hernandez Guerrero, 2021) or can be related to cultural concepts (Davier, 2017). Instead, techniques have not been exhaustively studied in news translation (with few exceptions, such as Loupaki, 2010; Rodriguez-Blanco, 2024b).

6.2.2. Methodology

As stated in chapter 3, the present chapter focuses on examining bilingual news coverage about Bolivia involving key cultural concepts. I shall now recall solely essential features of this dataset. The six bilingual pairs (12 news dispatches) selected met the pre-established criteria of publication³⁵: *Linguistic*: Spanish and English; *Temporal*: throughout 2020; *Taxonomic*: soft news; and *Topical*: representation of faith. Once these criteria were met, a working hypothesis about the translational relationship between the Spanish and English versions was established.

The first stage of this study will analyse the transcultural transfers at play (Hernandez Guerrero, 2010), by focusing on 5 bilingual pairs as whole texts, whose word count was more similar (545 words on average within a total of 2725 in Spanish; 471 on average within 2357 in English) to contrast. As mentioned in Chapter 5, the average word reduction into English is met here. Additionally, it is presumed that these news items being published at two points in the year (first and second semester),

³⁵ Two other dispatches were found meeting the selection criteria, except for the linguistic one, *i.e.*, they were not available in bilingual versions: Bible vs indigenous beliefs at issue in Bolivia (AP, English only, 24.01.2020), Bolivianos piden paz y unidad en la Feria de la Alasita (AP, Spanish only, 25.01.2020).

one can observe practices by a wider variety of news workers to produce bilingual news coverage, if compared to one specific point in time.

The second stage moves from the macro-level to examine translation techniques (Molina & Hurtado Albir, 2002) at the micro-level in 12 news items, thus, adds a sixth pair that was not considered first due to its substantial longer extension. *Table 6.1.* shows the bilingual headlines, along with the datelines, bylines and languages, further references are provided in *Table 6.5* below.

N.	Bilingual Headlines	Language, agency, dateline, byline	Words
1a	Pachamama, la deidad indígena que veneran los bolivianos	ES – AP, Copacabana, 24.01.2020, BM	486
1b	Paying homage to the ‘Pachamama’ central to Bolivian culture	EN - AP, Copacabana, 24.01.2020, BM	788
2a	Bolivia inaugura su fiesta de miniaturas pidiendo paz en este año electoral	ES – EFE, La Paz, 24.01.2020, GB	695
2b	Bolivians desire peace as festival of miniatures kicks off	EN - EFE, La Paz, 25.01.2020, GB	487
3a	Los bolivianos sueñan a lo grande con coches y billetes en miniatura	ES – RTR, La Paz, 24.01.2020, SL & MM	333
3b	Bolivians dream big with miniature cars, cash - and roosters	EN - RTR, La Paz, 24.01.2020, SL & MM	305
4a	La Biblia trata de desplazar a la Pachamama en Bolivia	ES – AP, La Paz, 24.01.2020, BM	2281
4b	Bolivia religious debate: the Bible vs. Andean earth deity	EN - AP, La Paz 25.01.2020, BM	2238
5a	Un ritual andino pide a las divinidades que alejen a la COVID-19 de Bolivia	ES – EFE, La Cumbre 21.09.2020, maa-ysm/	478
5b	Andean ritual asks deities to ward off COVID-19 from Bolivia	EN - EFE, La Cumbre 22.09.2020, maa/ysm/	423
6a	Bolivianos decoran calaveras con gafas de sol y cigarrillos para honrar a los muertos	ES – RTR, La Paz, 09.11.2020, SL & MM	373
6b	Bolivians decorate skulls with sunglasses and cigarettes to honor the dead	EN – RTR,La Paz, 09.11.2020, SL & MM	354

Table 6.1. Bilingual headlines by sets 1-6 (a and b reflect ES and EN, respectively), datelines and bylines (initials)

While most research on news translation has focused on source texts in English (Valdeón, 2022) with a variety of target languages, this chapter brings into focus texts originally conceived in Spanish and dealing with cultural references in the Quechua and Aymara languages. I concentrate on describing the target texts in English, rather than the sources. The focus lies on applying the typologies of *transcultural transfers* (Hernandez Guerrero, 2010) and *translation techniques* (Molina & Hurtado Albir, 2002) in a textual analysis of cultural news coverage. Once the bilingual datasets were established, a contrastive analysis was carried out.

A first stage consisted in accounting for the whole texts (macro-level), observing *transcultural transfers* in the three bilingual pairs, based on adapting this typology to segments, as shown in columns A and B in *Table 6.2.* The second stage described the *translation techniques* (micro-level). Column C shows translation techniques that hypothetically relate to each type of transcultural transfer.

This adapted typology aimed at bridging the analysis of translated news as textual wholes to their analysis at the segment level, as Hernandez Guerrero’s typology of *transcultural transfers* originally endeavoured to categorize transfers in news items as a whole, but did not locate the type of transfer according to textual segments. The adaptation I propose aims to operationalize this typology to smaller textual segments to describe the translational features at work (Section 6.3.1.)

	A. Typology of transcultural transfers (Hernandez Guerrero, 2010)	B. Typology of transfers per segment (This proposal)	C. Translation techniques (Molina & Hurtado Albir, 2002)
1	Transferencia completa simple (<i>Simple complete transfer</i>)	Complete simple transfer	Literal translation, borrowing, calque, transposition
2	Transferencia completa con amplificación (<i>Amplified complete transfer</i>)	Complete amplified transfer ²	Amplification, adaptation, discursive creation, modulation, particularization, variation
3	Transferencia completa compilada (<i>Compilative complete transfer</i>) ³⁶		
4	Transferencia parcial (<i>Partial transfer</i>)	Partial transfer (and/or Non-transfer)	Reduction, linguistic compression, compensation, amplification
5	Transferencia parcial compilada (<i>Partial compiled transfer</i>)	Partial amplified transfer	
6	Reescritura (<i>Rewriting</i>)	Rewriting	----

Table 6.2. Adaptation of transcultural transfers typology and related to translation techniques.

The segmentation of units applied respected the one originally offered by news agencies themselves: *i.e.*, paragraphs that range from one to five sentences each (1874 words in 49 segments in Spanish and 1580 words in 45 segments rendered in English). The analysis took a retrospective approach, so it focused on the translated versions in English first (to be seen in Table 6.3) and encompassed closeness (non-shifts) and distance (shifts).

The second analytical stage considered the typology of translation techniques (Molina & Hurtado Albir, 2002) and found here: adaptation, amplification, borrowing, calque, compensation, description, established equivalent, generalization, literal translation, modulation, particularization, reduction, and transposition. Every instantiation is copied verbatim.

To this effect, Section 6.3.2. concentrates on the bilingual headlines to account for the purposeful decision-making by news translators/editors, looking at distance and closeness together. Section 6.3.3 analyses the case of closeness with topic-related examples that carry explicit references in/to the Quechua and Aymara languages, whose rendition into English was deemed to be potentially difficult as trilingual context is involved in passing through Spanish (to be seen in Table 6.5) considering segments of *Simple complete transfers*. Section 6.3.4. focuses on distance. The translated segments concerning the categories *Complete amplified transfer*, *Partial transfer*, and *Partial amplified transfer* are observed, since those are the segments where major intervention exists and where distant translation techniques are visible. In other words, what would be considered ‘literal’ translation is not described at this stage. For this, Table 6.6. categorizes the instantiations of shifts that topically relate to *realia*, accompanied by an annotation of the translation technique involved. Finally, Section 6.4.

³⁶ This adaptation merged the transfers *Amplified complete* and *Compilative complete* since the category of *Compilative transfer* ‘concerns a translation that compiles or gathers more than one original’ (Toury, 2004 in Hernandez Guerrero, 2010, p.63), while *Amplified complete* involves precise local additions. This adaptation at the segment level does not intend to assess if external sources exist in the translated text.

discusses the findings to appreciate how the key concepts of *Ekeko* and *Pachamama* travel from the Bolivian local context to a global realm, carrying intrinsic cultural referents along.

6.3. Translating culture

This section reports the main results of the study in four parts: the first one comprehends the macro-level in transcultural transfers and the remaining three at the micro-level of translation techniques (namely, analysing headlines, closeness and distance).

6.3.1. Transcultural transfer in whole news items: predominant close renditions

The typology of transcultural transfers as whole items (Hernandez Guerrero, 2010) was adapted to examine the segment level. It was found that only five segments from Spanish were not rendered into English (and those occurred only in one dispatch), the average word length remains similar in both linguistic versions (in Spanish, 76 segments of 36 words on average; in English, 71 segments of 33 words), and no paragraphs were re-ordered. The analysis of the news dispatches as whole items across the three agencies showed that *complete simple transfers* greatly outnumber the other ones and that *complete amplified transfers* rank second (with 45 and 16 out of 76 total segments, respectively).

Table 6.3. shows that these two categories together represent 80% of the transferred segments, showing predominantly close renditions. They render comprehensively the original information without major shifts in the English versions. This suggests that ‘literal translation’ is the rule, particularly in the case of *complete simple transfers*, whereby source and target texts remain closely related and only slight adaptations occur to adjust to the new linguistic system.

Agency	Type of transcultural transfer by segment						Total: 76 segments
	None	Complete simple	Complete amplified	Partial	Partial amplified	Rewriting	
AP 1 ³⁷	0	12	8	0	1	0	21
EFE 1	4	7	3	2	4	1	21
RTR 1	0	5	4	1	0	0	10
EFE 2	1	11	1	1	0	0	14
RTR 2	0	10	0	0	0	0	10
Total	5 (7%)	45 (59%)	16 (21%)	4 (5%)	5 (7%)	1 (1%)	76 (100%)

Table 6.3. Results per type of transcultural transfer at the segment level in the 3 agencies across total segments.

By singling out the segment results per agency, *Table 6.3* shows target and source texts are closely related as textual wholes and only precise local amplifications are added, since *complete simple transfers* seem to be predominant, involving more than half of the total transfers (45 out of 76 or 59%), in the following order: RTR (15/20), AP (12/21), and EFE (18/35). The second most recurring type of

³⁷ As stated in the methodological section (6.2.2), one bilingual news item from AP was considered at this stage and two from each other agency. This is due to its length: in word count, one news item from AP equates to two from the other agencies. In AP’s dispatches, segments are larger and amount to fewer segments. Also, the second bilingual pair by AP is considerably longer than the ones considered at this stage, which justifies its analysis only in the second analysis.

transfer is *complete amplified* in AP (8/21) and RTR (4/20). The application of *complete simple* and *complete amplified* transfers shows general closeness, where all information from the source is translated and renditions present the same argumentative structure, ordering of paragraphs, and sentences. These latter are similar in length and word order, where slight changes occur for the sake of idiomaticity in *complete simple transfers* or a short information bit is added in *complete amplified*.

In the case of EFE, *partial amplified transfers* and *non-transfers* rank third in occurrence (5 and 4/35, respectively), involving more distant translation than in the two other agencies; this is still marginal however, if compared to close renditions. In the case of AP and RTR, *non-transfers*, *partial transfers*, *partial amplified transfers*, and *rewritings* do not occur or are very marginal (2/41), while in EFE's dispatches *partial transfers* and *rewritings* scarcely occur (4/35).

These findings suggest that English news dispatches are close renditions from the Spanish originals, since *complete transfers* are predominant, *partial transfers* are marginal, and *rewritings* or *non-transfers* scarcely occur (the latter two solely in one dispatch from one agency). Even to limited degrees, the one news dispatch by EFE that presents every type of transfer illustrates the wide spectrum of news translation practices, as closeness and distance. Solely to illustrate how these transcultural transfers work, *Table 6.4*.³⁸ below displays each transfer type, taken from the category with the highest score per agency according to *Table 6.3*.

Illustration of adapted types of transcultural transfer	
Non-transfer (a) EFE, 5 segments	ES: La presidenta boliviana, nacida en la región amazónica de Beni, en el noreste del país, recordó que en su tierra "también" se celebra esta tradición que "llena de orgullo y es un patrimonio cultural". [<i>The Bolivian president, born in the Amazon region of Beni, in the northeast of the country, recalled that in her land "also" this tradition is celebrated that "fills with pride and is a cultural heritage"</i>] (1a, s.#6) - - NONE IN ENGLISH- -
Complete simple (b) AP, 12 segments	ES: "Es una combinación", expresó José Luis Campero, ingeniero de sistemas de 30 años de La Paz, quien es católico. "Dios no es solo una religión". [<i>"It's a combination," said Jose Luis Campero, a 30-year-old systems engineer from La Paz who is Catholic. "God is not just a religion."</i>] (1a, s.#6) EN: "It's a combination," said Jose Luis Campero, a 30-year-old systems engineer from La Paz who is Catholic. "God is not just one religion." (1b, s.#6)
Complete amplified (c) AP, 8 segments	ES: La fusión de las tradiciones católica romana e indígena salta a la vista al comenzar el verano, durante la Fiesta del Gran Poder en La Paz. Bailarines con atuendos complejos llenan las calles representando el folclore. [<i>The fusion of Roman Catholic and indigenous traditions is obvious at the beginning of summer, during the Fiesta del Gran Poder in La Paz. Dancers in intricate costumes fill the streets representing folklore.</i>] (1a, s.#14) EN: The fusion of Roman Catholic and indigenous traditions goes on display each year in the early part of summer during a celebration called the feast of the Great Power in La Paz. Dancers wearing elaborate and colorful costumes fill the streets representing Andean folklore. (1b, s.#14)
Partial (d) RTR, 1 segment	ES: Las personas <u>más pobres</u> compran amuletos relacionados con sus deseos personales para el año. [<i>Poorer people buy amulets related to their personal wishes for the year</i>] (1a, s.#4) EN: People \emptyset buy lucky charms related to their personal wishes for the year. (1b, s.#4)
Partial amplified (e) EFE, 4 segments	ES: Bolivia <u>atravesó</u> hace unos meses una crisis política y social <u>que derivó en el cambio de Gobierno</u> tras la renuncia de E. Morales el 10 de noviembre <u>denunciando</u> un golpe de Estado, después de los comicios del <u>20 de octubre</u> sobre los que pesaron denuncias de fraude. [<i>Bolivia went through a political and social crisis a few months ago that led to the change of government after the resignation of E. Morales on Nov. 10 denouncing a coup d'état, after the elections of October 20 on which there were allegations of fraud.</i>] (1a, s.#9) EN: The Latin American country witnessed a political and social crisis \emptyset after its president Evo Morales resigned on Nov.10. <u>He alleged</u> a coup after being declared the winner of October elections that were marred by accusations of fraud, throwing the country into chaos amid street protests . (1b, s.#9)

³⁸ As will be remembered, all [back translations] are provided by Google translate.

Rewriting (f) EFE, 1 segm.	ES: MINIATURAS ALUSIVAS A LA ELECCIÓN [MINIATURES ALLUDING TO THE ELECTION] (1a, s.#10) EN: People buy miniatures resembling their wishes that could be achieved in the year ahead. (Text body, the subhead was deleted) (1b, s.#10)
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Table 6.4. Illustration of adapted types of transcultural transfers (Based on Hernandez Guerrero, 2010)

Rapidly recalling the translation typology of topical distribution proposed in the previous chapter (in 5.2.1), all these renditions present the features of a complete relationship, meaning they derive from one identified journalistic source text.

This macro-level analysis showed that whole news items are closely related, since *complete simple transfers* are more numerous than the rest and render information comprehensively without important additions or omissions. This closeness can be read in terms of general literal translation where only precise shifts occur. Based on this analysis of transfer type, the following sections will analyse translation techniques (Molina & Hurtado Albir, 2002), which seem to be applied functionally as solutions to translation problems in specific examples. I intend to examine translation techniques comprehensively to appraise news translation at the micro-level, by examining first the bilingual headlines as key elements of news output (in 6.3.2.).

Then, I build on what would be considered two poles of translation practices: first, by focusing on closeness, found in *Complete simple transfers* in multilingual instances (in 6.3.3.); then, by concentrating on distance, found in *Complete amplified*, *Partial*, and *Partial amplified* types of transfer (in 6.3.4.). At the same time, I associate these poles to their corresponding subcategory of realia. Nonetheless, before moving to the second analytical stage, I shall parenthetically associate findings thus far to key aspects seen in the foregoing Chapters 4 and 5.

6.3.1.1. *Fast pace production and plural authorship*

This subsection interrelates three key aspects concerning agency newswriting, albeit succinctly: the plural authorship; the scarce time to set translation priorities and consequently produce news output; and the potential of ethnographic and paratextual evidence to study such aspects.

Chapter 5 built on a dataset from one agency and showed the usefulness of closely observing paratextual evidence to trace the genealogy of multilingual news coverage. Instead, the present dataset regards three agencies, which limits observing every paratextual element across all agencies. To continue examining paratexts (Genette, 1997), I shall now concentrate solely on the information acknowledging the journalists producing the bilingual items. All news dispatches examined here carry the signature of the same journalist in the bilingual versions. Two of the agencies provide further information about the journalists involved in producing the parallel versions (one agency giving full

bylines and the other only initials), the second model was discussed extensively in Chapters 4 and 5.³⁹ *Table 6.5.* shows that at least three journalists are involved until the final product is published in all cases, which confirms the plural authorship that is characteristic to agency news coverage, more specially, in bilingual or multilingual news coverage.

News item	RTR ES 1a	RTR EN 1b	EFE ES 1a	EFE EN 1b
Byline	SL y MM	SL and MM	GR	GR
Final references	Reporte por SL y MM, escrito por AJ; editado en español por LS	Reporting by SL and MM; Writing by AJ, editing by SM	grb/lar/cav	grb/ia/ssk

Table 6.5. Bylines as initials and further references as paratextual evidence

The bylines in Spanish and English of both agencies acknowledge the function of ‘reporting’ to the local journalists in Bolivia, who are native speakers of Spanish based on ethnographic evidence discussed in Chapter 5. The second acknowledgement refers to the role of ‘writing’ in both versions and refers exclusively to the editor in English in RTR. In EFE, the initials of the reporting local journalist in the byline are repeated and followed by different sets of initials, along with dashes that indicate the passing between desks and editors. These models repeat across the present dataset.

Once again, the plural authorship of this news coverage makes it difficult to pinpoint at which stage of translation/editing the minor shifts (precise distance) occur in the target versions. Based on the renditions seen in the whole items, one might presume a norm at play is to closely translate cultural news coverage as literal translation, which might be motivated by the fast pace at which news translators/editors are expected to deliver their translated output and where cultural news items might not be the priority, limiting the initial time allotted for their rendition. Paratextual and ethnographic evidence indicates that translated news versions are normally published within 1 and 6 hours, time allotted to translating diverse items as several other dispatches from other Latin American countries arrive simultaneously to the regional desks for translation. As news translators pointed out, to cope with the important volumes of arriving news dispatches, priorities are set according to the agenda, which generally gives preference to ‘hard news’ rather than ‘soft’ ones or features, such as these ones.

Then, translating cultural news items might not be prioritized, in general, which can explain why close renditions seem more common here, as opposed to political or electoral ones that are characterized for more distance (examined in Chapter 5). As an illustration of this, *Table 6.4.* above shows that a translated segment matches perfectly the one provided as back translation, which was generated by Google translate, in example (b). This is not an isolated case, as segments from other news dispatches also carry traces of this automatic translation, where news translators/editors may do postediting to the ‘raw’ translation (O’Brien, 2021). It would be unfair to claim this is a generalized

³⁹ Only the initials are copied for not compromising the journalists’ identity nor safety for illustrative purposes (as stated in Chapter 4). Full bylines are available on the corresponding agencies’ websites.

translation practice based on few translated news items and not having analysed this matter specifically. However, it seems relevant to consider this additional layer of automatization, since, at the time of writing, the fields of translation and journalism appear to feel threatened by the rise of software and applications of generative artificial intelligence (a discussion that is not new for translators, but that recently became more evident).

Drawing again on ethnographic evidence, a euphemism used by different editors about the ‘technological aids’ employed when translating news (in Chapter 4) help me conclude this subsection pointing to this practice that was reported exclusively in third person. Given the plural authorship within the chain of agency news production and the multitasking of journalists, paratextual evidence might aid the researcher to identify more clearly the extent to which bilingual news items were translated, edited, or even ‘post-edited’, not to pinpoint specific journalists, but to show that the ‘producer’ is the news agency itself rather than the news workers.

6.3.2. Headlines: purposeful decision-making in news translation

By having observed that close renditions are common in bilingual cultural news at the macro-level, I shall now focus on results at the micro-level. News translation scholars have suggested that headlines are nodal elements in news that concentrate more translation intervention (Hernandez Guerrero, 2021; Riggs, 2021; Sidiropoulo, 1995). One might expect important distance in their renditions, especially considering the culture-bound nature of the news coverage here analysed. To test this, I examine the type of transcultural transfer and translation techniques employed when translating headlines, under the premise that closeness and distance in headlines might strategically anticipate the priorities when translating the body of the bilingual news items. *Table 6.6.* below contrasts the headlines (left column), followed by the topic, the type of transfers, and the translation technique involved (right columns).

N.	Bilingual Headlines	Topic of faith	Transfer type	Translation technique
1a	Pachamama, la <u>deidad indígena</u> que veneran los bolivianos [<i>Pachamama, the indigenous deity venerated by Bolivians</i>]	Pachamama	Partial amplified	Reduction, amplification, borrowing, transposition
1b	Paying homage to the ‘Pachamama’ central to Bolivian culture			
2a	Bolivia inaugura su fiesta de miniaturas pidiendo <u>paz en este año electoral</u> [<i>Bolivia inaugurates its miniatures party asking for peace in this election year</i>]	Ekeko	Partial	Reduction, transposition
2b	Bolivians desire peace as festival of miniatures kicks off			
3a	Los bolivianos sueñan a lo grande con coches y billetes en miniatura [<i>Bolivians dream big with cars and miniature bills</i>]	Ekeko	Complete amplified	Literal translation, amplification
3b	Bolivians dream big with miniature cars, cash - and roosters			
4a	La Biblia trata de desplazar a la Pachamama en Bolivia [<i>The Bible tries to displace Pachamama in Bolivia</i>]	Pachamama	Rewriting	Amplification, description, transposition
4b	Bolivia religious debate: the Bible vs. Andean earth deity			
5a	Un ritual andino pide a las divinidades que alejen a la COVID-19 de Bolivia [<i>An Andean ritual asks divinities to keep COVID-19 away from Bolivia</i>]	Pachamama	Complete simple	Literal translation

5b	Andean ritual asks deities to ward off COVID-19 from Bolivia			
6a	Bolivianos decoran calaveras con gafas de sol y cigarrillos para honrar a los muertos [Bolivians decorate skulls with sunglasses and cigarettes to honor the dead]	Ñatitas	Complete simple	Literal translation
6b	Bolivians decorate skulls with sunglasses and cigarettes to honor the dead			

Table 6.6. Bilingual headlines, subtopic of faith, type of transcultural transfer, and translation technique

Seeing these headlines through the typology of transcultural transfers (Hernandez Guerrero, 2010), one can notice that half of them were closely rendered, being subjected to *Complete transfers* (exs. 3, 5, 6); while the other half shows distant renditions and involved *Partial* and *Rewriting* type of transfers (exs. 1, 2, 4). In the first category, two are *Complete simple* (exs. 5 and 6) and one *Complete amplified* (ex. 3); in the second category, one is *Partial amplified* (ex. 1) and one *Partial* (ex.2). These translations seem to move within a continuum of intervention that escapes binarism. To characterize these further, I shall now examine the translation techniques involved (Molina & Hurtado, 2002).

As for *Complete simple* transfers, literal translation technique is at stake, since the translated headlines present the exact same word order and every element is rendered (exs. 5, 6). Similarly, the *Complete amplified* transfer closely renders all information orderly and involved the techniques of literal translation and amplification of the lexical item ‘roosters’ (ex. 3).

The case of *Partial* transfer presents the techniques of reduction and transposition where the reference ‘en este año electoral’ [*in this electoral year*] is deleted to reinforce the cultural centrality of faith and give less weight to political concerns (ex. 2). *Partial amplified* transfer involves the techniques of amplification, transposition, reduction, and borrowing, where the lexical items ‘central (...) culture’ are added and ‘deidad indígena’ is deleted (ex.1). In *Rewriting*, the techniques of amplification, description and transposition are combined, since the Spanish headline gives a gist of the opposition between Pachamama and the Bible, opposition that is reinforced by the phrasing in the English version of ‘debate’ and ‘vs.’ (ex. 4). These cases show how distance work in this context.

A quick note concerns the length of headlines, which might also condition their translations to fulfil the expectations of the global audience. Headlines in English are 9 to 11 words-long, while the ones in Spanish are slightly longer, from 8 to 14 words. This indicates the need to formally adjust headlines to comply to stylistic conventions customary in news agencies concerning their accepted length in English, which seems more evident in the headlines from EFE agency (exs. 2, 5), especially, the one where the political reference was reduced. In this regard, the Reuters handbook states headlines must ‘have only 50 characters’ (2008, p. 28), which equates to 8 and 10 words.

Considering the limited number of words allowed for headlines and their centrality in appealing to the general audience at first glance or ‘click’, translation decisions seem to go beyond the linguistic repertoire of news translators. Every word rendered is purposefully chosen and might anticipate the

subsequent structure of the bilingual news items. Rather than shifting radically as expected, the continuum between closeness and distance observed in these translated headlines shows a need for coherence with the focus brought to cultural information, that is prioritized over political references, as will be discussed in what follows.

6.3.3. The case of closeness in instances of multilingualism

Thus far, I examined transcultural transfers at the macro-level, whereby close renditions were found to be a generalized practice to translate culturally ingrained topics, even though it was expected that more distance exists as noted in prior studies. Translation techniques used in headlines were analysed above at the micro-level, which revealed more balance between close and distant renditions in headlines as opposed to whole items (Sections. 6.3.1 and 6.3.2.).

In what follows, I contrast every cultural notion and item involving explicit references in the Quechua and Aymara languages in the co-text to analyse their translations from Spanish into English, implying then a multilingual context of translation. Having seen whole news items and headlines, this section moves to smaller topic-specific segments found in the texts body. *Table 6.7.* contrasts 12 instantiations and displays the Spanish source followed by the English rendition (signalled with an arrow), and the translation technique involved. These were copied verbatim.

Instantiations of bilingual renditions (Spanish → English)
<p>a) Alasita, que significa <i>cómprame</i>; Alasita, que significa "<i>cómprame</i>" → Alasita that means "buy me"; Alasita - which means "buy me"; b) rituales conocidos como "<i>challas</i>" → rituals known as "<i>challas</i>"; c) Pachamama o Madre Tierra; "<i>pacha</i>" quiere decir tierra* → Pachamama or Mother Earth; "<i>pacha</i>" means earth*; d) bandera llamada <i>wiphala</i> → flag called the <i>wiphala</i>; e) dios indígena de la abundancia, el <i>Ekeko</i> → Indigenous god of abundance, <i>Ekeko</i>; f) "<i>apus</i>" o divinidades de las montañas → "<i>apus</i>" or mountain deities; g) la <i>apacheta</i> o punto de ofrendas → the <i>apacheta</i> or offering point; h) "<i>sullu</i>" o feto de llama muerto → "<i>sullu</i>" or dead llama fetus; i) Conocidas como "<i>ñatitas</i>", las <i>calaveras</i> → Known as "<i>ñatitas</i>", the skulls; j) los <i>amautas</i> o sabios andinos → the <i>amautas</i> (Andean sages)</p>
<p>Translation techniques involved → Literal translation, borrowing, established equivalent, and calque</p>

Table 6.7. Instantiations of references in/to Quechua and Aymara and translation techniques involved.

These results show that the translation techniques of *literal translation*, *borrowing*, and *established equivalent* are at stake in all renditions in English. On every occasion in Spanish and English, the original *realia* term in Quechua and Aymara indigenous languages is borrowed and followed by a brief description of the cultural notion or item (in 3 to 4 words). The literalness of the rendition is seen in that all explanations in Spanish are rendered in the exact same word order in English with the established equivalents 'que significa' with 'that/which means', 'conocidos como' with 'known as', and 'llamada' with 'called', and so on, that could be essentially found in dictionary definitions. Only slight variations in punctuation occur (*i.e.*, commas, dashes, quotation marks, and parenthesis) and some articles in Spanish were deleted in English, a regular practice for the sake of style. Only one

example (c) also employs the technique of *calque*, where ‘Pachamama o Madre tierra’ finds the equivalent ‘Pachamama or Mother Earth’.

The crux of multilingualism stands at the crossroads of maintaining the cultural terms in Quechua and Aymara, that are dealt with in Spanish first and in English later. These close renditions can be considered literal translation in a broader characterization of translation, beyond the observance of precise techniques. As Molina and Hurtado Albir claim (2002), these techniques can also be understood as strategies in this specific sense, since the journalists, news translators and editors involved seem to plan in advance and employ the same formula, whether in Spanish or English: the realia term in Quechua or Aymara, that is part of the Spanish variant in Bolivia, is followed by a short-standardized description that is deemed understandable for the wider audience. This formula seems a goal that is applied by default to overcome efficiently the crucial challenge: to transfer these multilingual and culturally-ingrained bits of text.

In every case, only the first instantiation of these cultural notions is explained (as contrasted in *Table 6.7.*), while the following instances in Quechua are simply inserted in the texts in Spanish or English, such as "piden a los **apus** que intercedan" or "ask the **apus** to intervene" (my emphasis, *s#l in 5a/5b*), where ‘apus’ is not explained further after the first instantiation.

These observable intertextual relations suggest that intralingual and interlingual translation (1959, Jakobson) are already at play in the Spanish versions, since references in Quechua—that are understood in the Spanish local variant—are first ‘explained’ to an international readership in Spanish and then to a more global one, in English. In other words, the Spanish versions are conceived from the outset to serve a global audience, be it in Spanish or English.

For this, the initial Spanish speaking journalists in Bolivia seem to “unpack” any possible difficulty so that news translators and editors at the agencies’ regional desks can easily translate these context- and culture-specific news dispatches. They seemingly reflect on the chain of news production that make up this plural authorship, starting from the very origin (at the local desk) up until the final filter (at the main headquarters) prior to publication to global media, a journey described in Chapter 4.

This cultural unpacking might relate to making this content fully available to the media they cater for or, even more so, for direct access by the international audience, especially in the case of audiovisual news production (as seen in 4.5.). Bielsa argued that ‘already intercultural news items’ (2010, p. 204), such as these ones, are foreign interpretations of local events that are more likely to be translated and circulated worldwide. Some interviewed journalists positively valued this wider circulation of the translated versions of their own news production (in 4.4).

Lastly, all instances of multilingual and culture-bound renditions were accompanied by larger segments describing in detail the cultural phenomenon in Spanish and English. While the textual

analysis of such segments is beyond the scope of this chapter, I would suggest that future research addresses them. This is because the level of detail involved in these depictions is valuable, on the one hand, as an evident ‘translation’ of culture; on the other, as an *intersemiotic* translation (Jakobson, 1959) that relates the visual image to the provision of an ample textual narration. The strength of this written narration allows one to do without the visuals. Jakobson’s translation triad was briefly applied in Chapter 4 to identify the shapes of translation in audio-visual bilingual news production.

6.3.4. The case of distance

The analysis of transcultural transfers of whole texts (in 6.3.1.) indicated that *complete simple* and *complete amplified* transfers amount to 80% of transfers, defined here as close renditions. To account for distance or shifts in renditions, which are commonly found in established research in news translation, I shall analyse the case of distance focusing on the translation techniques employed in *partial* and *partial amplified* transfers thus excluding close renderings.

Table 6.8. displays 19 instantiations of distance and suggests three emerging patterns to be described focusing on translation and related to its topic. These patterns concern the rendition of *Andina*, colour, and political references. The left column shows these instantiations; the middle one the relevant topical subcategories of *realia* (*i.e.*, cultural notions/items, historical context, politics, and toponymy); the right column the translation techniques involved. Due to space limitations, *Table 6.8.* shows only repetitive instantiations to be discussed, while *Annex 2* provides a full account. Examples at the top—*a*) to *k*)—were found in both Spanish and English versions, while the ones at the bottom—*l*) to *s*)—exist only in one version, *i.e.*, the TT or the ST. Bolds and underlining are added for emphasis.

Instantiation of shift	Realia	Technique
a) <i>diosa de la tierra Pachamama</i> → Andean earth deity called the Pachamama b) <i>fiesta andina de la Alasita</i> → Bolivia's colorful Alasita festival; c) <i>Ekeko es la deidad andina</i> → Ekeko, the Aymara god; d) <i>Pachamama</i> → ‘Pachamama’ central to Bolivian culture* ; e) <i>sombreros andinos</i> → wool stocking hats, f) <i>colorful</i> costumes; g) a <u>rainbow of colors</u> ; h) <u>and roosters</u>	Cultural notions and items	Amplification Particularization Description
i) <i>Andes bolivianos</i> → Andes mountains ; j) <i>Bolivia</i> → The Latin American country ; k) <i>migración de personas del occidente</i> → arrival of European migrants ³	Toponymy History	Generalization
l) during the pre-colonial times; m) following months of a political crisis; n) throwing the country into chaos o) <i>She’s worried about a diminished emphasis on her country’s unique fusion of beliefs in the post-Morales era in Bolivia.</i>	History Politics	Amplification (<u>Added in TT</u>)
p) <i>en este año electoral</i> ; q) <i>presidente durante más de una década</i> ; r) <i>que deriva en el cambio de gobierno</i> ; s) <i>ministros y cuerpo diplomático</i>	Politics	Reduction (<u>Omitted from ST</u>)

Table 6.8. Instantiations of distance related subtopics, and translation techniques (Molina & Hurtado Albir, 2002)

6.3.4.1. References to the Andes

The first pattern of distance across all news dispatches concerns references to the ‘Andes’ or ‘Andina/o’, the latter being the Spanish adjective for *Andean* or *belonging to the Andes region* (*exs. a), b), c), e), i).* The techniques employed in the translations are amplification, particularization,

description, and generalization. At the topical level, these references regard the subcategories of *cultural notions and items* and *toponymy*.

The techniques of amplification and particularization are combined in *ex. a)*: the cultural notion of ‘diosa de la tierra Pachamama’ was amplified as the ‘**Andean** earth deity called Pachamama’ in English and particularized to the Andean region, while this is a concept of national import that is not exclusive to the Andes. Also, the Ekeko deity or ‘deidad andina’, in *ex. c)*, was particularized as ‘Aymara’, undermining the context of Quechua and Aymara cultures belonging to the Andes region and the Quechuan origin of this deity’s name (introduced in 6.1.).

The technique of description in *ex. b)* concerns the ‘fiesta andina de la Alasita’ [*Andean festivity of Alasita*] that was rendered in English as ‘Bolivia's **colorful** Alasita festival’. Describing ‘andina’ as ‘colourful’ seems to prioritize its appeal to the global audience, instead of providing the adequate cultural background of its Andean origins that was present in the Spanish version. This distance is in line with the pattern of colourful, to be examined next. Another description regards a cultural item in *ex. e)*, where ‘sombros andinos’ [*Andean hats*] are represented as ‘wool stocking hats’ in English, omitting all reference to being from the Andes.

This detailed account of distances in no way attempts to prescribe how journalists should translate these instantiations of cultural transfer, instead it aims to describe its inherent complexity. The fact that all references to ‘Andina’ (in the source or target version) are distant as a result of applying translation techniques illustrates a potential difficulty that is to be solved systematically. Even though established equivalents exist in English as linguistic options available to the news translator (*i.e.*, Andino → Andean), these translation choices point to a difficulty of topical or cultural background and the need of cultural desirability (Hursti, 2001).

6.3.4.2. *References to colour*

As mentioned earlier, the depiction of cultural matters in this news coverage is detailed and the presence of colour seems pivotal, as it exists across all news items under analysis, whether in Spanish or English, or both. Half of these references were closely rendered (*bilingual sets* 4-6) and the other half involved distance (*bilingual sets* 1-3), the latter being the approach of this subsection. I now focus on the second emerging pattern of distance with regard to references to ‘**colour**’ concerning cultural items, mainly on two instantiations of ‘colour’ in the English versions, that did not exist in Spanish.

By the application of description and amplification techniques, these instantiations (*exs. f), g)* were amplified to describe ‘atuendos complejos’ [*elaborated costumes*] as ‘elaborated and **colorful** costumes’ and the Wiphala indigenous flag as one that ‘features a rainbow of **colo[u]rs**’. These two examples may seem trivial, but I believe they clearly depict how precise information provided in the

‘original’ can be modified to serve the foreign audience with minimal time and effort from the news translator/editor: that the Wiphala flag or folkloric dances’ costumes are indeed colourful might seem obvious—and even redundant—when writing this Spanish piece but can be clarifying and appealing for the global English reader.

This reinforces the previous pattern, regarding the Andes, where the cultural notion of Alasita festivity was described as ‘colourful’ (instead of ‘Andean’) and hints to the decisions that news translators make when rendering culturally ingrained notions: cultural ‘desirability’ (Hursti, 2001) seems to be prioritized over accuracy to meet the expectations of the global audience. In the words of Chaal (2019), this ‘local colour’—be it metaphorical or not—should be preserved by journalists/translators of foreign news. Seen from media studies, Palmer (1996) suggests that, when it comes to international news, an ‘obsession’ with the provision of ‘colour’ is customary in newsrooms. The value of local colour was also transversal to the interviews with journalists (in Chapter 4).

To conclude, this cultural desirability may also be understood as the newsworthiness and news values that are at play (Bednarek & Caple, 2017). One might argue that the examples found in headlines *d*) and *h*), complement this pattern, even if they do not explicitly add ‘colour’: amplifications were employed to reinforce the centrality of the cultural topic being treated, *i.e.*, adding ‘roosters’ (that are colourful) to a headline about the Alasitas festivity.

6.3.4.3. *References to political and historical matters*

Moving on to the third emerging pattern, this refers to distance when rendering political and historic matters, where most variation was noticed in comparison to the rest of the dataset. This has effects on the translated product, here studied with translation techniques, and also bears on the discursive, ideological and ethical dimensions. *Table 6.8.* above displayed nine instantiations of distance (from *k*) to *s*)), where the techniques of amplification and reduction were applied to provide enough context and prioritize information deemed relevant to the English-speaking global audience, while one generalization also occurred. Overall, the fact that most political and historical references were intervened upon, by adding or omitting bits of information, ultimately hints at a shift in the function of the texts in English: to be mainly of cultural interest.

The focus on cultural matters in English renditions is seen in that political information seems merely contextualizing as opposed to the Spanish sources, where local political matters are more present. For this, the technique of reduction is applied in examples *p*) to *s*). This seems clearly illustrated by the reduction of the reference ‘en este año electoral’ [*in this electoral year*] in the key context of a headline (*ex. p*), to prioritize cultural information. Other political references were equally

reduced (exs. *q*) to *s*)⁴⁰ presumably because they could be deemed only circumstantial to the global audience targeted by the English version.

Conversely, precise historical and political information was added by means of the amplification technique in some instances (exs. *l*) to *o*)⁴¹. I concentrate on the two that seem to affect more the outcome in English. The first one concerns the closing remarks of bilingual set *no. 6*. Here a local source is directly quoted in Spanish and English (s#42-43), who claims that one should ‘always believe in the Pachamama’. The distance stands in that only a fraction of the preamble to this quotation exists in English (ex. *o*) to state ‘She’s worried about a diminished emphasis on her country’s unique fusion of beliefs in the post-Morales era in Bolivia’.

To understand this distance, I should recall the recontextualization (Schäffner, 2010) of quotes in electoral news coverage, approached in the previous chapter (section 5.3.), where important distance was found when rendering quotations from local citizens. When closely reading these news dispatches and direct quotation, I was not able to find any hint to this person actually being worried about Bolivia’s syncretism or political situation, besides the quote present only in English. This distance might be linked to the fact that the represented tension between the belief in Pachamama or the Bible was already more evident in the English headline than the Spanish one (examined in section 6.3.2.). Closing remarks and headlines being pivotal framing devices (Tankard, 2001), it makes sense for them to cohere with each other.

The second instantiation of distance concerns a historical reference, where the techniques of amplification and generalization were found (exs., *k*) and *l*). The segment ‘Aunque la costumbre es propia de los Andes bolivianos, se expandió por la migración de personas del occidente a la región oriental boliviana’ [*Although the custom is typical of the Bolivian Andes, it expanded due to the migration of people from the west to the eastern Bolivian region*] was rendered as ‘Although the tradition originated in the Andes mountains **during the pre-colonial times**, it was brought to eastern Bolivia after the arrival of **European migrants**’. This rendition seems problematic at two levels. First, it adds an amplification of ‘the pre-colonial times’, without any mention to it in Spanish, a claim that is historically inaccurate by some centuries of difference.

It also refers to the expansion of the Alasitas fair to eastern Bolivia ‘after the arrival of European migrants’, generalizing ‘personas del occidente’ [*Western people*] as European westerners—from a Eurocentric standpoint—and not to local Bolivians actually migrating from the West of the country, this is equally inaccurate in socio-historical terms. This points to the situational and cultural factors

⁴⁰ q) presidente durante más de una década; r) deriva en el cambio de gobierno; s) ministros y cuerpo diplomático.

⁴¹ m) following months of a political crisis; n) throwing the country into chaos

that condition the work of news translators, as signalled by Hursti (2001). Ultimately, this suggests that major translation intervention in culturally ingrained matters involves major risks in a context of news production where time is scarce.

The combination of amplification and reduction techniques concerning the translation of political references is commonly seen as strategic in earlier scholarship. Davier has suggested that references to politics tend to be paraphrased or omitted when their rendition involves difficulties (2015), while Schäffner has suggested that source-culture specific referents, particularly names of politicians and places are often explicitated (2005); these aspects were observed here when analysing translation techniques (Molina & Hurtado Albir, 2002).

I concentrated here on the material linguistic dimension of news translation, leaving the existing discursive and ideological implications aside, since Chapters 5 and 7 treat them more extensively. The fact that all instances of political references involved interventions, mainly reducing them, but also amplifying them, suggests that a detailed contrastive text analysis can yield relevant insights that highlight the role of translation in newswriting.

Finally, the three patterns found here may point to the difficult balance to be achieved by news translators who resort to simultaneously reducing and amplifying precise information that concerns centrally cultural matters but are not detached from socio-political ones. The features of ‘colour’ that are brought into focus particularly in English can illustrate this, since they offer more cultural references than political ones and still render some of the latter.

The rendition of details in a story depends not only on their cultural acceptability, but also on the cultural desirability (Hursti, 2001), here manifested through notes of ‘colour’. As suggested by Schäffner (2012), as special emphasis is put on the expectations of target receivers, the target text function guides the translation process to serve a new sociocultural context, a global one when news agencies are concerned. Here, the central function seems to be set on cultural concerns, rather than political ones, which inevitably contour cultural events.

6.4. Discussion

This chapter has attempted to explain the particulars of studying translated news coverage by global news agencies dealing with culture-specific content concerning the topic of faith in Bolivia, focusing on the journey of *El Ekeko* and *La Pachamama* from the local to the global. Transcultural transfers (Hernandez Guerrero, 2010) and translation techniques (Molina & Hurtado Albir, 2002) were examined in Spanish and English news dispatches that involved several references in/to the Quechua and Aymara linguacultures (Risager, 2013). It was also conceived to discuss the pertinence of the notion of cultural translation, seen from inside and outside the discipline of translation.

The results indicate that bilingual cultural news coverage is likely to be at odds with what is usually observed in translation studies about news agencies, since re-orderings, rewritings, and extensive additions or omissions (Hursti, 2001; Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009) were not regularly found. Based on the thorough analysis at the macro-level of textual wholes (Section 6.3.1.), as transcultural transfers (Hernandez Guerrero, 2010), close renderings were seen to be the rule rather than the exception in complete simple and complete amplified transfers, since most information is rendered without involving major changes. Distant renditions were analysed in the minimal results of partial, partial amplified, and rewriting types of transfers.

The micro-level analysis equally indicated closeness in renditions, but also precise distance, which were approached by means of translation techniques. Translating culture-specific Quechuan terms and key concepts (*e.g.*, *el Ekeko* and *la Pachamama*) could be considered arduous *a priori* because it involves a multilingual and cross-cultural journey from Quechua and Aymara, to Spanish, and finally to English. Paradoxically, closeness was more evident there (in 6.3.3.), since the English versions translated word-for-word the Spanish excerpts, via the techniques of literal translation, borrowing, and established equivalent.

In contrast, some major distance between the Spanish and English versions was observed in the prioritization of cultural information over political references to reinforce the cultural focus and keep politico-historical matters as contextualizing information in English. Amplification, reduction, and description were found to be at work (in 6.3.4.), precisely to add notes of ‘colour’, render the Andes, and transfer historic and political background. The latter distance was retraced back to the notion of recontextualization (Schäffner, 2010) of direct quotes from local sources (seen in Chapter 5).

There is reason to believe that close translations are not exceptional in this kind of multilingual news writing rich in cultural references: they ostensibly follow a translational process that would fit a ‘traditional’ translation notion, understood as complete and close renditions that are ‘true to the original’ (Hernandez. Guerrero, 2022, p.232). This could be explained by the fact that bilingual news dispatches are conceived from the outset to circulate within a *production chain* between local, regional, and central desks, to be quickly catered to a global and ‘imagined’ audience (Coddington et al., 2021), where less translation intervention—or closeness—allows the bilingual product to circulate quicker.

The overall trend of close translations found does not go against established knowledge in news translation studies about distant ones. Rather, it pledges for approaching comprehensively the translational phenomena occurring in newsrooms as news translators seem to purposefully balance what is kept, deleted, and added from the information offered in the ‘original’ to produce a translated version. This intended balance was characterised as closeness and distance.

In essence, the significance of studying news translation through this culture-bound dataset relies in that if studies focus solely on multilingual news practices where translation bears a minimal role, as evidenced by more distance or shifts that resemble *rewritings*, the field risks missing datasets coming from non-mainstream contexts and of disregarding significant volumes of translated information that equally constitute the international news flow.

This chapter has examined how news translation works and found that news translators, as journalistic experts, may prioritize closeness in their whole products and apply distance in precise local shifts. This was appreciated especially in the translation of headlines (Section 6.3.2.), nodal elements in news and whose translation involves purposeful decision-making to formally adjust them in compliance with news agencies' stylistic conventions and time pressures. Even though one might expect important distance between headlines, findings here seem to contradict the view that news headlines are rarely transferred intact as 'very often there is some alteration, partial or total' (Sidiropoulou, 1995, p.260.) Yet, such degrees of 'alteration' reinforce the choice of transcultural transfers (Hernandez Guerrero, 2010) and translation techniques (Molina and Hurtado Albir, 2002) to study comprehensively the translation of culture-bound news coverage avoiding binarism.

This continuum from close to distant renditions via translation techniques seems to cohere with the balance between readability and otherness found by Davier (2015) as translation strategies. The existing overlap in the labelling of translation strategies and techniques, referred to as the uncertainty around 'the metalanguage of TS' (Gambier, 2010, p. 417), points to the need for terminological clarification. This chapter observed translation techniques leading to the solutions in the target texts to account for closeness and distance (non-shifts and shifts). Then, it is argued that 'strategy' may be applied to the planning of news translation process at the macro level and 'techniques' to the results or solutions at the micro level.

I conceive of news translators/editors as experts of the linguistic services they provide, which relates to the way expertise is co-constructed and negotiated (Risku & Schlager, 2021) in social interactions within work settings. Explored further in Chapter 4, the sequence of filters that proofread and edit each news dispatch account for multiple authorship and, in my view, the agencies become the main authors, rather than the individual news workers involved at the different stages. Hence, it is the cooperation between these various individuals that makes them experts of their institution's expectations (*e.g.*, informative, stylistic, or temporal), but mainly of those of the global clients they serve. In this dialogue of expectations, intercultural communication seems successfully performed.

This chapter being informed by cultural news coverage, discussing the pertinence of 'cultural translation' seems pivotal and I do so at three levels. First, from an anthropological view, Hannerz (1996), a former foreign correspondent, refers to Cultural translation as the way correspondents deal

with the problems inherent to interpreting the Other. He adds that foreign correspondents, as anthropologists, are ‘merchants of astonishment’ about what is ‘exceptional’ from abroad (p.118). In this line of thought, one might argue that Cultural translation amounts to explaining foreign matters and to ‘translate’ them into news that are ‘merchandisable’ and marked by cultural difference, by otherness. Journalistic translation seen from media and social studies (Lagneau, 2007, examined in Chapter 5) coheres with this sense of ‘translating’ foreign realities to bring them into formats or conventions for news consumption. The sole difference seems to be that Lagneau focuses on the translation of sequential moments that constitute a news event, while Hannerz seems to refer to how themes are translated into news.

Second, from a cultural studies view, that has been applied in translation studies, Bhabha (1990) describes cultural translation as the way cultures ‘migrate’ with the individuals bearing them when settling in foreign contexts. In this vein, what was labelled here as the ‘journey’ of Bolivian culture from a local context to more global ones becomes a migration, a displacement, that is not only physical but also symbolical and, above all, culturally mediated. Both notions may carry a linguistic dimension of cultural translation but are not conditioned by it.

A third sense of cultural translation lies more at the core of this discipline. Conway puts it as an explanation of objects or events across two or more cultures (2012), one that opens the horizons (2018) of the readers/interlocutors; and Maitland conceives of it as a means ‘not to overcome difference, but, as interlingual translation does, to create it’ (2017, p. 26). Here again, even though with some vagueness, translating cultures does not mean to appropriate the Other, but to explain it by marking the difference with oneself. If marking the difference is pivotal to translating cultures, then a foreignizing textual approach would be expectable and would align to the overall closeness found here. However, I consider that applying strict binary oppositions such as domesticating or foreignizing translation (Venuti, 1995) may not be especially fruitful. Instead, I rather see this complex situation in a continuum of intervention (that evidently carries oppositions, *e.g.*, in distance and closeness) to prioritize functionality and efficiency in bilingual news production. In this vein, news translators seem to attempt a balance between closeness at the global textual level and precise distance at the local one, as discussed in section 6.3.

In difficult instances, their translational decisions seem purposeful and efficient to prioritize cultural information over political references and may even transcend the interlinguistic repertoire that is available and may be conditioned by contextual pressures, *e.g.*, scarce time. Clear illustrations of this are the close or literal renditions in English of explicit references to Quechua as originally worded in Spanish, probably to avoid risks of inaccuracy; as well as the distant renditions of ‘andina’ (as *colorful* or *Aymara* instead of ‘Andean’) and the general reduction of political matters. In practical

terms, major translation interventions—here treated as distance—in *realia* involve risks (as seen in examples concerning ‘andina’ and ‘migrantes del occidente’) due to the quick nature of agency news production/news translation. One may argue that literalness saves time, based on the important volumes and diversity of news dispatches that arrive for translation at the regional edition desks of news agencies, among which ‘soft news’ or feature stories, such as these cultural items, may not be the upmost priority.

As for translation proper, I consider that translation is cross-cultural and interlinguistic *per se*. Adding labels to the broadness of ‘translation’ (e.g., cultural) might narrow its understanding from outside the field (Schäffner, 2012; Davier, 2015), such as the above-mentioned sociological and anthropological views that do not necessarily account for the interlinguistic dimension of it and, more particularly, within journalistic contexts where reluctance to openly acknowledge translation prevails.

Instead, the translation triad proposed by Jakobson (1959) might comprehend the processes and products deriving from the translational act and inherent decision-making of translators in the context of news production. As a superordinate, translation could account for: *interlinguistic translation*, dealing with the transfer of news information between systems; *intra-linguistic translation*, concerning the cognitive and contextual processing to writing the initial dispatch that is conceived to be globalized, whether in Spanish or English, and that unpacks any cultural difficulty in advance; and *intersemiotic translation*, referring to the interpretive component of ‘explaining’ the Cultural other, which was noticed in the vast cultural descriptions, as a verbal and written explanation of the visual *realia*, e.g. rituals, notions, and items.

I shall now relate findings here to Chapters 4, 5, and 7 to reflect on two methodological aspects. First, the religious phenomenon examined concerned primarily socio-cultural matters, yet it is not exempt from political ties, a topic that enables a comprehensive view of the then Bolivian context. Also, this dataset may be considered small, yet it is exhaustive as regards its selection criteria, it is representative of cultural news coverage about Bolivia by news agencies and the results yielded by the contrastive textual analysis seem rich enough to make visible the presence of translators and translation’s role in global news production.

Second, while this study hints at affordances of a contrastive and linguistic approach to news texts, it equally entails complexities. The central one is studying the paratextual evidence (Batchelor, 2018) (*i.e.*, precise datelines, format to acknowledge journalists, etc.) across all news agencies. This proved to be fruitful when dealing with one agency at a time, but not across various ones, since formats related to the agencies’ website infrastructures vary substantially.

Moving to looking forward and from a general standpoint, this thesis claims that translation studies may benefit from datasets gathered from new and non-mainstream contexts, such as Bolivia, and go

further in triangulating textual data with contextual evidence from ethnographic work, or in focusing on the discursive and ideological dimensions of news translation. Studying further the workings of translation in audio-visual news products may also bear important value to this subfield, as this involves relating technological progress to the way multilingual news is produced and disseminated nowadays (introduced in chapter 4). The potential of studying the contextual specificities of cultural news reporting yielded findings that indicate practices of close renditions mainly, as opposed to earlier scholarship in news translation. However, news reporting of a political nature illustrated some more distant news translation practices (chapter 5), pointing to the need to factor in the topic chosen (*i.e.*, cultural as opposed to political ones).

Finally, this chapter has focused on the way Bolivian culture is represented journalistically and multilingually by key stakeholders of international news, namely, global news agencies. The analytical framework here proposed may potentially be applied to studying other contexts, such as countries that are seemingly also deemed of cultural newsworthiness. This case study examined how Otherness is represented by these news organizations from a translational and linguistic standpoint. I attempted to show that achieving a balance between closeness and distance to describe cultural events happening remotely is part of the complex role of news translators, whose contribution to the circulation of international news is more central than ever. The representation of faith in Bolivia is only one example of culturally ingrained contexts that can enrich the study of news translation from a translational, linguistic, ethnographic, journalistic or discursive perspective, and even more so from an interdisciplinary one.

Chapter 7. Non-obvious journalistic renditions across linguistic and cultural boundaries

7.0. Introduction

The present chapter examines bilingual news coverage about Bolivia at a specific point in time, that is the 2020 General Elections, which was published by all global news agencies considered in this thesis (namely, AFP, EFE, RTR, and AP), as opposed to the previous chapters that focused on one, two, or three agencies. This chapter builds on the analytical framework presented in a fully-fledged manner in chapters 5 and 6 that concentrate on the nature of translation in journalistic settings and the multilingual products. By applying this analytical framework to study the discursive dimension of multilingual news products using corpora, this chapter brings together central concepts that were previously advanced. Now I devote a few lines to recapitulate essential background from foregoing chapters.

First, global news agencies play a central role in the international news flow and in shaping the journalistic agenda since them being key sources about realities and events happening distant from their global readership. When it comes to approaching the discursive dimension of international and multilingual news, this remoteness seems all the more relevant given that the global audience has limited means to contrast the evidence from a displaced context and, more often than not, in a language different than the one being read.

Second, as legitimate wholesalers of international news, global news agencies provide what is considered raw news coverage to media worldwide at a fast pace. Translation is therefore at the core of their journalistic functions, yet it is seldom acknowledged as such, even though these news agencies were created as translation agencies of international and financial news (seen in Chapter 4; Bielsa, 2007). English being the working language of international press (MacLaughlin, 2011), the English versions seem to be the ultimate product in a chain of multilingual news production that circulates more widely than the ones in Spanish.

Third, this case study's topic represents a crucial moment, as the 2020 Bolivian electoral process followed an annulled vote in 2019 that ended up in socio-political crisis. In 2019, former president E. Morales was running for a fourth mandate while in tenure, he won the election, and was then overthrown due to the political tensions and accusations of fraud. Immediately afterwards, an interim government, led by J. Añez, was installed. Morales was not a candidate in 2020 and his former economy minister, L. Arce, was appointed to represent the Movimiento al Socialismo party (MAS in Spanish), who won the elections with more than 55% of the vote and is the current president. The

continuity of both electoral events was amply covered by global news agencies to serve the international community and media.

With this background in mind, it should be noted that while these bilingual texts emanate from the same socio-geographical context and by the same producers, their audience probably differs according to the language being served. This chapter aims to explore the discursive dimension of news translation, by accounting for discursive patterns in translated news dispatches. In line with the previous analyses, translation closeness and divergence (commonly known as non-shifts and shifts) are brought into focus to examine the discursive priorities that construct newsworthiness (Bednarek & Caple, 2017) in the parallel news versions.

To answer the third research question of this thesis, regarding the discursive dimension of news translation, three sub-questions arise here: *1) how are the most frequent subtopics about Bolivia represented bilingually by these global news agencies? 2) is evaluative language involved in instantiations of distant translations? and 3) what is the methodological potential of approaching translated news texts from a discursive perspective that is assisted by corpora?*

To answer these, a cross-linguistic corpus-assisted discursive analysis (henceforth, Cross-CaDS) is used to analyse a parallel set of news dispatches in Spanish and English by the agencies AFP, EFE, AP, and RTR that inform a study corpus. Empirical evidence from this exploratory stage is examined further on journalistic reference corpora, as a corroboration. Both stages aim at accounting for non-obvious renditions and ‘big details’ (Vandaele, 2023) that may enhance newsworthiness in the translated news versions. Non-obviousness is understood as unclear translation choices when clearer linguistic items are available to the translator/writer and *big details* refer to translation choices that may not be important in frequency, but that may involve large consequences in the translated text.

The bilingual analyses start at the word level, move to collocations and end at concordances, thus incrementing the extent of the analytical units. This analytical framework ultimately calls for interdisciplinarity in Translation and Discourse studies to enrich research on multilingual news production. I will conclude by taking stock of the methodological and conceptual complexities entailed in the application of this interdisciplinary framework.

Returning to the image of a kaleidoscope (Chapters 1-4), this visual artifact takes a final rotation to examine the discursive dimension of multilingual news production, momentarily distancing itself from the translational and ethnographic ones. For this, the central point is to concentrate on discursive patterns around the collective representation of a country and its population, rather than representations of individual stakeholders. Although the latter seem to carry more newsworthiness, their representation may be flimsier due to its political nature.

This chapter presents the essential theoretical and methodological grounds in section 7.1. Section 7.2. explains the findings, starting with the study corpora and then their corroboration in the reference corpora. Section 7.3. provides discussions and methodological considerations.

7.1. Theoretical and methodological grounds

This section mentions the essential theoretical and methodological background that is needed to read this chapter, while the general framework of this thesis can be found in chapter 3.

7.1.1. Essential theoretical background

This chapter takes the perspective of Cross-linguistic Corpus-assisted Analysis (Cross-CaDS, Taylor and Del Fante, 2020; Partington, 2004, 2006) to approach the discursive dimension of the journalistic representation of key electoral topics in bilingual news coverage about Bolivia. As suggested by Taylor and Marchi (2018) Cross-CaDS may support the study of discourse patterns beyond cultural and linguistic boundaries, where intersecting corpus with translation studies is central. Along these lines, Bernardini (2022, p. 489) suggests that using corpora can inform translation studies by focusing on specific linguistic patterns present in translated texts ‘with respect to comparable non-translated texts’ in the target language, to triangulate evidence from study and reference corpora.

A central concern when designing a Cross-CaDS study is to identify meaningful language units for comparison. As Taylor and Del Fante question, ‘how do we compare across or within corpora containing different languages? how do we know that we are comparing like with like?’ (2020, p.29). For this, three corpus techniques support this analysis of journalistic discourse that ranges from the levels of word, through collocations, to concordances. First, extracting bilingual lists of keywords helps identifying key topics in the bilingual datasets. Then, collocation analysis aims to show their associations and connotations, the assumptions involved, and the way repetitions may ‘prime’ readers about certain representations, establishing a connection between experience with certain words or patterns and future expectations around them (Hoey, 2007; Stubbs, 1996). Reading concordance lines may enhance the study of discourse features in specific discourse types (Partington, 2003).

This basis allows one to study the behaviour of specific lexical items, their semantic affinity and collocational patterning. Central to understanding the grouping words into sets that are semantically related are the concepts of semantic preference (Stubbs, 2001; Bednarek, 2008), and semantic prosody (Louw, 1993; Sinclair, 1998) or, more broadly, evaluative prosody (Morley & Partington, 2009). For the purposes of this study, suffice is to remind that the centrality of prosody to the analysis of a term’s collocational profile is related to the fact that a word may absorb meaning and colouring from the words it is repeatedly found in association with. Positive and negative evaluation are considered cover terms for the expression of the writer’s stance towards propositions that are being talked about

(Thompson & Hunston, 2000). Yet, the evaluative function of certain lexical items may not always be available or evident to the ‘naked eye’ (Partington, 2014: 289). This non-obviousness and the evaluation involved in translated segments can be considered ‘big-details’ (Vandaele, 2023, pp.5-6), *i.e.* local translation shifts that may be infrequent, but that may impinge on translated news as a whole.

Finally, in an earlier study on AFP’s trilingual electoral news coverage about Bolivia, I examined how emphasis in English versions is put on the ‘landlocked’ status of this country and that the agency of certain political actors can be diminished by repeating linguistic items such as ‘delfin de’, ‘dauphin de’, ‘handpicked’ or ‘puppet’ (Rodriguez-Blanco, 2024a). Chapters 4 and 5 showed that the former president still is a key referent of newsworthiness in news about Bolivia. This chapter aims to relate such findings to the discursive dimension of news translation.

7.1.2. Methodology

7.1.2.1. Dataset

This study is structured in two analytical components. An exploratory component that is informed by bilingual study corpora and a corroboratory one that employs bilingual reference corpora. The exploratory stage analyses 24 pairs of parallel news dispatches in Spanish and English, published by AFP, EFE, RTR, and AP. They deal with news coverage about the Bolivian 2020 General elections, were published from the 25 September to the 24 October 2020, and can be considered hard news. The electoral event being dealt with can be subdivided into three smaller events: pre-electoral, electoral, and post electoral (Lagneau, 2007, further in chapter 5). This dataset meets the four selection criteria that were established in this thesis: linguistic, topical, temporal, taxonomic.

The Spanish versions are here taken as the original texts and the English ones as their translations. To determine this source-target relationship, paratextual information was examined (*e.g.*, times of publication, word counts, and bylines). The Spanish study corpus amounts to 18,799 words and the English one to 17,230 words⁴². This bilingual dataset is approached as corpora to focus on possible discursive patterns instead of contrasting the bilingual news dispatches as individual whole items (Tognini-Bonelli, 2010, in chapter 3). News dispatches were accessed through the Nexis Uni database and verified on the news agencies’ websites.

Initial findings from the exploratory stage are then substantiated in the corroboratory one, where evidence is gleaned from larger journalistic reference corpora. For this, the JSI Timestamped 2014-2022 corpora in Spanish and English are used. These are hosted on the SketchEngine platform, and amount to 16,358,148,966 and 73,108,225,149 words, respectively. The interest in using study and

⁴² The difference between the two represents a reduction of 8.35%, which is within the expected range of text reduction in Spanish-to-English translations, as generally suggested by data from translation industry (details in Chapter 5).

reference corpora that importantly differ in their extent stems from the fact that the former, small and highly specific, represent a precise context of social import; while the latter, vastly larger and more general, may represent the broad expectations in this journalistic discourse type.

7.1.2.2. *Methods and tools*

The bilingual analysis was carried out in two broad stages with their further subdivisions. The first stage employs study corpora that is constituted by the bilingual datasets described in the previous section. CaDS studies often start at the level of word frequencies by looking at keywords that are subsequently categorized by semantic grouping, as in this study. This was done to identify key subtopics in this bilingual news coverage and to decide on the lexical items to be examined thoroughly in both languages. Then, the behaviour of these keywords was explored within their most frequent collocates. Finally, concordances containing the predominant collocates were read closely to explore evaluative language around the initial lexical items that were chosen. In this sense, the selected bilingual news dispatches are zoomed in and out in this mixed corpus approach.

These exploratory findings are the basis for the second stage in the journalistic reference corpora (JSI Timestamped 2014-2022 ES/EN) and examines the same lexical items from the study corpora. This stage focuses mainly on findings in English to elaborate on the expectations of news agencies' readership, by considering English is their most global product that circulates more widely (further references in Chapter 4) and given the vastness of the reference corpus.

The tool employed in the study corpora is AntConc to look for wordlists, wordclouds, collocates, and concordances. The SketchEngine platform was employed in the reference corpora, by designing Corpus Query Language (CQL) queries to search for frequent clusters, collocations, and concordance lines. Excel was used for categorizations and annotations.

7.2. Results

7.2.1. Exploration of key subtopics in the study corpora

7.2.1.1. *Most frequent words in Spanish and English (ES/EN)*

Table 7.1. presents the 30 most frequent nouns and adjectives⁴³ in the Spanish and English study corpora. These were manually categorized as topical categories referring to political actors, Bolivia, electoral and socio-economic matters and coloured accordingly. The raw frequencies are illustrated out of 3285 and 2777 resulting word types (in Spanish/English). One can notice in *Table 7.1.* that the category of political actors presents higher frequencies than the others. The political actors most frequently mentioned are former president Evo Morales and the two running candidates, Luis Arce

⁴³ Stop words and temporal deictics were excluded (e.g., año/year, Octubre/October, después/after, pasado/last, etc.) to focus on words providing meaning and since temporal deictics produced noise between paratexts and running texts.

and Carlos Mesa. In Spanish, the then interim president, Jeanine Añez is also present. References to E. Morales, who was not a running candidate and who was overthrown one year earlier, largely outnumber references to other political actors, who were the actual electoral candidates (167 and 192 in Spanish and English, as opposed to 137 and 156 for Arce and 61 and 63 for Mesa). The last name of the former president is the most frequent word in both languages, Arce is the third and fourth most frequent word in Spanish and English, respectively, while Mesa ranks in the ninth and eighth positions.

Categories	n.	Word	ES	n.	Out of 3285 types	n.	Word	EN	n.	Out of 2777 types	
Political actors	1	Morales	167	16	candidato	37	1 Morales	192	16	first	48
Bolivian context	2	Bolivia	147	17	fraude	34	2 Bolivia	156	17	party	47
Electoral matters	3	Arce	137	18	partido	34	3 election*	126	18	polls	47
Socio-economic	4	elección*	100	19	voto*	34	4 Arce	115	19	left*	45
	5	país	79	20	expresidente	34	5 President	107	20	economic	42
	6	gobierno	74	21	crisis	34	6 vote	83	21	pandemic	37
	7	boliviano*	65	22	poder	34	7 country	75	22	presidential	37
	8	MAS	64	23	argentina	28	8 Mesa	63	23	interim	34
	9	Mesa	61	24	millones	27	9 La Paz	60	24	victory	34
	10	presidente	56	25	movimiento	27	10 boliviano*	57	25	political	33
	11	electoral	54	26	socialismo	26	11 MAS	56	26	power	33
	12	economía*	54	27	campana	22	12 government	53	27	protests	29
	13	comicios	51	28	indígena*	21	13 percent	53	28	coronavirus	27
	14	pandemia	39	29	Añez	20	14 former	52	29	indigenous	26
	15	política	38	30	pueblo	19	15 people	48	30	violence	23

Table 7.1. Topical categories and most frequent words⁴⁴

This centrality of references to the former president is more evident in the English news dispatches. If one goes from the Spanish news dispatches to the English ones, references to Morales increase by 1,9%, as opposed to +0,4% for Mesa and -0,03% for Arce, the latter two being the actual candidates. Contrasted with the relative invariability of the two other political actors, this substantial increase is probably because the former president still is deemed newsworthy to the international community and media, albeit not always in good terms.

Bolivia is the second most frequent word in both corpora with references to país/country, pueblo/people, and indígena/indigenous*. While indígena/indigenous is frequently referred to in both languages, it is emphasized more in English. Some variation exists in geographical references, for instance, the city of La Paz is prioritized in English, while in Spanish, Argentina is (probably because the former president was exiled there at the time).

More common ground seems to exist in the two other categories. In the “electoral” category, frequent words in both languages are *election*, *president*, *government*, *MAS party*, *politics*, etc. References to ‘*fraude [electoral]*’ are more frequent in Spanish and references to *left** and the *interim government* are more frequent in English. As for the “socio-economic” category, references to *coronavirus*, *pandemic*, and *power* are common in both corpora, while a slight variation exists in word

⁴⁴ The pair *indígena/indigenous* was considered as a lemma (*): in Spanish it presented singular and plural forms, being an adjective or a noun (*indígena/s*); as adjective in English, it also encompassed capitalization (*I/indigenous*).

choices to express the concept of conflict, *e.g.*, *crisis* is most frequent in Spanish; instead, in English, *protests* and *violence* are. A pair of lexical items that emerged from both wordlists and that could be considered transversal to the other categories is *indígena/indigenous**, which refers to political actors, Bolivia, and socio-economic matters and is more frequent in English. Thus, it was decided to study the collective representation of the country, rather than focusing on individuals, even though the latter are more frequent (*e.g.*, political actors).

7.2.1.2. Behaviour of *Indígena* vs. *Indigenous*

As the wordclouds illustrate in *Figure 7.2.*, the behaviour of *indígena** vs. *indigenous* differs substantially between Spanish and English. These were produced by AntConc based on the close context of these lexical items. The most evident difference has to do with its use in a collective sense in Spanish and in an individual one in English.



Fig. 7.2. Wordclouds in ES/EN in the study corpus produced using AntConc

In Spanish, the lemma *indígena** appears to be primarily linked to Bolivia, and preceded by *población* (population), *país* (country), and *América*; and then to *mayor* (greater, more), *primera* (first), *convertir* (to convert), *presidente*, and *cultura*. In English, *Indigenous* seems to refer primarily to *Morales*, *first*, *president*, *country*, and *Aymara*. All these describe the former president, who was the first indigenous president and is of Aymara descent; and then to *Bolivia*, *socialist*, *people*, *Arce*.

The variation between the collective and individual uses of *indígena* and *indigenous*, respectively in Spanish and English, coheres with the individualistic framing that was found in electoral news coverage in English (chapter 5), as suggested by Caimotto and Raus (2023). Moving forward to the collocates of these lexical items, every occurrence was categorized according to its collective or individual sense or related to a world view, in *Table 7.3.*:

Sense	Collocates (ES/EN)	
	INDÍGENA* (L1 position - 21 instances)	INDIGENOUS (R1 position - 26 instances)
Collective	con mayor población (2), mayor proporción de (2), con 41% de población (2), con mayor cantidad de, con mayor protagonismo a, pobres (2), movimiento [with more + population, proportion, quantity, protagonism; poor; movement] ⁴⁵	MAS party (2), Bolivians, community, groups, people, populations, heartland

⁴⁵ Most glosses from ES and all CQLs used are provided in the corresponding tables for a smooth reading of the running text.

<i>Individual</i>	presidente (6), mandatario [<i>president, head of state</i>]	president (10), leader (2), head of state
<i>World view</i>	herencia (2), justicia [<i>heritage, justice</i>]	culture, languages, roots, legal, policies,
<i>*Modifiers (R/L)</i>	<i>de América Latina, de Bolivia, y española, con procedimientos y costumbres, reconocimiento</i> [<i>from Latin America or Bolivia, Spanish, with procedures and customs, recognition</i>]	<i>First (ever), largely, largest, socialist</i>

Table 7.3. Contrasted collocates of indígena/indigenous, in Left 1/Right 1 positions of multi-word units.

Similarly as in the wordclouds, *indígena** seems to co-occur mostly with a range of partial synonyms in Spanish, as short multi-word units (Hunston, 2007), that describe the Bolivian population (e.g., *población, proporción, cantidad, protagonismo, pobres*), always preceded by a quantifier ‘con mayor’ or a percentage (11 out of 21 instances). This semantic preference indicates the use of *indígena* in a collective sense that describes the indigenous essence of Bolivian demography. Instead, in English, *indigenous* seems to be primed to co-occur with *president* and its partial synonyms *leader* and *head of state* in an individual sense to concentrate on the former president (13 out of 26 instances).

Inversely to this, the second most frequent collocate of *indígena/indigenous* in both languages refer to *president* in Spanish (in an individual sense, 7 occurrences) and refer to the *population* in English (in a collective sense, 8 occurrences). The third most frequent set of collocates refer to *indigenous*’ world views, cultural and legal systems.

One variation arises in the modifiers that succeed or precede *indígena/indigenous* (to the right in Spanish and to the left in English). In Spanish, every instance concerns nominal syntagms that add context: *in Latin America, from Bolivia, from Spain, with traditions, and recognition* (my translations); instead, in English, most instances are adverbs and adjectives modifying the node ‘indigenous president/Bolivia’: *first (ever), largely/largest, socialist*.

All *indígena/indigenous* collocates have a straightforward meaning, except from one that is **heartland**. Close reading reveals that this occurs in one headline: ‘Turmoil in Latin America’s indigenous heartland’ (in *3b Annex 1*)⁴⁶. Because of the relevance of headlines as framing devices of news discourse and since the meaning is not obvious, I searched all possible senses in English monolingual dictionaries, reported in *Table 7.4*.

Sense	Definition
Geographic	central part of a country or area
Industrial	area or region that is most important for a particular activity/industry
Political	area where a large number of people support a political party and vote for it in an election
Religious	region where a particular set of religious activities or beliefs is most significant

Table 7.4. Meanings of ‘heartland’ in Merriam-Websters and Collins online dictionaries

⁴⁶ Another instance of ‘heartland’ in plural exists in the study corpus: ‘votes appeared to be largely from urban areas rather than the rural **heartlands** that have been the base of support for Morales’

These geographic, industrial, political, and religious senses cannot apply to ‘indigenous’ since they are not an area, an activity, a political party, or a religion, which leaves us with two options: Is ‘heartland’ being used figuratively to define identity, therefore with a meaning unaccounted for by the dictionaries? Or does it condense several of the dictionary meanings, whereby indigenous people are expected *a)* to align to the former indigenous president’s political party; *b)* to probably inhabit a rural area; *c)* to represent a religion or set of beliefs? These questions will be addressed when examining the broader reference corpus (in subsection 7.2.2.2).

7.2.1.3. Concordances of most common Collocates

Looking at concordance lines for the words *indígena* and *indigenous* and their most frequent collocates, the collective representation of the *indigenous population* is observed in Spanish and the individual representation of *indigenous president/leader/head of state*⁴⁷ in English. By reading the concordances in *Tables 7.5. and 7.6.*, one can notice that the evaluative language surrounding *indígena* vs. *indigenous* varies remarkably between the two languages.

1	Bolivia, el país que tiene de las mayores proporciones de población	indígena	de América Latina (41%). "Mi gran deseo es volver :
2	almente hidrocarburos y litio, y posee la mayor tasa de población	indígena	de América Latina. - " Crisis muy seria " - Bajo Morale
3	es el país de América Latina con mayor proporción de población	indígena:	62% de los 11,3 millones de bolivianos. El 22 de en
4	domingo, es el país de América Latina con mayor proporción de	indígenas	y uno de los más pobres, a pesar de sus grandes re
5	Cristian Guaichu, de 26 años. En este país con 41% de población	indígena,	la gente hizo filas, sentada y con distancia física des
6	Cristian Guaichu, de 26 años. En este país con 41% de población	indígena,	la gente hizo filas, sentada y con distancia física des
7	Bolivia, el país de América con mayor cantidad de	indígenas	Agence France Presse Spanish October 15, 2020
8	ó reparar siglos de injusticia otorgando mayor protagonismo a los	indígenas:	reconocimiento de 36 leguas oficiales (quechua, ayr

Table 7.5. Concordances in ES of collectivity + indígena* and markings of positive/negative evaluation (green/red)

Table 7.5 in Spanish shows that *indígena** as a collective representation is accompanied by descriptive references that emphasize the large amount of indigenous population, its cultural recognition, and Bolivian natural resources. This can be interpreted as a general positive evaluation. Just one instance represents negative evaluation and refers to the population being poor in spite of inhabiting a rich country (line 4). Instead, concordances in English show that the lexical item *indigenous* is generally surrounded by negative terms, in Table 7.6 below. Most concordances specifically refer to former ‘indigenous’ president/leader/head of state in the context of *deadly riots, a toppling, a coup, a bitter aftertaste, a landlocked country*. Former president is referred to as *being forced out, having resigned and fled*, and in openly negative terms as an *irascible politician* and as a *shadow looming large*. Seven out of nine concordances express negative evaluations (in red) and just two are positive (in green).

I shall take a quick step back to Chapter 5 that analysed the trilingual electoral news coverage under the lens of journalistic translation, recontextualization, and cumulative news writing. It was seen

⁴⁷ Five other instances of ‘indigenous’ refer to ‘Morales’ in their close vicinity (co-text of 5 words) without referring directly to *president, leader or head of state*, amounting to 18/26 instances in total. These were not counted as collocates and are examined when treating concordances.

that reported speech concerning national and international political stakeholders concentrate around former president Morales in the English versions, as opposed to the Spanish and French ones, and that this regularly involves the reuse and recontextualization of negative quotations, that cannot always be traced back to the alleged speaker, nor to the original versions in Spanish. It was also seen that cumulative news writing (or patchwork, Davier, 2012) involved recycling segments from earlier news

1	mer President Evo Morales, the country's first	Indigenous	president who resigned and fled the country
2	iod of stability under Morales, the country's first	Indigenous	president who resigned and fled the country
3	inous president - Evo Morales became the first	Indigenous	president of Bolivia in 2006 after a landmark
4	e under Morales, who became the country's first	indigenous	president in 2006. Over the next decade he
5	th nearly one year after Morales, Bolivia's first	Indigenous	president from the Aymara group, was force
6	ction, Deadly riots. The toppling of Bolivia's first	Indigenous	president in what his backers considered a c
7	about the country of 11.3 million people: - First	indigenous	president - Evo Morales became the first inc
8	8 percent, helping Morales – the country's first	indigenous	president - to slash poverty rates from 60 pe
9	: the sometimes-irascible politician - Bolivia's fir	Indigenous	president - to sit by idly . "Arce is not Morale
10	lic University, told AFP. Morales, Bolivia's first	indigenous	president, ruled for nearly 14 years. "We hop
11	nt" that took power after Morales, Bolivia's first	indigenous	head of state, was forced out . Besides the p
12	kely bolster the image of Morales, the socialist	indigenous	leader whose shadow still looms large over
13	not to feature Morales, the country's first ever	indigenous	leader. Voting, which is mandatory up to the

Table 7.6. Concordances in EN of indigenous* + president/leader/head of state in an individual use

dispatches with a tendence on negative references to former president, especially in the English versions. The brief description of photo provision accompanying bilingual news coverage (in chapter 4) also showed the centrality of former president, with depictions of him in varying emotional states.

Table 7.7. shows a subset of the original concordance lines for *indigenous* where the former president is part of the co-text but not an immediate collocate. It shows that this negative pattern also impinges on the collective representation of supporters⁴⁸, where '(farmers unions and indigenous groups) mushroom', with an openly negative verb referring to this collective.

14	xiled Morales as standard bearer for his largely	indigenous	Movement for Socialism (MAS) party, Arce
15	bitter aftertaste for Bolivians outside his largely	indigenous	Movement for Socialism (MAS) party. "Soor
16	ed descent. Morales, a member of the Aymara	indigenous	community, steered through a new constitut
17	y Morales supporters from <i>farmers' unions and</i>	indigenous	groups mushroom , demanding an end to the
18	who champions a return to the socialist and pro-	indigenous	policies of former President Evo Morales, ar

Table 7.7. Concordances in EN: Query enlarged to indigenous + collective support + Morales

In this specific context, one might presume that indigenouness accumulates a negative semantic prosody in English by means of its repeated use in negative contexts, rather than the lexical item being negative *per se*. Instead, it was seen that *indigenouness* in cultural news items seems to provide 'colour' and enhance the newsworthiness of the topic being reported (chapter 6).

The three subsections developed thus far employed the study corpora as a basis for the ensuing analysis of reference corpora. This will aim to achieve a wider understanding of the global readership's

⁴⁸ A similarly evaluative example was found that represents MAS support as a 'hotbed' and the former president's tenure as a 'reign'. This is not illustrated in the concordance lines above since the lexical item 'indigenous' is absent from the co-text. Yet the example is transversal to the argument here treated (in 6b Annex 1).

expectations of international news in English. The same lexical items will therefore inform this stage, following a similar analytical structure.

7.2.2. Corroboration in a journalistic reference corpus

7.2.2.1. Behaviour of *Indígena*/Indigenous* via CQLs

Parallel CQLs were designed to search for common uses of *indígena* and *indigenous* in the Spanish and English reference corpora on the SketchEngine platform and respecting both languages' syntax and word order. These CQLs emulated the phrasing that was commonly found in the study corpus to observe the behaviour of *indígena/indigenous* in frequent collocations in broader journalistic data. The queries called for a noun that is followed by the lemma *indígena* in Spanish and for the lemma *indigenous* followed by a noun in English. Overall, these findings seem to cohere with the frequent collocations in the study corpora:

Spanish (ES) Results: 524917	English (EN) Results: 1719649
CQL: [tag="N.*"] [lemma="indígena"]	CQL: [lemma="indigenous"] [tag="N.*"]
pueblo*, comunidad*, población*, líder*, mujer*, lenguas*, movimiento*, territorio*, cultura*, organización* + indígena	Indigenous + people*, community*, women, group*, population, leaders, students, tribes, children, languages

Table 7.8. Most frequent collocates of *indígena/indigenous** in the reference corpora

Over 524000 and 1719000 concordances were found in Spanish and English. When relating these results back to the exploratory ones from the study corpora, one sees that *población*, *movimiento*, *cultura*, *lengua*, *líder*, and *community*, *people*, *group*, *leader*, *languages* cohere with the topical categories found earlier in collocates grouping the collective, individual senses and of world view of *indígena/indigenous*. The collocates *mujer/women* are central to both reference corpora and occupy a similar high ranking, while they are absent from the study corpora.

The list of frequent collocates in English did not yield results with *Heartland*. As a reminder, 'indigenous heartland' was identified as a promising example of non-obvious meaning in the study corpus since it occurred once in a headline. The larger reference corpus allows one to further pursue frequent co-occurrences, that also show it is of uncommon usage and, possibly, a non-obvious rendition from Spanish. A close reading shows that the original headline is 'Bolivia, el país de América Latina con mayor cantidad de indígenas', meaning that *Indigenous heartland* works as equivalent of *with the largest indigenous population*. Equally noticeable is that the Spanish headline in no way refers to 'turmoil', a lexical item added to the English headline, which coheres with the potential negative evaluation of 'indigenous heartland' (seen in 7.2.1.2).

7.2.2.2. Behaviour of 'Heartland' in frequent associations

The second analysis in the English reference corpus examines the most frequent associations of 'heartland' to better understand its behaviour. A CQL was designed to emulate the structure of the

headline ‘Bolivia: Turmoil in Latin America’s indigenous heartland’. This CQL called for a proper noun, followed by an adjective and the lemma ‘heartland’. Out of the 5982 results yielded by SketchEngine, the top 60 were categorized according to the four dictionary definitions, *industrial*, *political geographical*, and *religious*, and a fifth and hypothetical one was added referring to *identity*. Table 7.9. reports the results:

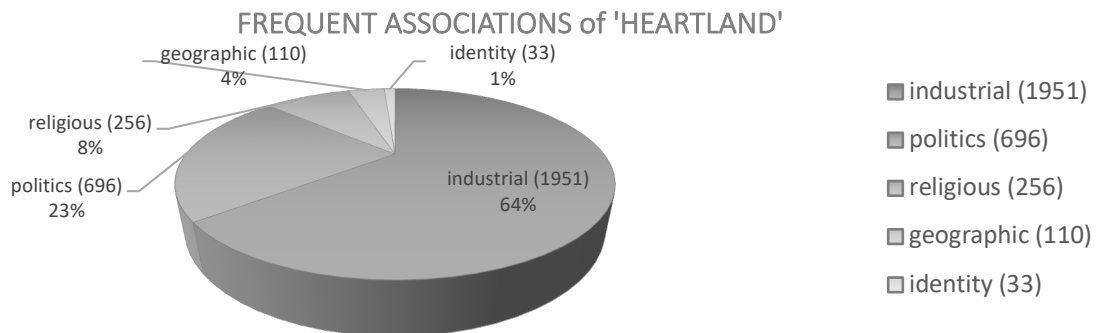


Table 7.9. Top 60 Heartland associations yielded by SketchEngine with CQL: [tag="NP.*"] [tag="J.*"] [lemma="heartland"]

As illustrated above, the words that most frequently co-occur with ‘heartland’ are *industrial*, *agricultural*, or *economic* activities, with 1951 occurrences. These refer primarily to Ukraine, Germany, the United States (referred as ‘America’), the United Kingdom, China, Canada, Italy, and Europe. With a substantial lower frequency, the category of politics is second with 696 occurrences, referring mainly to *Labour’s northern, traditional, or former heartland(s)*. This is followed by religious category with 256 occurrences with references to *Sunni Arab, Israel biblical, India’s Hindi heartlands*. The fourth category is the geographic one with 110 occurrences, referring to *rural or coastal* areas, mainly in *India* and *Yorkshire*. A fifth category was added to account for identity. For this, partial synonyms of *indigenous* were considered: *tribal* occurs 33 times, referring to *Telangana’s tribal heartlands*, in India.

These results indicate that ‘heartland’ is most prominently used to refer to industrialized countries and then to political centres with a considerably lower frequency, such as with the Labour party in the U.K. Geographic and religious uses of *heartland* are even more scarce. Its use as identity exists, even though it is marginal and mostly rendered with the adjective ‘tribal’. Since no occurrences of ‘indigenous heartland’ were found, I looked for it beyond the top 60 list and retrieved 5 occurrences, referring to *America’s indigenous heartland* (4) and *Australia’s indigenous heartlands* (1). The former are reproductions of the headline analysed about Bolivia, mostly preceded by the word ‘turmoil’.

By employing a specific CQL queries, this section analysed common adjectives and nouns that collocate with ‘heartland’ to observe its behaviour in broad journalistic evidence in English. Findings

show that the use of ‘Heartland’ with references to identity is minimal, even more so of ‘indigenous heartland’, a characterization that seems almost entirely reserved to Bolivia.

7.2.2.3. Concordances of ‘indigenous heartland’

Having analysed how ‘indigenous’ and ‘heartland’ behave in collocations in the reference corpus, I shall now examine concordance lines for ‘indigenous heartland’. *Table 7.10.* shows the 15 resulting concordances, what emerges is that ‘indigenous heartland’ has a multifaceted behaviour that depends on the news genre, *i.e.*, political or travel reporting.

1	and write. When he returned as a journalist to his home region of Chhattisgar, India's	indigenous heartland	, to cover the rise of guerrilla Maoists in the area, locals told him that their support for the rebels v
2	Without a ground they wandered nomadically until Sir Doug Nicholls Oval in the new	indigenous heartland	of Thornbury was upgraded and returned to them in 2013. This year the Fitzroy Stars made the No
3	eat potential': The staggering sales pitch used to sell luxury apartments in one of Austr	indigenous heartlands	A four-year-old real estate advertisement has emerged revealing the use of Aboriginal people movi
4	as my first ever trip to this city of 400,000 people – a city located right in the southern	indigenous heartland	of Mexico. In contrast with the marathon madness and 95-degree weather that I left behind in LA,
5	aware of the weight on his shoulders in winning the Kadazan Dusun Murut vote in the	indigenous heartland	. Armed with the BN machinery and a disarming smile, Malakun has been said to be the heartthro
6	oy was separated from his father while sleeping. Hima campaigns for change in Assam's	indigenous heartland	Golden athlete wants to end illegal migration in her native village in Dhing. The historic feat of an
7	poor and picturesque, there's sign that not long ago this tranquil spot near Guatemala's	Indigenous heartland	hummed with one of the biggest mining booms in the Americas. The nearby Escobal mine, built by
8	factor in a potential move to the Bunnies, a club culturally entrenched and situated in	indigenous heartland	. With the potential for up to \$1.5 million to be freed up in the Rabbitohs' salary cap, dependo
9	CIS countries was held in Kyrgyzstan for the first time. Bolivia: Turmoil In Latin Ame	Indigenous Heartland	Landlocked Bolivia, in crisis after its president quit amid protests over a disputed election, is amor
10	ter or speaker for a receives research support from Arthrex Inc. Bolivia: Latin America's	indigenous heartland	Landlocked Bolivia, which holds presidential elections Sunday, is home to Latin America's largest i
11	or second-tier cities, where their dollar will carry them further. Bolivia: Latin America	indigenous heartland	General view of La Paz, Bolivia General view of La Paz, Bolivia (AFP Photo/PEDRO UGARTE) A New Y
12	"the megaproject," could totally reshape Oaxaca's Isthmus region, a historic trading co	Indigenous heartland	and home to one of the country's most important biodiversity hot spots. As with the port project,
13	pping these terrorists but they had their own priorities!" Bolivia: Turmoil In Latin Ame	Indigenous Heartland	Landlocked Bolivia, which elects a new president on Sunday after a 2019 poll was annulled and fol
14	igenous art galleries and bush-tucker restaurants. Then it's a long road home, from the	Indigenous heartland	around Uluru to the cultural riches of Adelaide. "En route, you'll pass through remote outback hor
15	venture seekers who motorbike the switchbacks of the Hai Van Pass, trek through the	Indigenous heartland	of Sapa, dive among kaleidoscopic fish at Nha Trang and rock climb at Lan Ha. Despite its rising pop

Table 7.10. Concordance lines involving ‘indigenous heartland(s)’ provided by SketchEngine

The co-text of ‘indigenous heartland’ in political news reporting seems to entail a negative evaluation (7 instances in red). This type of language refers to *the rise of guerrilla, rebels, illegal migration, turmoil and crisis in landlocked Bolivia, or being armed with machinery*, amongst others. These refer mostly to Bolivia (4 instances) and, at this stage of my argument, it seems unsurprising that these concordances reproduce the headline discussed in the study corpus. This underscores the relevance of studying news coverage by global agencies, illustrating how even amongst the thousands of journalistic texts contained in the reference corpus, the worldwide circulation of repeated information can be traced back to one individual news agency’s report.

When looking at concordance lines referring to travel reporting, ‘heartland’ is associated to favourable evaluation (8 instances in green), involving positive nouns and adjectives such as *luxury apartments, a golden athlete, a tranquil spot with the biggest mining boom, a culturally entrenched club, a potential \$1.5 million, a historic trading corridor with most important biodiversity, the cultural riches, adventure seekers that dive among kaleidoscopic fish*; and optimistic verbs, *e.g., hummed with, being upgraded, or freed up*. These travel references seem to combine luxury, exclusivity, and wealth with cultural and exotic places. Yet, in two instances the evaluation is not immediately obvious (lines 7 and 2), since a *poor and picturesque* spot or people *wandering nomadically* are accompanied by a recent transformation of this negative state via positive verbal constructions, *‘not long ago [x] hummed*

with' and 'until [x] was upgraded'. As suggested by Partington (2014, p.283) the evaluative potential is not invariably realized, it can be switched off when the context requires it.

As with the study corpus, a subset of the original concordances was obtained to look for collocates that include the items 'Bolivia', 'indigenous' and *collective entities*, where 'heartland' occurs but not in a nodal position. Concordances are reported in Table 7.11.

16	Bolivia was how to conduct a seismic survey of the Ipati, located in the heartland of the Guarani	indigenous people	, while fully respecting their rights and culture. In accordance with our "Charter of Principles
17	the heartland of the plurinational state of Bolivia, comprising 36 cultures based on the number	indigenous languages	. In the case of Ecuador, the very people made unhappy by Rafael Correa's concession to oil gi:
18	existing racial tensions between cambas-Bolivians from the lowlands-and migrant collas-mostly	indigenous people	from Morales's heartland in the highlands, who are often looking to carve out a plot of land t
19	rainforest in central Bolivia, and the heartland of his Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS) party and	indigenous base	. Before he officially resigned, he flew to the remote Chimoré airport where coca farmers had
20	rainforest in central Bolivia, and the heartland of his Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS) party and	indigenous base	. Before he officially resigned, he flew to the remote Chimoré airport where coca farmers had

Table 7.11. Concordance lines involving 'Bolivia', 'indigenous', collectivity, and heartland(s)' by SketchEngine

Five instances were found that represent a collective as *indigenous + people, languages, or base*. Three are openly negative and refer to *existing racial tensions*, 'his' *resignation* (of former president), a *remote* airport, that *was closed* by *coca farmers* (lines 18-20). Two appear to be positive and concern *respecting the rights and culture* and the *36 cultures* of Bolivia. Once again, 'heartland' seems to be positively linked to 'indigenous' when culture is referred to and it seems negative when concerning politics. Even though this enlarged search did not specifically look for the former president, he happens to be the referent in all negative instances about Bolivia.

The wide use of 'heartland' as industrial and political centres and its marginal use as identity supports the idea that 'indigenous heartland' not only is uncommon, but that it can be considered a 'non-obvious' rendition. When reading agency news coverage about Bolivia, one might get the impression that indigenous people, as a collective, are expected to align to the political stakeholder that is the main referent of newsworthiness, who is of indigenous descent. Him being represented in negative terms seems to correlate to negative references to his presumed collective of supporters, that are of indigenous descent and referred to as 'hotbeds' that 'mushroom' under his 'looming large shadow'. The low frequency of 'indigenous heartland', in both study and reference corpora, suggests this rendition is a *big detail* (Vandaele, 2023) with consequences larger than in the translated segments, thus affecting the imagery about this country.

7.3. Discussion

This chapter dealt with bilingual electoral news coverage from the main global news agencies, that are key contributors to the international news flow, all of which operate in Bolivia. This analysis was carried out in two stages: the first one was an exploration informed by bilingual study corpora that collected electoral news coverage from the agencies AFP, EFE, Reuters, and AP; the second one was a corroboration of initial findings in larger bilingual reference corpora. I shall now discuss the

relevance of this case-study, starting by the topical findings and concluding with more general methodological concerns.

First, the combined use of study and reference bilingual corpora allowed for the exploration of key subtopics and the corroboration of their relevance in larger journalistic evidence. By means of wordlists, it was initially seen that the main semantic categories represented in this news coverage are political stakeholders, references to the Bolivian context, electoral and socio-economic matters. At this point, the bilingual pair *indígena/indigenous* was selected for further analysis since it seemed to cross over several of these categories.

By observing the collocational patterns of these lexical items, it was seen that their behaviour varies between languages: *indígena* was primarily linked to a collective representation of Bolivian demography (such as ‘con mayor población indígena’ and similar wordings) in Spanish; while *indigenous* was primarily linked to the representation of the Bolivian former president as an individual in English, *indigenous president* being the most frequent collocation. References to political actors largely concentrated on former president *Morales*, rather than the actual electoral candidates at the time (e.g., *Arce* and *Mesa*). I shall discuss the collective representation and then the individual one.

When the behaviour of *indígena/indigenous* was corroborated in the bilingual reference corpora, it was perceived that a common ground exists in the way these lexical items frequently collocate with general semantic groups of *people*, *culture*, and *organization*. Nonetheless, the reference corpora showed that *mujeres indígenas/indigenous women* are frequent collocates which did not come up in the study corpora, probably due to the topic-related nature of the dataset (*i.e.*, electoral reports).

This initial collocational behaviour showed that ‘indigenous heartland’, occurring in the context of a headline, was potentially a non-obvious rendition when compared to its functional equivalent ‘con mayor población indígena’. The fact that the headline in English adds the reference to a ‘turmoil’, which is absent in Spanish, also hinted to a possible evaluative function in English. Monolingual dictionary definitions of ‘heartland’ were consulted to better understand the scope of its use. Four possible meanings were found: industrial, political, geographical, and religious, none of which applies to ‘indigenous’ people. The fact that ‘heartland’ appears within the semantic areas of industrial and political centres in the larger journalistic corpora indicates its uncommon use to represent ‘indigenous’ pointing to a non-obvious rendition. The reference corpus showed this is mainly associated to Ukraine, Germany, the United States and the United Kingdom and the religious and geographical use of ‘heartland’ is remarkably less common.

At this stage, the hypothetical use of ‘heartland’ to represent figuratively an identity, such as ‘indigenous heartland’, showed ‘tribal heartland’ as a frequent collocation in large journalistic corpora, however this use was rather infrequent. The use of ‘indigenous heartland’ was equally verified,

nonetheless the results were even more scarce (5 out of 5981 occurrences) and concentrated on Bolivia. These reproduced the headline that was already analysed in the study corpus, corroborated by close reading. One might then argue that ‘Indigenous heartland’ is an improbable and unexpected collocate and that its rendition is a big detail that impinges on the mere representation of the Bolivian identity.

Finally, the reading of concordance lines of ‘indigenous heartland’ indicated, on the one hand, that when news reporting concerns travel and leisure, a positive evaluation surrounds the node with references to *luxury* and *wealth*, along with *adventure* and *culture*. This tendency to report exclusivity and exoticism involved verbal constructions referring to recent transformations, which might hint to the need for highlighting both modernity and tradition.

On the other hand, concordances showed that political news reporting involving ‘indigenous heartland’ has a tendency for negative evaluation, reflected in references to *guerrilla* and *arms*, *family separation* and *illegal immigration*, *crisis* and *turmoil* in a *landlocked* country. Again, most of these occurrences referred to Bolivia. Both tendencies can be seen in terms of the news values they may carry to construct newsworthiness (Bednarek and Caple, 2017) for the global audience: in the case of travel reporting, ‘indigenous heartland’ is likely contributing *eliteness* and *consonance*, while in political reporting, it contributes *negativity*, *superlativeness*, and *impact*. This seems to cohere with the expectation around negativity in hard news.

Against this backdrop, I address the individual representation deriving from these findings, focusing on the English dataset. The bilingual study corpora indicated that the former president’s last name (Morales) was by large the most frequent word and that the main collocation was ‘indigenous president’. Then, concordance lines showed that ‘indigenous president’ (or leader/head of state) was attributed negative values that go from *deadly riots*, *a toppling/coup*, *being forced out*, to more figurative references, such as *a bitter aftertaste*, *a shadow that looms large*, or being an *irascible politician*. This finding reinforces the frequent negative evaluation surrounding ‘indigenous heartland’ in political news reporting. Consequently, one could argue that the combination of indigenusness and a position of power is not particularly desirable from the viewpoint of journalistic discourse.

One step further was taken to examine the way in which the presumed supporters of the *former indigenous president* are represented as a collective. It was found that not only ‘**his** largely indigenous MAS party’ is depicted as his property, but especially that the supporters ‘from farmer’s unions and indigenous groups **mushroom**’ and inhabit a town that is a ‘hotbed’ of support (#2b in Annex 1, bolds are my emphasis). The crux of the matter is that these translation shifts epitomize ‘big details’ (Vandaele, 2023), that can be infrequent but negatively affect the comprehensive representation of indigenusness. *Heartland*, *hotbed*, and *to mushroom* do not seem obvious renditions, nor easily available ones. One might think that *centre/core*, *bastion/stronghold*, and *to grow/to increase* are not

only most common, but also fairer when describing the essence of a country's identity, *e.g.*, the indigenous population (as opposed to the Spanish originals that provided descriptive statements). The point is not to assess the accuracy of renditions, but to underscore their perceived discursive function.

The fact that the *former indigenous president* was found to be overrepresented in this electoral news coverage, while not being an electoral candidate, shows how newsworthiness is built mostly in negative terms. This impinges not only his presumed *largely indigenous* political base, but the mere depiction of a legitimate electoral process, which may ultimately undermine how democracy in *Latin America's indigenous heartland* is perceived worldwide.

Moving to the methodological value of intersecting translation and discursive studies assisted by corpora, three aspects are worthy of note. First, the bilingual study corpora, small-scale and highly specific, served for an exploration of key subtopics in this news coverage type, which were later corroborated in broader journalistic evidence to understand better the expectations of the readership of international news, especially in English. While this case study treated exclusively news coverage about the Bolivia 2020 general elections, the methodology applied might prove useful to study similar topics in the Global South.

Second, some concordance lines found in the English study corpus surfaced repeatedly in the reference corpus, in verbatim form or with minor editions (yet, a comprehensive verification was not done to gauge its extent). This underscores the relevance of studying news coverage by global news agencies, as their product is purchased and reproduced by media worldwide and shape the way in which crucial aspects from abroad are presented to the international audience. Thus, a seemingly minor frequency in the study corpus can multiply in the larger reference corpora, stressing the value of discursive patterns found during the exploratory stage.

Third, these study corpora can be considered small, but are representative from a specific national reality at a decisive time, as news coverage from all global news agencies was selected. Using reference corpora was essential to overcome the limitation of size and deepen initial findings, a two-stage methodology that is laborious because of the need of employing different corpus techniques. The reporting of findings from bilingual datasets is not less complex.

Finally, the kaleidoscopic perspective of the thesis took this discursive form to examine how a country, its population and societal issues are represented by global news agencies cross-linguistically and across borders. Similarities and differences found when contrasting the bilingual datasets served to better understand the expectations from the Spanish and English needs of the *imagined* audiences about this country/topic and this discourse type. This enhances the value of findings about multilingual news production from the previous chapters, by illuminating discursive factors that shape the act of news production.

Chapter 8. General conclusions

8.0. Introduction

This thesis has sought to explore multilingual news production and the role of translation, by focusing on news reporting by global news agencies about the South American country of Bolivia. In order to study the translational phenomenon, not only the textual dimension of news production was examined, but also its discursive and contextual dimensions. Step by step, such multiple and interdisciplinary approaches constituted a kaleidoscopic analytical framework that allowed for focusing on specific analytical pieces, without losing sight of the overall picture, as explained further in chapter 3.

Baker has said that ‘research is not a road, it is a maze’ (2018, p. 290); while I agree with the non-linear and adventurous sense of this statement, I conceive of this research as a journey, where the topics were analysed from their local origin to their global reach and myself being a translator, a Bolivian citizen, an avid reader of international news, and a researcher.

As explained in chapter 1, three overarching questions guided this research, which were: *what characterizes the multilingual news production about Bolivia from the agencies Agence France-Presse, Agencia EFE, Associated Press, and Reuters? What is the role of translation in such multilingual news production? What are the discursive features of this multilingual news coverage?* These were broken down in further research questions suited to the approach applied to each of the three analytical chapters, which will be properly presented in section 8.1.

I deem this research is valuable especially for three reasons. One reason is that it underscores the current role, validity, and broadness of translation since, in journalistic settings, translation can transfer substantial volumes of information everyday across languages, cultures, and boundaries, thus shaping the way people worldwide get informed of international events. However, in such settings, translation is often unacknowledged, at least openly, enough motivation to study the material base of news translation from an interdisciplinary perspective. The second one is that news coverage about Bolivia, as a topic or a location, has not been approached by translation scholars and opens new avenues for research, bringing along new datasets and new perspectives to the field of translation.

The third reason, a more holistic one, is to try understanding the way in which countries that can be considered peripheral are represented internationally by mainstream media—being located outside the centres of these global news agencies, *i.e.*, Europe or North America—. This motivation is scientific and social, which invited me to reflect permanently with an interdisciplinary gaze, so I tried to be methodologically holistic and thorough.

This conclusive chapter presents the main findings of this research in section 8.1., along with reflections on the framework proposed here. Section 8.2. discusses the limitations of this work and points to potential future research. Section 8.3. brings together final reflections.

8.1. Reflections on the main findings and research framework

8.1.1. Main findings

To answer the first and second overarching questions, the specific questions of chapter 4 were: *How are global news agencies organized to produce multilingual news coverage in general and more particularly, in Bolivia? What is the (multilingual) journalistic product and who produces it?* This chapter was designed as a preamble to the analytical chapters, it combined ethnographic work, a documentary review of websites and annual reports from the four news agencies under study and described some of their audio-visual bilingual products. Laid out as an entry to the world of news agencies, chapter 4 enhances the image of the kaleidoscopic framework, as an ethnographic piece that is not independent from the whole. Further findings complement the ones from chapters 5-7.

First, the ethnographic component and documentary review shed light on how multilingual news production is conceived of and how the texts become multilingual and multimodal products within the working flow and structure of news agencies. This showed that a triadic structure is in place, as news agencies operate from three locales: a local one, where initial news dispatches are produced, regularly in Spanish, in this case; a regional one, where news dispatches are edited, translated, and validated; and a central one, where final checks are performed before the output is made available to the global clients. Once distributed to the customers and published by them, it enters the local realms again.

In this local-global journey, it was found that up to six news agency journalists may contribute to one bilingual news dispatch, underscoring the premise of a multiple authorship, where expertise is built through the permanent coordination between the different roles and posts of agency news workers. Paratextual elements (Batchelor, 2018) proved useful for this tracing. In such context of a multiplicity of roles, news translators, editors or bilingual journalists can be considered paraprofessional translators (Piekkari et al., 2019), as they are experts of the linguistic services they provide with the expected quality of news agencies.

The ethnographic work suggested that news translators are self-reflective about their role as translators, their product, and the act of translating. Translation seems to be acknowledged internally within the news agencies' structure as news is produced within a chain, whereby the person in charge of translation is identified. However, translation is referred to as *editing* externally, as corroborated in different job calls from news agencies. The translated product seems to carry more value than the act of translating, as perceived by various journalists that suggest that translated versions enjoy a wider

circulation than the original ones, that are even the “measure of impact” for some news agencies, *i.e.*, English translated from Spanish. Yet, the act of translating may carry less value, as it is perceived as desk work instead of being on the spot reporting the event, as journalists lack “true” context.

It was equally seen that the traditional role of global news agencies as exclusive ‘news wholesalers’ (Boyd-Barrett & Rantanen, 1998) is shifting, as they no longer distribute their content only through their ‘retailers’, *i.e.*, news media worldwide and online news sites. They now reach the public also in more direct ways, via their websites or social media. In this vein, their text news dispatches are becoming multimodal within an ‘audio-visual turn’, which entails that journalists are increasingly expected to have a multifaceted profile. This underscores the relevance of understanding (multilingual) news production within the convergent paradigm (Carey & Carey, 2022; Davier & Conway, 2019) and of studying it interdisciplinarily.

In the audio-visual multilingual products of global news agencies, translation takes the shape of voice over, subtitles, and narrative captions, which makes it more evident than in text news dispatches, since the consumer can observe a bilingual background. Even though social media and online platforms can represent competition for global news agencies, it also allows them to directly reach the public, as in X/Twitter or YouTube. These are likely to work as advertisement towards a diversified audience, making news agencies more visible than when relying on retail media only.

At the core of this work is the fact that global news agencies, as the ultimate news producers, establish the agenda of international news, based on what is reported by their network of *bureaus*, correspondents, and local journalists. Within a shifting media landscape, this agenda seems to be shaped also by 24-hours media, online media, or even citizen journalism. Thus, global news agencies no longer being the unique sources of international news is seemingly an asset and a challenge, as they are still considered a reliable source in a context of rising disinformation and misinformation; yet, other media also provide “raw” international news and sometimes even more promptly.

Throughout the analytical chapters (5 to 7) and corroborated by ethnographic work, it was observed that topics about Bolivia worthy of becoming international news are socio-political matters, such as elections, reports on natural resources and environment, along with feature stories, reporting on culture, traditions, and “minorities” as conceived of internationally (*i.e.*, indigenous people or women). The analysis of news production within a year indicated that peaks of publications concern news coverage bearing local colour, political stakeholders that are internationally renowned, and tones of conflict. Journalists perceive that since Bolivia is a pluricultural country, providing enough context without delving in too much detail is essential, albeit often challenging.

I shall now move on to the analytical chapters (5 to 7) to approach more specific findings. Chapter 5 dealt with the first overarching question and the specific questions *How are multilingual news*

dispatches related? and if the contrasted evidence *can contribute to discussing the role of translation in multilingual news production more widely*. It partially dealt with the third question concerning the discursive dimension of news translation. This chapter produced important material evidence about the relationship that holds multilingual news coverage together and about the place of translation within such news production.

Speaking about the events that become news coverage, the perspective of ‘traduction journalistique’ (Lagneau, 2007) showed that events and topics are ‘translated’ into news dispatches as a process of interpreting, hierarchizing, and putting in order the information to fit the conventions and format of news agency reporting. By focusing on thoroughly describing the translated products in French and English by AFP, the recontextualization (Schäffner, 2010) of relevant information was analysed as pertaining to the political discourse from and about Bolivia. It was seen that close renditions exist in the segments transferred and that what differs more is the amount of information transferred. It was also seen that Spanish and French versions are closely related, while the English versions tend to be more distant. The latter were found to be directly related to the Spanish source, while also carrying indirectly some traces from the French ones. This textual relationship pointed to the fact that news translators to French and English may work together in the premises of the news agency, hence supporting each other when translating, which was corroborated during interviews.

To properly trace the translation relationships, I proposed a continuum of Complete, Abridged or Blended types. In Complete transfers a comprehensive close relationship exists between source and target versions, that derive from one source only and present features of literal translation. In the Abridged type, all information in the target versions derives from one source, but substantial segments of information are not rendered, thus resulting in a shorter version. In the Blended type, one source seems to be the starting point of the translated version, but excerpts from other news dispatches that were previously translated and published are also present in the translated news dispatch. This showed an apparent paradox, as word-for-word translation occurs and, simultaneously, much information seems to be new or translated more freely, while in fact most of such ‘new’ information belongs to previous news dispatches from the same agency.

This practice serves to translate the key updated information and to provide context for the reader with previous relevant information as an event unfolds. In practical terms, recycling already translated and approved segments saves time and allows for textual and topical cohesion. This pointed to a type of cognitive strategy to translate news items in two parts that are not openly designated as such, *i.e.*, the “news” and the “background”. Such practice was characterized here as cumulative news writing and has been referred to as ‘patchwork’ (Davier, 2012; 2017). During the stage of text analysis, this

was an intuition that later became corroborated by ethnographic work, thus underscoring the relevance of the kaleidoscopic approach.

Recontextualizations of quotations and attributions were examined for two main reasons: first, sources are crucial elements in agency news reporting as they provide credibility to the report and also account for the wide network of news agencies desks around the globe. Second, the linguistic material provided by quoted sources helps understand translation in news seen as a chorus of voices, originally in Spanish and English mainly, that are reported later in other languages.

These segments showed closeness at the micro-textual level and distance at the macro-textual one. These were examined as foreign affairs and local politics. In the overall, quotations by foreign leaders towards events in Bolivia are similar in the three versions, with slight translation adjustments and some external quotations included, especially in the English versions. Those instances were found to refer to the same subtopics, but represented from a different ideological angle (*e.g.*, to focus on the stance of *leftist leaders*, rather than the ones presented comprehensively in Spanish).

As for local sources, it was seen that more distance entails focusing on the Bolivian former president in the English versions. Cumulative news writing that recycles segments verbatim was particularly evident in English, especially, when depicting former leader Morales with a negative slant, to the point of reinforcing serious allegations of crimes without attributing a source of information. This nuance was also noticed in chapter 4, where visual news production in English focuses on portraying the former president in an unstable emotional state. Chapter 7 equally indicated substantially more references to the former president in the English versions mostly in negative terms.

The second distant recontextualization was found in quotes from local citizens, as Spanish and French versions favoured optimistic quotations (regarding the situation of the country), while English versions selected negative ones that communicated fear. It was even found that some news items recycled and decontextualized a statement from a local citizen while employing patchwork from a different electoral context (which was also noticed in chapter 6 in one statement in English).

In general, it would seem that quoted local sources work as information offers that help develop the argument. These are normally transferred almost literally, yet some crucial changes also occur, bearing consequences on how a reader from a distant place will read and understand a given event. This because the reader will not be able to contrast information from local sources, which is different than with international political stakeholders whose original statements can be found in other journalistic or official sources. In this case, an electoral process that was portrayed as pacific and democratic in Spanish and French, appeared to be frightening and less legitimate in English.

This chapter's extensive analysis pointed to the functionality of the shifts in distant renditions, which seemed to be already realised in the headlines. The purpose of changes in the body of texts can

thus be seen as a cohesive need. This reflection on headlines was equally found in the few changed headlines in chapter 6. Contrasting trilingual news coverage by one agency allowed for having a gist of the newsworthiness of topics about Bolivia and the expectations from a multilingual audience, which seems to cohere with the functionality of the changes which occurred when translating.

The interdisciplinary examination of *translation* considered a more anthropological notion as well, referring to the way in which international correspondents interpret the foreign cultures to make them news as an act of ‘cultural translation’ (Hannerz, 1996), which was dealt with in chapter 6. This chapter specifically addressed the sub-questions of *how does cultural translation come into play in multilingual news production? How do news translators/editors deal with translating culture?*, related to the first and second general research questions. To answer these questions, the chapter examined in detail transcultural transfers (Hernandez Guerrero, 2010) and translation techniques (Molina & Hurtado Albir, 2002), and the findings were characterized within a continuum of close and distant renditions (Rodriguez-Blanco, 2024b).

An initial analysis of transcultural transfers of whole news items indicated that close renditions are the rule when translating culturally ingrained news, as most segments were translated as complete transfers, few were partially translated, and instantiations of non-transfer or rewritings were marginal. With this basis, the cases of more distant renditions were further analysed by means of translation techniques, to be able to study comprehensively both closeness and distance (*i.e.*, non-shifts and shifts).

The main illustration of close renditions refers to all cases where cultural notions in the Quechua or Aymara indigenous languages present in the Spanish versions were translated into English following the exact same word order through the techniques of literal translation, borrowing, and established equivalent. The crux of the matter is that, within such multilingual context of high cultural value and specificity, the macro strategy of translation seems to be literalness to save time and avoid risks of inadequate information. What becomes evident is that the initial news dispatch has already *unpacked* all possible difficulty for its circulation within the triadic structure of news agencies and thus for its understanding by the global *imagined* reader.

In fact, it was seen that the sole case where a cultural notion (*i.e.*, the Alasitas fair) was explained in a major translation intervention, the rendition was inadequate translationally and factually, as the information added was socio-historically inaccurate. This enhances the view that literalness saves time and avoids risks, as news translators/editors translate news items from a wide variety of countries, that involve a range of cultural dynamics.

Furthermore, more distant renditions were found at the micro-textual level with the application of the reduction, description, and amplification techniques, which appeared to be related to three patterns in English. The first one concerns all references to the Andes, which were described as *Aymara* or

colorful, even though established equivalents exist in English. The second one refers to the provision of local colour that was emphasized in the renditions. The third one concerns references to political matters that were reduced or added to provide context.

Approaching news translation comprehensively as within a continuum of close and distant renditions aimed to account for what remains and what changes when exporting culture-bound news coverage to the global audience. The fact that close renditions were mostly found, seemingly at odds with established knowledge about news translation, bears potential to studying more thoroughly new contexts of multilingual news production. The journey of *El Ekeko* and *La Pachamama* from the local to the global are only one example.

Finally, such close renditions invite us to reflect on ‘cultural translation’ (Hannerz, 1996) as an interpretative process to understand cultural difference and produce news. In this vein, translation closeness, that may be equated to a foreignizing approach, would be expected as it allows for representing what is different in a given culture and transmitting it to the reader.

Moving on to the discursive dimension of the thesis, Chapter 7 attempted to answer the third research question of the thesis and its sub-questions: *How are the most frequent subtopics about Bolivia represented bilingually by global news agencies? Is evaluative language involved in instantiations of distant translations? What is the methodological potential of approaching translated news texts from a discursive perspective that is assisted by corpora?* These questions were approached by exploring discursive patterns that construct newsworthiness (Bednarek & Caple, 2017) in parallel news versions from a Cross-CaDS perspective.

The analysis was carried out in two stages: the first stage was exploratory and employed bilingual study corpora that contained electoral news coverage; the second one was corroboratory and employed large reference corpora to further examine the patterns that were found in the study corpora. By exploring common semantic categories, the bilingual pair *indígena/indigenous* was found to cross over different categories and its behaviour was examined in collocational patterns. It was seen that while *indígena* in Spanish was associated to the collective representation of the Bolivian population, *indigenous* in English was strongly associated to the Bolivian former president (E. Morales) in an individual representation.

In the context of a headline, the lexical item *indigenous heartland* was found as a non-obvious rendition that carries a negative evaluative function as it was preceded by the word *turmoil*. None of these textual elements were found in Spanish, as the corresponding headline was solely descriptive (*con mayor población indígena*). On this basis, the use of *heartland* was explored in the journalistic reference corpus. It was found that it is primarily associated to *industrial* and *political* centres. Instead, the reference corpus showed a marginal use of *indigenous heartland* in journalistic discourse, with

most results referring to Bolivia, and some being taken from the news dispatch examined in the study corpora, which was reproduced by media worldwide, and thus, ended up in the reference corpora.

The individual sense of *indigenous* in English was found to refer to the former president, who is of indigenous descent. It was found that he is mostly attributed negative features that go from being an *irascible politician, a shadow [that] looms large, or deadly riots*. His supporters are represented as a *hotbed, a heartland, and even farmer's unions and indigenous groups [that] mushroom*. The references to this political actor who was not running at that time largely outnumbered the ones to the actual running candidates. As discussed earlier, chapters 4 and 5 also found this centrality of the former president, whether in pictures accompanying the English news dispatches or in the recontextualization of quotes. This ultimately reinforces the pertinence of studying the newsworthiness of translated news coverage about countries and issues that are not considered mainstream, as it seems unattainable for the global reader to contrast the reporting to the sources or the originating context.

Finally, evidence found in the analytical chapters may indicate that distant renditions can be found when addressing geopolitical matters, likely because of the overall agenda of international news and the stance of the global news agencies, thus pointing to the level of gatekeeping involved in the tasks of news translators/editors. Instead, cultural matters seem to be characterized by more close renditions, probably due to the socio-cultural specificity of the reporting, which, in the case of Bolivia, involves translating not only from Spanish but also from indigenous languages, such as Quechua or Aymara.

8.1.2. Reflections on the framework

This thesis has discussed the theoretical and methodological value it intends to contribute across the introductory chapters and the analytical ones, I now address this value in a comprehensive manner without referring to specific aspects.

The image of a kaleidoscopic framework illustrates this comprehensiveness, as it is an artifact that allows the researcher to observe thoroughly its internal components, which may overlap and shed light on each other. With this research metaphor, the types of translation that were proposed, namely 'journalistic translation' (Lagneau, 2007), 'cultural translation' (Hannerz, 1996), non-obvious translation, and convergent translation (based on Davier & Conway, 2019), seen from within the discipline and across disciplines, enable an overarching view of the translational phenomenon in multilingual news production. One can turn the kaleidoscope to focus on specific components and the rest remains within the frame for further or complementary examination.

The contrastive analysis of texts is the principal matter I dealt with, from a translational perspective that is complemented by the discursive and ethnographic ones. It is believed here that each approach would function separately, but they would not provide the panoramic view brought together by the

kaleidoscopic anchorage about the complex object of study that multilingual news production is. This complexity is especially found when studying global news agencies, key sources of international news that are not always accessible to the researcher as news organizations. Hence, the need for the different lenses that were applied in this work.

The selected datasets focusing concretely on news coverage about Bolivia yielded a sound matter for analysis, as it was possible to explore systematically the news coverage by these news agencies for over a year. The selected dataset may thus be considered almost the whole universe of news production, rather than samples. This dataset could be considered small in corpus studies for instance, yet it is valuable as it was well curated with four selection criteria in each case study: linguistic, temporal, topical, and taxonomic. The dataset was also balanced as it interspersed cultural and political news coverage that are not completely detached from one another other, as addressed earlier.

Furthermore, this concreteness seems like an asset when considering the complementary ethnographic work. It was possible to gain insights from the producers of the studied news coverage in the wide range of the triadic structure of these global news agencies, namely, from the local, through the regional, to the central desks. This allowed for tracing a map of the complete route of news coverage, the workflow, and the profiles of journalists.

This work also contributes to providing new datasets in news translation that deal with what could be considered the opposite direction of established scholarship, as it deals with translations from Spanish into English and French, and not the other way around. Additionally, it brings to the table the way in which indigenous languages, like the Quechua and Aymara linguacultures, intertwine with news coverage by global agencies, providing thus one example of multilingualism in the news.

I attempted to balance the amount of global news agencies considered in each case study to focus on the given aims, thus spanning from one to four. So, I analysed trilingual news coverage by one agency for examining the process; then three agencies in bilingual news coverage to focus on the product's features; and then bilingual news coverage by the four agencies to focus on patterns. When describing bilingual audio-visual news coverage, two news agencies were considered.

8.2. Limitations and future research

Having addressed the contributions of this work, I will refer to the limitations that were encountered, from general to more precise ones. The principal one is that this kaleidoscopic framework brings together approaches from four disciplines, which requires for the researcher to resemble an 'academic polymath' (Baker, 2018, p.288), developing tools and methods accordingly, that result in copious work. This goes from learning the journalistic jargon to be able to communicate properly with the journalists during interviews, while reaching out to them and coordinating such interviews involves

much time. It also requires one to learn how to do interviews, creating the instruments, transcribing the data, and categorizing the findings.

This entails learning the intricacies of applying corpora, whether building the study corpora or comprehending the logic to formulate queries in the reference corpora and being able to process the findings. This two-stage methodology is laborious because of the need of employing different corpus techniques to make the most of this bilingual dataset: extracting wordlists, wordclouds, collocations, multi-word units, CQLs, and concordance lines. Given the contrastive nature of this study, the reporting of findings is not less complex. As for the textual analysis, seen from translation, the main limitation relates to the amount of space and time required to report the findings of the multilingual segments, as glosses need to be provided. In practice, this leaves out space for furthering the analysis. Nonetheless, all these aspects allowed me to approach very closely the datasets.

Without any doubt, it is positive to have studied news coverage from four global news agencies, yet their websites' infrastructure, the medium used to cater their news production, and the way they acknowledge contributing journalists are substantially heterogeneous. As I did not have direct access to all their news coverage, the Lexis Uni database was generally used, which can be a second type of mediation. Thus, it was arduous work to retrieve the news coverage on their own webpages, as possible, to corroborate paratextual elements.

In a similar vein, Google Translate was used exclusively to provide back translations from all Spanish and French segments analysed here. I aimed to make accessible the data directly to the readers and to avoid interfering. Such linguistic output was not always terminologically consistent, probably due to the inherent variation in each segment's context. Also, some segments of news translated by the global news agencies themselves matched the linguistic output by Google Translate, which provided a type of evidence that was not purposefully endeavoured, namely, the use of automatic translation tools and the practice of post-editing.

Moving to central limitations that, at the same time, can become new avenues for further research, the ethical and reception dimensions of multilingual news coverage were beyond the scope of this research, nonetheless, I deem these relevant. On the one hand, the ethical dimension is crucial since global news agencies are central carriers of information from around the globe, they shape the agenda of international news, and the way reported events are to be understood. Due to the linguistic or discursive focus of this work, only precise references to the ethical dimensions were made transversally. This could accompany the approach to the textual analysis and ethnographic work.

On the other hand, given the wholesale nature of global news agencies, studying the reception seemed out of reach. Yet, having a gist of the way their news coverage departing from Bolivia, for example, is reproduced and received by media worldwide could be insightful as a complement to the

process of news production to better understand their priorities. This could be done by focusing on specific online media in given geographical places that regularly reproduce news production from global news agencies to examine, for instance, the flow of information from and within the Global South and the Global North. Another application would be to concentrate on the way in which these news agencies disseminate their news production through social media and online platforms, as it was preliminarily done here, and the interaction of the public in those digital spaces.

I shall now refer to possible future specific applications that the present work paves the way to. The first one is studying thoroughly audio-visual multilingual news production, as convergent translation. It was briefly addressed in chapter 4 that global news agencies currently produce important audio-visual news coverage and publish it through social media. It was seen that the format of such news coverage is similar across news agencies and across languages, where the translated components are substantially more visible than in text news coverage. Such components are voice-over, subtitling, and narrative captions, all of which bear cues of the most relevant information that builds newsworthiness of the event or issue being reported.

Future research focusing on these audio-visuals and selected according to key topics can prove useful, for instance, if applied to news coverage about natural resources (such as the exploitation of lithium) and their geopolitical interest for and across different regions. Broad topics such as environmental issues and the representation of so-called minorities can also be insightful seen not only from Bolivia, but from the Global-South.

Another trend of research can be the identification of segment pairs by employing an automatic approach. This could prove useful especially when considering the vast amount of cumulative news writing that was observed in this thesis. However, one should notice that, when automatizing this identification, the analytical units across languages need be considered thoroughly as the length of sentences naturally vary according to given languages (*e.g.*, going beyond the level of sentence to consider the level of paragraph, as laid out by the news producers).

Examining paratextual evidence also proved useful to trace the genesis of multilingual news items and to locate translated texts, especially when focusing on one agency, *i.e.*, Spanish versions predating the French and English ones. This allowed me to establish their direct relationship and the indirect one as well. This approach could be applied to other languages that are used by global news agencies to further the datasets available, for instance with German, Portuguese, Russian, Chinese, or Arabic.

Finally, considering more specifically corpus approaches to discourse, the cross-linguistic perspective seems like a potential avenue, especially if global news agencies are examined. This can also be seen as a cross-linguistic perspective to newsworthiness in key topics that originated in the

Global South. For this, I consider relevant the cross-fertilization between fields, whereby both disciplines should be deemed as complementary and not ancillary ones.

8.3. Afterword

This thesis has considered what is published as multilingual news coverage, as already existing texts. I looked at it from different angles to better understand the processes of production that are behind the curtain and the products. In this sense, this work did not intend to dwell on how it should have been covered or translated. Now, by stepping outside of the analytical framework in these final lines, I wish to reflect on the journey of studying multilingual news production with the belief that interdisciplinarity in research is paramount and, yet, difficult.

The metaphorical notions of translation as *journalistic translation* and *cultural translation* show how all-encompassing translation is as an interpretive act of realities and issues that are different from one's own. Having borrowed both notions from social disciplines as accounted by foreign correspondents, *translation* works as a term that allows one to interpret and understand difference to render a journalistic account of given events for global audiences.

My own situatedness as a researcher, a translator, and a Bolivian citizen were part of the way I interpreted the work by the journalists. At times, these facets of myself were an asset as I had different perspectives to rely on; at times, they were difficult to balance. Myself being a scholar originating in the *periphery*, this research was done to be published and read in the *centre*. This follows the same journey of the news coverage here examined, from the *local* to the *global*. Be it journalistic or academic writing, such a journey entails *unpacking* one's world-vision and argumentative logic, to try, at the same time, to intuit or understand what is expected to be written.

Finally, this fact may partially explain that findings in my work could seem atypical for established knowledge on news translation, since more close renditions were found than the distant renditions that are regularly reported in this subfield. This does not undermine the value of existing scholarship, since, as it has been widely argued here, translated news and news translation practices are part of a specific context intended to meet the global expectations about that specific context. I hope this thesis contributes to enlarging the datasets and contexts that can be studied comprehensively, due to the crucial role of translation in the production of multilingual news.

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Annex

Annex 1: Summary of headlines

No.	Headline	Language	Agency
Chapter 5			
1a	Mesa y Arce cierran en Bolivia campaña electoral polarizada por la figura de Evo	Spanish	AFP
1b	Derniers meetings de campagne pour l'élection présidentielle en Bolivie	French	AFP
1c	Bolivian rivals end campaigns ahead of Sunday vote	English	AFP
2a	Bolivia golpeada por la pandemia y la economía vuelve a las urnas	Spanish	AFP
2b	Les Boliviens rappelés aux urnes après l'échec du scrutin présidentiel de 2019	French	AFP
2c	Bolivia set to vote for president after polarized campaign	English	AFP
3a	Bolivia, el país de América con mayor cantidad de indígenas	Spanish	AFP
3b	Bolivie: un des pays du continent à la plus forte proportion d'Amérindiens	French	AFP
3c	Bolivia: Turmoil in Latin America's indigenous heartland	English	AFP
4a	Presidenta interina de Bolivia pide "paciencia" por lentitud de escrutinio electoral	Spanish	AFP
4b	Bolivie: la présidente demande de la "patience" devant la lenteur des résultats	French	AFP
4c	Outgoing president calls for Bolivia patience with slow vote count	English	AFP
5a	Candidato de Evo Morales se impone en primera vuelta de presidenciales de Bolivia	Spanish	AFP
5b	Bolivie : Luis Arce, dauphin d'Evo Morales, vainqueur de la présidentielle	French	AFP
5c	Bolivia 'has recovered democracy' says Arce as exit poll suggests win	English	AFP
6a	Arce tomará las riendas de una Bolivia polarizada y en crisis económica	Spanish	AFP
6b	Bolivie : Arce sera le futur président, Morales "tôt ou tard" dans le pays	French	AFP
6c	Morales says will return to Bolivia after ally's election victory	English	AFP
Chapter 6			
1a	Pachamama, la deidad indígena que veneran los bolivianos	Spanish	AP
1b	Paying homage to the 'Pachamama' central to Bolivian culture	English	AP
2a	Bolivia inaugura su fiesta de miniaturas pidiendo paz en este año electoral	Spanish	EFE
2b	Bolivians desire peace as festival of miniatures kicks off	English	EFE
3a	Los bolivianos sueñan a lo grande con coches y billetes en miniatura	Spanish	RTR
3b	Bolivians dream big with miniature cars, cash - and roosters	English	RTR
4a	La Biblia trata de desplazar a la Pachamama en Bolivia	Spanish	AP
4b	Bolivia religious debate: the Bible vs. Andean earth deity	English	AP
5a	Un ritual andino pide a las divinidades que alejen a la COVID-19 de Bolivia	Spanish	EFE
5b	Andean ritual asks deities to ward off COVID-19 from Bolivia	English	EFE
6a	Bolivianos decoran calaveras con gafas de sol y cigarrillos para honrar a los muertos	Spanish	RTR
6b	Bolivians decorate skulls with sunglasses and cigarettes to honor the dead	English	RTR
Chapter 7			
1a	Bolivia elige nuevo gobierno con su modelo económico en crisis	Spanish	AFP
1b	Economic headache awaits victor in Bolivian election	English	AFP
2a	Mesa y Arce cierran una polarizada campaña electoral en Bolivia	Spanish	AFP
2b	Bolivian rivals end campaigns ahead of Sunday vote	English	AFP
3a	Bolivia, el país de América con mayor cantidad de indígenas	Spanish	AFP
3b	Bolivia: Turmoil in Latin America's indigenous heartland	English	AFP
4a	Bolivia golpeada por la pandemia y la economía vuelve a las urnas	Spanish	AFP
4b	Key developments in Bolivia's crisis	English	AFP

5a	Bolivia se prepara ante posibles desmanes durante las elecciones	Spanish	AFP
5b	Bolivians expect 'upheaval' as general election looms	English	AFP
6a	Presidenta interina de Bolivia pide "paciencia" por lentitud de escrutinio electoral	Spanish	AFP
6b	Outgoing president calls for Bolivia patience with slow vote count	English	AFP
7a	Candidato de Evo Morales se impone en primera vuelta de presidenciales de Bolivia	Spanish	AFP
7b	Bolivia 'has recovered democracy' says Arce as exit poll suggests win	English	AFP
8a	Arce tomará las riendas de una Bolivia polarizada y en crisis económica	Spanish	AFP
8b	Morales says will return to Bolivia after ally's election victory	English	AFP
9a	Elecciones generan incertidumbre sobre el futuro de Bolivia	Spanish	AP
9b	He's not running, but Morales looms large in Bolivia vote	English	AP
10a	Lo más destacado rumbo a los comicios en Bolivia	Spanish	AP
10b	Bolivia hopes election can help ease year of pain, turmoil	English	AP
11a	Bolivia cierra votación y esperará para conocer al ganador	Spanish	AP
11b	Bolivia's vote a high-stakes presidential redo amid pandemic	English	AP
12a	Varios adelantan el triunfo de Arce en elecciones de Bolivia	Spanish	AP
12b	A tense Bolivia awaits voting results in redo amid pandemic	English	AP
13a	Evo Morales regresará a Bolivia, pide respeto a Washington	Spanish	AP
13b	Morales party claims win as Bolivia seems to shift back left	English	AP
14a	Las ganas de ir a votar en Bolivia son más fuertes que el temor al virus	Spanish	EFE
14b	Bolivians too busy scratching out a living to focus on election	English	EFE
15a	Bolivia está lista para repetir elecciones un año después	Spanish	EFE
15b	Bolivia heads to repeat presidential elections a year later	English	EFE
16a	Evo Morales dice que su partido y Luis Arce han ganado las elecciones	Spanish	EFE
16b	MAS candidate celebrates win pending official results in Bolivia	English	EFE
17a	Evo Morales dice que "tarde o temprano" va a volver a Bolivia	Spanish	EFE
17b	Morales hails Bolivia election exit polls; Mesa concedes	English	EFE
18a	Arce plantea un Gobierno "renovado" en Bolivia y con "puentes" a opositores	Spanish	EFE
18b	Bolivian president-elect pledges to "govern for everybody"	English	EFE
19a	Ante las elecciones presidenciales en Bolivia, ¿podría 'Economics' regresar?	Spanish	RTR
19b	As Bolivia election nears, could 'Economics' make a comeback?	English	RTR
20a	Se estrecha diferencia entre Arce y Mesa en carrera electoral en Bolivia: sondeo	Spanish	RTR
20b	Bolivians hope to restore political stability in Sunday presidential election	English	RTR
21a	DATOS Principales candidatos a ocupar la presidencia de Bolivia	Spanish	RTR
21b	Explainer: Lithium, Morales and cocaine - What's at stake as Bolivia votes?	English	RTR
22a	"No más sangre derramada": bolivianos temen elecciones violentas con el país en una encrucijada	Spanish	RTR
22b	'No more spilled blood': Bolivians wary of election violence with country at crossroads	English	RTR
23a	Socialista Arce gana elección en Bolivia en primera vuelta	Spanish	RTR
23b	Bolivia's socialists claim victory as unofficial count shows big win	English	RTR
24a	Presidente electo Arce dice exmandatario Morales no tendrá ningún rol en Gobierno de Bolivia	Spanish	RTR
24b	Bolivia's President-elect Arce says 'no role' for Morales in new government	English	RTR

Annex 2: Additional instantiations of shifts in realia, chapter 6

Extra instantiations of shift	Realia	Technique
1) Unique belief system; 2) Celebration/deity called + name; 3) (of money); 4) celebration and tradition; 5) buying and gifting miniatures as lucky charms; 6) People buy miniatures resembling their wishes that could be achieved in the year ahead; 7) Lake Titicaca; 8) rocky trail;	Cultural notion and items Toponymy	Amplification <i>(Added in TT)</i>
9) <i>con una fe inquebrantable</i> → faithfully	Cultural notion	Ling. Compress.

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