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TITOLO TESI

Multilingual journalism, news translation and discourse: converging methods, converging theories

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1

"The world moves on so fast, and we lose all chances of being the women our mothers were;
we lose all understanding of what shaped them" –
Hilary Mantel, *An experiment in love*

To the astonishingly wonderful women of my family and of my life,
may I never lose the chance of being like you.

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Index

List of tables

List of abbreviations

AVT	Audio-visual Translation
CADS	Corpus-Assisted Discourse Sudies
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CL	Corpus Linguistics
DA	Discourse Analysis
SL	Source Language
ST	Source Text
TL	Target Language
TS	Translation Studies
TT	Target Text

Abstract

The present study explores a methodological and theoretical framework suitable for the investigation of multilingual journalism, news translation and the discourses that these two meaning-making activities promote and transmit to a global audience.

Departing from the consideration that journalism as well as translation are multi-layered objects and may conceal power dynamics and struggles within society, I suggest that such complexities can only be addressed and analysed if deconstructed and successively reconstructed through a combination of methods and theoretical perspectives. Therefore, this study merges different methodological approaches, including Critical Discourse Analysis, Corpus Linguistics and comparative analysis in order to grasp the complexities and ramifications of different forms of journalism (i.e. broadcasting, online, written and a mix of the three) in different national, supranational and international contexts, (i.e. in Italy, the UK, Europe, Australia and on the Internet).

In the present thesis, this combination of methods and theories is termed *convergence* to indicate the convergence of approaches from a variety of fields of studies functional to the investigation of both multilingual news discourse and news translation, and ultimately echoing the widespread and increasingly pervasive phenomenon of *media convergence* (Flew, 2009; Jenkins, 2006; Quandt & Singer, 2009). The *convergence* framework within the investigation of multilingual news and its discourse allows us to move past the traditional Source Text – Target Text opposition, thus favouring a more flexible and wider concept of translation, one that seems to be more fitting to the reality of language transfer processes in the news. In order to demonstrate the validity of the framework of *convergence*, this thesis presents a corpus of multilingual audio-visual news transcripts (AVNews Corpus), and four case studies, two employing the AVNews Corpus, one envisaging a more traditional comparative analysis, and

finally one making use of a small parallel corpus. The four case studies presented in this thesis aim to showcase the validity of this framework, eventually calling for larger and more systematic studies about language transfer activities in the news.

Introduction

The importance of news translation in constructing and shaping discourses at different levels of society and culture is rarely acknowledged by scholars outside the field of Translation Studies (Valdeón, 2015, Conway, 2011). Moreover, as Palmer notes, the practice of translation in the news is rarely questioned, and it is therefore "impossible to know to what extent news translation is the source of problematic language transfers, as such questioning is rare" (Palmer, 2009, p. 189). We are aware that language transfers do actually happen in the news but tracking them down and pinpointing them within the fluid and ever changing journalistic context is a troublesome task. However difficult and challenging this task may be, I do think it is one worth undertaking. Indeed, researching news translation and, by extension, multilingual journalism, means making sense of a growing number of informative inputs that create influential discourses in different geographical contexts. Ultimately, the output of such research educates us, as receptors of these inputs, and in turn encourages us to embrace a more critical understanding of what we watch, listen to, read and experience.

The field of Translation Studies (TS) has dealt with news translation for at least 15 years (Valdeón, 2015) and from different analytical and methodological perspectives, such as Media Studies, Cultural Studies, Ethnography and so on. Scholars who have met the challenge of researching language transfer activities in the news agree that we need to redefine and broaden our understanding of what translation means, as obtaining information across geographical boundaries means not only transferring them linguistically, but also, and necessarily, culturally.

Thus, as Bassnett and Bielsa observe, "[i]t would seem that in the global media world, the very definition of translation is challenged and the boundaries of what we might term translation have been recast" (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009, p. 2). Following Van Doorslaer's claim

that "popular views of "translation proper" as a purely linguistic transfer are not appropriate to explain the complex processes of change involved in news text production" (Van Doorslaer, 2010b, p. 186), this thesis intends to contribute to the field of research by addressing the issue of multilingual journalism and translation from a stance that endeavours to go beyond the Jakobsonian notion of interlinguistic translation (Jakobson, 1959), eventually approaching it as an intercultural activity that implies linguistic and cultural transfer as well as creativity (Katan, 2016). Connected to this research question is surely one addressing the attitude of networks and news people towards the term "translation". In the course of this study, I will devote some space to the issue of labelling language transfer activities within the news. I will do so by engaging with ethnography (3.2.1, 3.3.1, 4.2.1.1, 6.3) and eventually pondering whether an expansion of the definition of translation might make news providers more aware of the complexities of translational processes within the news.

Hence, this thesis originates from these considerations while acknowledging that, on the one hand, news translation enables the communication of information at the global level, and, on the other hand, that journalism is an extremely persuasive and biased carrier of information. This will eventually lead us to accept that news translation, more than other kinds of translation, is not an innocent means of linguistic transfer, but rather an accessory to the shaping and disseminating of influential discourses within society (M. Baker, 2013; Conway, 2011; Tymoczko & Baker, 2010). My aim is to contribute to bridging the existing gap between news translation and communication and media studies, by analysing and deconstructing multilingual news outputs as well as their contexts of production and delivery. Thus, one of the research questions that this study purports to address is whether and how can we access and deconstruct the multiple layers of meaning that language transfer activities in the news embed.

Central to and extremely functional in this aim is the application of Corpus Linguistics (CL) or rather Corpus-based Discourse Analysis to cross-linguistic analysis of the news.

Indeed, the Corpus-based Discourse Analysis approach (P. Baker, 2006; P. Baker et al., 2008; P. Baker & McEnery, 2015; Partington, Duguid, & Taylor, 2013) allows the researcher to roam freely between multilingual texts without being indebted to the binary Source Text (ST) – Target Text (TT) dichotomy, which is understandably a feature of more traditional areas of TS, but, as pointed out above, seems to be rather restrictive when it comes to news translation. Indeed, the application of discourse analytical and corpus linguistics tools is of paramount importance in understanding how the surface-level realization of a discourse, i.e. language, actually influences other spheres of reality and society in a deep and powerful manner. Journalism and the discourses it shapes and promotes surround and impact people's existence. The communication of these large amounts of information usually happens by means of language in combination with images.

While suggesting a method to investigate what happens when the same news item is carried across cultures, I look at the process of *recontextualization* as explained by Reisigl and Wodak (2009), who state that if an element is transferred into a new context it "(partly) acquires a new meaning, since meanings are formed in use" (Riesigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 90). Therefore, I claim that what happens during the processes of news diffusion, and thus in news translation, is indeed adding new meanings and consequently ascribable to the concept of *recontextualization*.

I have labelled the mixed theoretical and methodological approach I am suggesting *"convergence* framework", a term that is inspired by the increasingly pervasive phenomenon of *media convergence* (Flew, 2009; Jenkins, 2006; Quandt & Singer, 2009) and that employs a convergence of theories and methods (e.g. TS, CL, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), comparative analysis) to address the complexities of multilingual journalism and its meaning-making activities.

This thesis presents a tripartite structure with each part containing two chapters, which in turn are articulated in a number of subsections. Part One deals with theories and methodologies that have been employed to investigate both international journalism and (news) translation. In particular, in Chapter 1, I review the literature on international journalism and translation from a historical perspective (1.2). I start from the emergence of news agencies as first globalisators of the news market, underlining how translational activities have always been performed from the early stages of journalism (1.2.1); then, I dwell on the concept of *gatekeepers* with reference to the journalistic profession, as well as to the issue of transferring and translating information across gates (1.2.2), and I conclude with a subsection addressing the biggest shift in the history of journalism, that is the advent of the Internet (1.2.3). In 1.3 I provide a more theory-oriented literature review, organized around three subsections, each addressing the issue of multilingual journalism from a different viewpoint, namely TS and Journalism Studies (JS) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), concluding with a review of those theories that I deem relevant in order to adopt a translational perspective on the news.

Chapter 2 addresses the theoretical and methodological framework developed in this thesis. This chapter contains three subsections each closely related and instrumental to the other. In 2.2 I describe how the combination of different methods and theories in the fields of CDA, CL and TS may bear fruitful results and advances within the analysis of news discourses and translation. Finally, in 2.3, I explain and discuss the framework of *convergence* and how it can contribute to the analysis of the news in different languages and cultural contexts, by combining methods and theories from TS, CL and CDA. As pointed out above, the term *convergence* has a twofold methodological function: it establishes a clear intertextual connection with the namesake phenomenon of *media convergence*, and, as a metaphor, it describes how those theoretical-methodological inputs converge into an organic framework that allows the researcher to gain multiple perspectives on written and audio-visual news, on their

14

contexts and languages, and on their discourses and narratives. In explaining the *convergence* framework, I try to point out how the term *convergence* includes the concept of methodological synergy (P. Baker et al., 2008) and expands on it, in that contributions by different research fields all point to and actively bestow on the understanding of multilingual news discourse and of the meaning making activity of translation in this context.

Having established and described the theoretical and methodological framework to which this thesis refers, Part Two focuses on a variety of sources of and perspectives on international journalism, basically providing an overview of the sources informing the case studies presented in Part Three. In particular, Chapter 3 deals with news providers in monolingual cultures, such as Italy and the UK, within mainstream news contexts. Here, I consider *RAI* (3.2) and the *BBC* (3.3) as main representatives of these two national contexts, providing a brief overview on these broadcasters' history, their aims and corporate structures. Finally, I discuss the points of view on news translation and international journalism provided by professional figures working at those channels, which are relevant to the understanding of language transfer activities within public broadcasters.

Chapter 4 considers multilingual mainstream and alternative news outlets, focusing in particular on the national/multilingual context of Australia (4.2) and on the international/pan-European context (4.3). More specifically, in 4.2, I consider three Australian news providers, two public broadcasters, one monolingual (*ABC*) and one multilingual (*SBS*), and one Italo-Australian community newspaper (*Il Globo*). The Australian newscasters are not included in the AVNews Corpus, because they would have complicated the already composite structure of the corpus. Despite this, they provide a meaningful example of multiculturality and establish the relevance of ethnic media as a form of alternative news making. Chapter 4.3 addresses two international news outputs: a pan-European broadcaster, i.e. *Euronews,* which is included in the

AVNews Corpus, and a citizen journalism web-site, *Global Voices*, which instead informs a small parallel corpus discussed in Part Three.

In keeping with the *convergence* framework, Chapters 3 and 4 present multiple perspectives on journalism in different contexts, providing justifications for the choices made regarding the case studies in Part Three. Moreover, through the "Conversing with professionals" subsections (3.2.1, 3.3.1 and 4.2.1.1), it is possible to actively engage with ethnography and Discourse Analysis (DA) as methodologies and let insights from the latter inform the interpretation of the results from the corpus or the comparative analysis.

The final section, Part Three, deals with the practical application of the framework of *convergence* and, similarly to the previous sections, it is divided into two chapters. Chapter 5 illustrates the process of building the AVNews Corpus, i.e. the audio-visual corpus of news transcripts that I built as part of this thesis. In Chapter 5, I gather all the relevant information about corpus design, structure and sources (5.2), describing how, when and where the recording took place (5.2.1), which legal issues might influence the building of such a corpus (5.2.2) and the relationship between each corpus component (5.2.3). Furthermore, Chapter 5 contains relevant information about how the audio-visual texts were annotated (5.3.1) and transcribed (5.3.2) and shows both how to access the corpus and which information can be retrieved from the corpus by exploiting its mark-up (5.4).

Chapter 6 showcases methodological *convergence* by means of four case studies aiming at demonstrating how cross-linguistic news discourse analysis, carried out according to an array of methods, can be successful in pinpointing sites of translation. In 6.2, two case studies employ the AVNews Corpus to investigate two news items which were hotly debated at the European as well as international levels during the year 2015. In particular, case study 1 (6.2.1) focuses on the representation of the 2015 Greek and Italian refugee crisis by the four broadcasters included in the AVNews Corpus, whereas case study 2 (6.2.2) investigates the

representation of national identities and the reporting of the Ukrainian conflict over the timespan covered by the AVNews Corpus.

The second part of Chapter 6 revolves around news translation in alternative media. By alternative media it is meant both ethnic and citizen media. Hence, case study 3 (6.3.1) considers translation within the community newspaper *Il Globo,* employing qualitative and comparative methods of analysis, showing *convergence* between ethnography and comparative analysis of (multiple) STs and TT and the diaspora context in which the latter originates. Finally, case study 4 (6.3.2) merges corpus-based translation studies with ethnography, considering translational products, processes and actors within the citizen media website *Global Voices*. These two case studies were included in this thesis as they are considered optimal candidates for investigating and comparing sites of news translation across different types of journalism.

The concluding section tries to pull together the threads which were unravelled in the development of this thesis. In particular, I focus on the validity of the *convergence* framework and how it could be applied to virtually any kind of multilingual discourse. At the same time, keeping to the news context, I argue for a wider application of the *convergence* framework, mainly calling for larger multilingual corpora of the news and more systematic investigations. The guiding thought behind this call is that "more data brings better evidence", provided the latter is appropriately contextualized and analysed by taking into account the social and cultural aspects pertaining to each lingua-cultural context involved.

Part One: News and Translation, theories and methodologies

1. Literature Review

1.1 Introduction

The following sections are meant to review the existing literature around multilingual news and translation within Translation Studies (TS) and Journalism Studies (JS). Firstly, I will explore the links that indissolubly bind news and translation from a chronological point of view; secondly, I will provide an account of the theoretical frameworks that have been employed to analyse multilingual journalism and its language transfer activities.

The present chapter intends to provide a detailed account of the literature around international and multilingual journalism and its relationship with the field of TS. The following subsections analyse this relationship from an historical perspective, summarising the development of journalism, both as a phenomenon and as a profession, and its impact on and connection with language transfer activities (1.2). I will then consider the literature on news translation and international journalism that focuses on the theories and interdisciplinary approaches employed to analyse international journalism and its translation (1.3).

1.2 International journalism and translation

Since national newspapers started delivering their news products outside their national territories, initiating in this way the well-known process of globalisation, translation, alongside technological improvement, has represented a fundamental step in enabling the journalistic message to transcend territorial borders. Despite the undeniable importance of translation in the

19

news, its value and, at times, its existence tended to be silenced or well-concealed (cf. Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009; Valdeón, 2015).

Although news translation has been recognised as part of TS for several years (cf. Stetting, 1989), it has not been systematically studied within the academia until relatively recent years (Bassnett & Conway, 2006; Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009; Valdeón, 2010, 2015). The increase in academic interest in this area could be explained by the massive "mediatic explosion" (Castells, 2000) which has driven us, as citizens of the world, to gain access to a virtually infinite variety of (news) information in a constantly-growing number of different languages.

It is indisputable that such significant amounts of information involve, at all stages, some kind of linguistic mediation or transfer, i.e. translation. As a consequence, translation and globalisation can be seen together as one of the most productive and hardly neglectable realities of TS. As a matter of fact, translation has gained a precise a well-defined status within academia in a number of "globalised translational genres", such as audio-visual translation and game localisation, among others. However, the same cannot be said about news translation. The reason may lie in its inherent interdisciplinarity of the field or in the challenges it poses for research. Be as it may, the field is still largely unexplored, especially in its audio-visual outlets.

This chapter analyses the evolution of global journalism, from the first international press agencies to today's most popular news media, such as television and web-broadcasting. It will also include a translational perspective, thus making it clear how translation essentially permeates worldwide news making and news reporting.

1.2.1 International news agencies as the first globalisators of the news market

Journalism, as we intend it today, was born around the mid XIX Century, when "the newspaper became the first mass cultural medium of modernity" (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009, p. 38).

In Western European countries, this had been made possible thanks to a series of determining factors, such as the drop in the price of printing, the widening of the alphabetised population, and the introduction of advertising in newspapers.

Since the concern of this section is international journalism, its earliest stages will not be accounted for, skipping forward to the moment in which readership and press agencies felt the need to expand their cultural and linguistic borders. It is, however, important to recall that the very first newspaper which entailed a mass audience, low production and distribution costs and, more importantly, an informative content, was, in 1863, the French *Le Petit Journal* (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009, p. 38). This model of journalism soon spread across the Channel to the United Kingdom, where, shortly after, the first *penny dailies*[1] started to appear and prosper (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009, p. 39).

From then onwards, in a short period of time, the audience's need to be informed about what was happening near and also far led to the creation and sudden evolution of international press agencies. In these first stages of international journalism, the latter were based in various parts of the world and gave information to the main broadsheets (and *penny* press) in exchange for money. From this moment on, the circulation of information gained a new economical aspect, which was to become more prominent in the coming years. As Bassnett and Bielsa highlight,

> [t]he new mercantile character of factual information is nowhere more visible
> than in the creation of news agencies, commercial organizations which were

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[1] The first daily newspapers which had the typical features of the mass media, cheapness (both in term of production costs and of sale price) and mass circulation.

set up by experienced businessmen to gather and sell information when it became a valuable commodity. (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009, p. 39)

The interesting fact is that the first international press agency begun its practice as a translation services provider. The *Bureau Havas* was founded by Charles Havas in 1832 with the aim of translating newspapers articles from overseas and other European countries for the French press, but soon developed into a press agency, changing its name into *Agence Havas* in 1835 (Papuzzi, 2010, p. 36). In that period the communication of information was eased and strongly encouraged by the innovative invention and soon to become widespread use of the telegraph, which, as we shall see, allowed easy and fast communication at speeds that were not even thinkable a few years back.

In Great Britain, the first news agency was *Reuters*, founded by the namesake Julius Reuters in 1851 and still in business today (Bassnett & Bielsa, 2009). These two news agencies functioned as role models for other countries, and very soon other press agencies were appearing all over Europe and in the United States, and, as a consequence,

[...] the new penny press [...] readily subscribed to the information services of the recently created news agencies to satisfy people's growing appetite for the latest news. (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009, p. 39)

These journalistic outlets presented news in an ethnocentric way from a Western perspective, a fact still felt today in international journalism (see concept of the "American Frontier" Turner, 1976 in Caimotto, 2007). The increasing demand for information on the part of the *penny press* audience was crucial in determining the current configuration of the concept of international journalism, which originates chiefly from Anglo-American conventions that privilege news' perceived truthfulness and factuality[2] through two main textual genres: the interview and the report (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009, p. 39; Stazio, 2003, p. 93). Both were successfully exported to

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[2] Truthfulness and factuality are commonly considered the cornerstones of Anglo-American journalism, they are not, however, *news values* (Galtung & Holmboe Ruge, 1965), but rather ideals to which journalists should aspire in their practice.

continental Europe through the active role of news agencies and thanks to their international expansion. These facts basically brought to a first globalising push in the European context, affecting the way information was produced and delivered.

The availability of the telegraph across the Atlantic Ocean strengthened this globalising push, allowing for the circulation of information in a swift and reliable manner across very distant places, for the first time in history:

> The combination of news agencies and the invention of the telegraph brought a much more reliable and economical supply of steady information and dictated the emphasis on news which began to dominate the daily press. (Conboy, 2004, p. 125)

In such a context, translation must have played an important role. Press agencies began opening branches in different parts of the world, extending their reach and thus their connections, income, and transmitting press releases in a variety of languages. This undoubtedly presupposed some kind of translation process or *rewriting* (Lefevere, 1992) in order to adapt the source press release to the target country's press agency. The role of the translator or journalist/translator in this context has rarely been documented, pointing to the fact that translation in news production is seen as an instinctive practice, one that simply allows and facilitates informative content to be circulated.

Getting back to the evolution of press journalism, it is worth saying that London and its agencies were surely favoured in receiving and providing all continental Europe with information about newsworthy events in the United States and Asia, due to the fact that Great Britain was an imperial power. At least until the beginning of the 20th Century, the country had exclusive access to those parts of the world's news, then the United States started to free themselves from the Empire, not only politically and economically but also through mass mediatic communication, i.e. culturally.

However, until then, Europe and a good portion of the world appeared divided into influence-areas as far as journalistic markets were concerned. Two colonial powers were dominating the scene (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009, p. 43): France and England split the "newsworthy" world into areas under the influence of *Bureau Havas* (in France and some neighbouring areas, such as the French colonies, the Mediterranean area, and South America), and *Reuters* (in Great Britain and the British colonies, the Netherlands, the USA[3] and the far East). Though there were other agencies such as *Wolff*, which had its main grip on Germany, Scandinavia and Eastern Europe, what really changed the geography and, consequently, the balance of the communication market in Europe between the two wars was the birth of several American press agencies, most notably *Associated Press*. The latter controlled vast internal areas of the USA, Canada, Alaska and part of central America (Papuzzi, 2010, p. 36). With the consequence that, following Bassnett and Bielsa:

> [t]he breach of the principle of exclusivity of news distribution in the allocated territories by the American agencies, which started to sell their news directly to the European press, the creation of new international alliances for news exchange between newspapers and the polarization of European diplomacy finally led to the abandonment of the territorial division between news agencies in the interwar years. (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009, p. 43)

During the interwar years the circulation of news was enabled mainly through the press and radio, which used the main European and American press agencies as sources. These years marked the beginning of a new era for journalism, which emerged as truly global and shifted its landscape of values towards Americanization (Bassnett & Bielsa, 2009). Indeed, the American model of journalism soon became successfully anchored on the European soil, reinforcing and

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[3] In particular the east coast of the US, since the first transatlantic cable connections were established between the extreme western points of Great Britain and, on the other side, the extreme eastern points of North America. The very first transatlantic cable was laid from Valentia Island in Western Ireland to the island of Newfoundland in Canada.

exporting "American-style journalism" with its "values of impartiality and objectivity" to continental Europe (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009, pp. 43–44).

Press agencies thus became global and had to face a globalisation process which required new characteristics: first of all, an international network of connections made of news agencies' branches, correspondents and local emissaries working at the main news sites; secondly, the ability to tailor the output product according to the needs and expectancies of the country they were selling the news to (a process akin to localisation); thirdly information transmission, which had to be carried out at high speed in order to thrive in this highly competitive news market.

In the first three decades of the 20th Century, the news market was moving forward very fast, increasing its incomes and its networks. This expansion was made possible by recent technological developments, such as radio and television, which were usually welcomed, almost everywhere, with pioneering spirit by news agencies and journalists. This open-minded attitude towards technology has always been an important feature of international journalism, whose nature is to continuously evolve in order to acquire and reach more clients and improve the quality of their services, configuring themselves as "agents of globalisation" all over the world (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009, p. 44).

We can consider the development of satellite communication and the Internet during the 1960s as the turning point for modern international journalism, paving the way for the "massive communication explosion" (Castells, 2000, p. 361) we have been witnessing from the 1980s onwards. The main features of this mediatic boom were:

> [a]n unprecedented quantitative multiplication of the amount of information
> [...], [and] an equally crucial qualitative change, which saw the introduction of
> customization and interactivity [...]. (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009, p. 39)

The ideal means to spread these changes and innovations were, in the first instance, the radio, then television. Before the Internet became a widespread commodity, radio and television were the first mass media to provide a strong and persistent globalising push to communication and information markets. As a result, they started to bring distant and essentially foreign newsworthy events directly into the homes of the audience.

This changed substantially the way news were made, moreover a certain degree of interactivity with the audience was introduced. Viewers, listeners and readers had the freedom to be selective with reference to the news they wanted to know about and those they wanted to ignore, and they could choose from a constantly updated archive which is growing day by day. Furthermore, competition between news agencies and international news providers (radios, televisions, newspaper and the Internet) became harsher and harsher, changing quantitatively and qualitatively the way journalists and news agencies produce the news, determining a deep and substantial shift in the market itself (cf. Tsai, 2012).

1.2.2 International journalists as gatekeepers: transferring and translating information.

In a circular way, if the market of information changes, as described in 1.2.1, people involved in the production and diffusion of the news evolve accordingly. In the past as well as today, journalists had and have to be middle-persons or *gatekeepers* in the process of news production (Hursti, 2001). They have to deal with the event and the people affected by the event, successively they have to elaborate and present this event by coding it in a way that is acceptable and appropriate for the network they work for and for the audience they address. All of this, in the case of international news, usually involves a change of language too.

As we shall see, this change of language, i.e. translation, is often ignored or superficially addressed by news providers. However, the importance of news translation as a

producer and therefore carrier of (autonomous) discourses as well as meaning maker (Palmer, 2009) derives from "the intervention of the different organizations that participate to the news gathering and dissemination processes" (Palmer, 2009, p. 187). Thus, news translation is embedded in multilingual journalistic practices.

In this context of speed and international circulation of information, the issue of authorship has never been a real concern for news workers. As a matter of fact, reporters and correspondents are just the "tip of the iceberg" of the editing process, which is essentially layered teamwork. Anonymity, in this sense, is both a form of protection and a way of constructing a corporate identity and style for newspapers. Conboy confirms that this kind of attitude and inclination toward anonymity was in place in the early stages of British journalism too:

> [The lack of signature] was also a reflection of the varied provenance of much of the news and the process of editing it, which was making the identification of a single author more problematic with journalism, newspapers, under more dominant and influential editors, began to develop what would later be called identifiable house stiles and anonymity matched this tendency too.
> (Conboy, 2004, p. 126)

Lacking reference to specific personalities and stakeholders involved in the news process provided, and still provides, news workers with a sort of collective liability, thus considering the news as a collective product and not the output of a single individual. This is one of the main reasons why news translation is considered so difficult to detect: the lack of a clearly identifiable author puts the whole issue of copyright and loyalty to the ST (and its author) in a completely different perspective with respect to translation in other settings.

It goes without saying, this is a very complex process which involves layers of significance, and in which objectivity is desired but often impracticable, as journalists do have to choose a specific way of reporting an event, expressing a stance and being heralds of certain editorial styles and/or corporate angles. In particular, what international journalists do is build a

27

bridge between their employers and the place where the news was born and has developed. Some scholars argued that journalists' gatekeeping activities have become blurred since journalism practices have turned into virtually anyone's prerogative (see also Williams & Delli Carpini, 2000):

> [i]n an environment in which anyone can publish virtually anything, the concept of discrete gates through which the information must pass ceases to be a useful conceptualization of how "news" reaches the public - and if there are no gates, there can be no gatekeepers. (Quandt & Singer, 2009, p. 134)

This is one way of considering the evolution brought by the Internet into journalistic practices, however, in this study, these "discrete gates" are still believed to be in place and active and journalism is considered in all of its forms, from professional to semi-professional and lay environments[4], observing how the presence and function of those gates is enabled by translation.

As a matter of fact, this *gatekeeping* activity could be compared to the role of translation in the dynamics of mass communication. As Bassnett and Bielsa (2009) mention several times in their book, translation in the news has always been an "instinctive, natural" practice, which is nevertheless necessary in order to allow for the diffusion of the news on a global scale. While in many other contexts, translation is managed by linguistic experts (i.e. translators and interpreters), in the journalistic context, especially in written news, the situation is quite different. It often happens that journalists translate the text they need by themselves without resorting to professionals, unless it is strictly necessary. As we shall see in Chapters 3 and 4, the fact that journalists are often bi- or multilingual facilitates and encourages this practice, which makes it clear that the status of translation in the news is substantially different if

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[4] Indeed, professionalism in the news as well as in translation will be dealt with in subsection 6.3, where I consider how fair it is to dismiss non-professional operators within these two fields as unprofessional, basing one's judgement on the fact that they do not adhere to normative behaviours established by more traditional media enterprises.

compared to any other setting. We shall say for now that, for the purposes of this study, a wide and flexible concept of translation (or multilingual language transfer) has been adopted, one that safely allows for the inclusion of the typical linguistic and communicative processes of international journalism.

The evolution of mass communication media and of the way information is produced and delivered affected journalists as well as news agencies, which at this point:

> [...] were not only important users of technologies but, more crucially, played a determining role in their development and thus in shaping contemporary globalization in important ways. (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009, p. 49)

One of the first agencies to adapt and promote the new means and ways of mass communication was Reuters, which acted as the pioneer for other agencies and news providers in the field of news internationalization and technologization. As far as journalism is concerned, globalisation essentially entails an increase up to the global level in the sphere of influence of news agencies, television channels and newspapers, which is realised through both a spatial dislocation of physical resources (correspondents, troupes, and regional branches) and partnerships with local news providers and institutions, with the ultimate aim to provide an information service which strengthens the ties with the homeland and reduces the distance between the homeland and the countries affected by the news.

1.2.3 The great shift: audio-visual and Web news

Chronologically, the radio was the first medium to bring a new dimension to the news, allowing for a wider dissemination among audiences and for an innovative, more entertaining approach to news reporting:

> [journalism] has always incorporated an element of entertainment either in its content, such as human interest or witty writing style, or by its juxtaposition with more distracting pieces alongside the serious. Technologies such as radio

and television enabled this entertainment to be more fully integrated alongside and sometimes within the formats of informational journalism. (Conboy, 2004, p. 2010)

In the first years of the 20th Century radio increased its importance and presence in people's everyday lives, since it soon became a very popular commodity, which, compared to newspapers, could reach a wider audience, including illiterate or semiliterate people. The radio was then a very pervasive media, since it could also be played in the so called *non-lieu* or non-places[5] and thus lending itself to a sort of passive fruition. In the same period, another important technological innovation had become popular in the western countries, i.e. the motion picture cinema.

Although this was not directly linked to journalism, it is nevertheless very important, since the first newsreels, the ancestors of the contemporary newscasts and documentaries, were usually projected on screen before the movie. This was then, before the advent of television channels, the first audio-visual news medium. Usually newsreels displayed major events around the world, and political elites soon realized their great potential in shaping audience's thoughts, understanding both the power of visual representation and the easiness of manipulation.

That being said, it is not surprising that democratic governments and powerful political agents used newsreels for propagandistic purposes especially during World War II (Menduni, 2003). Democratic governments employed newsreels as tools of propaganda against dictatorships, whereas totalitarian regimes of the 20th Century used them in order to maintain their grip on the people and to filter out the information coming into their countries.

With reference to both radio and newsreels, the national realities which this research considers, differed deeply. On the one hand, the UK created the *British Broadcasting Company*, the *BBC*, in 1927 which as state-funded advertisement-free broadcasting radio aimed at

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[5] E.g. Train stations, cafes, shops, and later on airports and shopping malls, among others.

providing its audience with a possibly unbiased information service. Something similar happened in Australia, where in 1929 the government allowed the *Australian Broadcasting Company* to transmit nationwide on the Australian soil (Phillips, Lindgren, & Bishop, 2013). On the other hand, in Italy the Fascist regime imposed strict censorship rules and all news media were consequently subordinated to the goals and scopes of the dictatorship, which essentially were to maintain high consensus and suppress any form of cultural insubordination (cf. Gozzini, 2000). In this context the newsreels' techniques were widely exploited by the "Istituto Luce", which from 1924 until the end of the Fascist period was its main propaganda instrument, producing a multitude of documentaries and newsreels widely appreciated for their high quality in terms of filming technique (Menduni, 2003, p. 140).[6]

These differences are of paramount importance in determining the way these countries developed their own public broadcasting companies and how they envisaged themselves as public information providers. The UK was years ahead of Italy when it came to broadcasting news techniques and tools, basically setting the standards for news broadcasting all over Europe and across the Ocean to Australia, but, as Conboy remarks,

> Broadcast journalism was severely curtailed in its early years. The newspapers immediately identified radio as a threat to their monopoly and attempted to restrict the amount of news and its format on BBC broadcasts. [...] It was dry stuff indeed, much more medium than message. (Conboy, 2004, p. 189)

Although journalism and journalists usually embraced new technologies by harmoniously incorporating them into their daily practices (see, for example, the telegraph or the Internet), the British press feared that audio-visual news outputs would soon steal their scene and, at least during the early years of news broadcasting, they strongly opposed the unavoidable progress of audio-visual journalism. This hostile attitude changed when written press magnates and editors

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[6] The "Istituto Luce" produced, on average, one newsreel a week until 1945, many of these audio-visual documents are available on YouTube.

acknowledged the meta-discursive potential of broadcasting media, inaugurating an intertextual relationship between written and audio-visual journalism.

Such mechanisms and relationships were and are in place in Italy as well, not because of an internal struggle among different news outlets, as it was the case in Britain, but rather because of an imitating attitude. The latter led Italian television to import and, in a word, "copy" Anglo-American TV formats (e.g. *talk shows*) and corporate structures in the form of media-conglomerates (for example Berlusconi's early *Fininvest*, now *Mediaset*). Radio and TV broadcasting established their supremacy as prime-time news providers, shaping the audience and being in turn shaped both by technology and the political-economic context of their diffusion. Public broadcasting companies eventually had to surrender to international market forces and to compete with emerging commercial channels and media conglomerates, which had huge availability of economic and human capital and were not committed to public service. As a consequence, from the 1980s onwards, there has been a progressive deregulation of the communication and media markets across Europe, and public service networks such as *RAI* and the *BBC* underwent massive restructuring processes aimed at enhancing their competitiveness on the market.

Shortly after, one of the greatest communication revolutions was beginning to spread across the western world, the Internet was soon to become the most influential and pervasive medium on the scene. Prior to the massive diffusion of the Internet, satellite communication enabled the birth of real time news in remote areas of the earth and lead to the establishment of the so-called *rolling news* channels. As Giovanni Porzio, an Italian journalist, recalls in his book "Cronache dalle terre di nessuno", the satellite revolution in the news happened at a very precise time and sanctioned the supremacy of the American broadcaster *CNN*:

> La guerra del 1991 sancì il dominio mediatico della CNN (Cable News Network) e la nascita di una nuova era: quella della informazione globale e in

tempo reale. [...] Per sbaragliare la concorrenza la tv di Atlanta non aveva badato a spese. Il budget di dodici milioni di dollari per il secondo semestre del 1990 fu aumentato del 42 per cento per far fronte all'incremento dei costi di produzione, al lancio di nuovi satelliti e alla mobilitazione permanente di uno staff di 1500 persone nell'area del Golfo, nelle zone a rischio del Medio Oriente e in tutte le principali capitali del mondo. [...] Stavamo vivendo un evento straordinario. (Porzio, 2007)

Thus, from the 1990s onwards, many *rolling news* channels started to appear in the United States, where *CNN* was actually the first, then in Europe and in the rest of the world. *CCN*'s development as a *rolling news* channel in the early 1990s was so influential that many scholars talk about the "CNN Effect" to refer to the close relationship between the political power and the media especially during war news coverage and international diplomacy crisis, questioning in this way the position of journalism as the *Fourth Estate* (Livingston, 1997; Robinson, 2002):

[t]wo key factors have joined to bring this about. One is the end of the Cold War. With its passing the United States lacks an evident rationale in fashioning its foreign policy. The other factor is technological. Advances in communication technology have created a capacity to broadcast live from anywhere on Earth. As a result, the vacuum left by the end of the Cold War has been filled by a foreign policy of media-specified crisis management. (Livingston, 1997, p. 1)

The accent here is on the technological factor: from satellite, cable television and *rolling news* channels to the advent of online news, the step was quite short.

The Web as means of sharing all kinds of informative content has been one of the most revolutionary and life-changing events of the 20th and 21st Century. In this scenario, the spreading of online news outlets determined the appearance of new hybrid forms of journalism, which essentially bridge the gap between written (traditional) press and audio-visual journalism. On the one hand, TV offers a limited, albeit very varied choice, of informative and *infotainment* programmes and channels (newscast, talk-shows, documentaries, etc.); on the other hand, the Internet multiplies this real-time choice, making it also available on demand and

in an array of different languages and formats. As Cronin and Simon note, this tendency of broadcasting news to be varied, entertaining and essentially spectacular is a feature of capitalism, which challenges our way of ordering and labelling events and attitudes happening around us:

> One of the salient features of capitalist society [...] is the relentless drive towards de-differentiation and declassification in everything from broadcasting (reality TV where the mundane dissolves into the spectacle) to warfare (video arcades and drone strikes). The incessant flows of images, ideas, products and people that have both driven and be driven by globalizing practices call into the question the usefulness and pertinence of classificatory paradigms from another age. (Cronin, Simon, 2014, p. 126)

Looking for new paradigms to describe and understand these processes involving capitalist societies goes beyond the purposes of this study. However, the characteristics of plurality of voices and timeliness alongside a general democratization of information brought about by its widespread accessibility seem to make the Internet the ideal medium for journalism. In particular, one of the most precious qualities offered by the web, is its potential for multi-perspectivity. In other more traditional journalistic outlets, such as radio, television and newspapers, this multitude of voices and languages is often ignored or flattened, because of time and space constraints, as well as political and ideological reasons. This is essentially why, in this study, mainstream as well as web-based and alternative news providers have been taken into account.

Online information is characterized by the feature of being current and it should be investigated and compared to more traditional informative formats in order to understand its role in shaping public opinion and how, as a consequence, influential power elites may use it. It is a powerful tool indeed and its multi-perspectivity strongly calls for linguistic transformations, i.e. translation becomes in this context very important and, as Gambier stresses:

> [o]n-line journalism may have profound effect on the way foreign-language news is translated. By changing the news translation process, on-line news also changes news language. A large field of investigation is opening up here. (Gambier, 2006, p. 13)

Despite the impact on-line news is leaving on journalism, journalism studies' scholars appear a bit sceptic about its originality, especially when it comes to informational blogs, stating that "[t]here is, quite simply, not much original journalism conducted in the online environment" and thus wondering whether bloggers are "reporting or repeating" news content (Coleman, McCombs, Shaw, & Weaver, 2009, p. 156).

Notwithstanding this scepticism, being so versatile and open-ended, the Internet and thus online news allows for the active participation of the audience in commenting and generating newsfeed, up to the point that in recent years many new hybrid forms of journalism have been popping out. Two examples here are considered to be very meaningful, the first is the phenomenon of *Citizen Journalism* and the second is the mingling of journalistic genres to be found among online news providers.

Citizen journalism (also known as *participatory*) is an emblematic example of how the Internet has actually expanded the boundaries of journalism and information. There are many definitions of what *citizen journalism* is or is not, one of them describes it as "[t]he act of a citizen, or a group of citizens, playing an active role in the process of collecting, reporting, analysing and disseminating news information" (Bowman & Willis, 2003, p. 9). The outputs of this kind of journalism are very varied and could be realized in the form of interactivity on websites of major media actors, or writing a blog, or participating actively on dedicated *citizen journalism* websites such as *Global Voices* or *The Huffington Post*. Jurrat states that:

> Citizen journalism is a more horizontal and conversational sharing of news, which is 'always unfinished and continually under development' [...]. Thus, the audience is not only connected vertically to people in power, such as editors and politicians, but also horizontally to each other, enabling them to mobilize. The flow of information is no longer controlled from the top. Readers are becoming reporters, citizens and journalists share one identity.

> This is why champions of citizen journalism, such as Dan Gillmor and Jay Rosen, acclaim it as the most democratic form of journalism, because, in principle, anyone with access to the internet can influence the news agenda. (Jurrat, 2011, p. 7)

This is then a very interesting field of study under many different perspectives, its relevance for the purpose of this research is, at least, twofold. First of all, it is related to the usage that "official" news actors make of *citizen journalism* and UGC (User Generated Content). As many scholars point out (Allan & Thorsen, 2009; Bowman & Willis, 2003; Jurrat, 2011), it is now a common practice that long-established news outlets encourage their readers/viewers to upload media contents in the form of pictures, videos or blog posts, exploiting in this way "the potential of UGC in situations where their correspondents could not be present in time" (Jurrat, 2011, p. 10). Secondly, this is relevant for the field of TS, with specific reference to websites such as *Global Voices* (www.globalvoices.org/about) in which articles and news content are not only generated, but also translated by citizens, who may or may not be translators (4.3.2).

Unlike traditional news media, where translational practices are often concealed and buried under the many layers of editing, translation is, in this case, transparent. Users have complete access to the ST, and this constitutes a notable exception in the field of news translation, opening up to the possibility of investigating differences and trends in news (translated) language and how it differs and/or resembles the language engaged by more traditional news actors. The interplay between technology and concerned citizens makes the transmission of information possible, configuring alternative media as gateways to plural and non-mediated information. This phenomenon has also been observed in other contexts (e.g. freeware's instruction manuals, open-access learning materials) and has been labelled as *crowd-sourced* translation (Beaven, Comas-Quinn, Hauck, De los Arcos, & Lewis, 2013; Massidda, 2015; Sutherlin, 2013). Translation *crowd-sourcing* and *collaborative* translation are surely a product of "the democratisation of media production brought about by the technical and

commercial revolution referred to as 'Web 2.0'" (Massidda, 2015, p. 15). The analysis of these emergent phenomena goes beyond the purposes of this chapter, however it that of *crowdsourcing* is a relevant topic in TS in that it has gained the attention of for-profit organizations which use the internet crowd for translating their materials, posing the issue of professionalism for TS scholars and, more importantly, trained translators (O'Hagan, 2009, 2011a, 2011b).

Coming now to the second example of how the Internet has encouraged and promoted the mingling of what used to be coded as different journalistic realizations, it would be useful to recall two main phenomena. The first is that all mass media nowadays have a website, in which they created a hybrid genre of journalism. Television channels' websites provide written commentaries to their own broadcast news, and newspapers' websites accompany their feature articles with videos and links to other news sources. Scholars in the field of Journalism and Media studies often talk about "convergence" of the media, connecting these phenomena of hybridisation and intertextualization of journalistic texts to wider scale processes:

> The buzzword "convergence" has become a synonym for rapid developments in media technology, markets, production, content and reception. The term broadly refers to the blending or merging of formerly distinct media technologies, mainly based on digitization processes, though the issues extends beyond those raised by the technology itself. (Quandt & Singer, 2009, p. 130)

Intertextuality seems here to have a peculiar importance, news media create in this way a network, a web of relationships between themselves and the audience, themselves and institutions, themselves and the social media. This ping-pong way of referencing and cross-referencing among different kinds of mass media is precisely what happens when Tweets or Facebook pages are reported in a newscast as part of the news event itself, thus building a mass media meta-discourse. Being a present-day phenomenon, this is still an under-researched area

of media studies, but it has implications for TS too, since social media newsfeed are often multilingual especially when dealing with breaking news such as natural disasters, uprisings, terrorist attacks and so on (Bügel & Zielinski, 2013; Collier, 2011; Starbird & Palen, 2012; Zappavigna, 2015).

The second phenomenon is represented by online versions of international news channels such as *Euronews*, which offer to their users both videos and articles about the same news item in 13 different languages (4.3.1). Here translation truly functions as gate-keeping and globalising agent, enabling information to travel across countries and continents even. If this is theoretically acceptable and meaningful, as we shall see in Chapter 4.3, the role of translation in this context seems to be ignored or taken for granted, denying in this way its *gatekeeping* and globalising contribution.

1.3 Dealing with the translation of international multilingual journalism in the global age: theoretical approaches

Starting from the assumption that "[t]ranslation intervenes from the start in the process of news gathering and is often the point of departure for international journalists who write about a foreign reality" (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009, p. 59), this section will consider the theoretical approaches that have been applied to translation in the context of journalism and how JS deal with the analysis of international news.

1.3.1 News translation: theories and approaches

Irrespective of the media channel, the linguistic transfer of information, enacted and enabled by translation, seems to be perceived by the "news people" just as one tool out of many that allows journalists to deliver their story.

This attitude toward translation has led Bassnett to state that:

> [t]he debates which have dominated thinking in literary translation theory do not serve much purpose when we start to analyse the shaping forces behind the production of news translation. Indeed, we lack a definition of what translation in the news context actually is: the process of textual manipulation that takes place inter- and intra-linguistically suggest that we might need a new term altogether. (Bassnett, 2005, pp. 129–130)

From this statement it is possible to draw some partial yet relevant conclusions. First of all, news translation cannot be studied by employing the tools and systems used for more traditional genres of translation such as literary translation. If we were to use such tools, investigating news translation would be reduced to a comparison between texts, assuming that finding ST-TT couples of news reports were possible, and checking what is there and what is missing. It would not be productive and eventually would flatten the complexities of translation in the news.

Second, manipulation of texts during the process of news translation is a fact and it should not be considered negatively *a priori*, instead it should be accepted as part of the news making process and, as such, should be investigated, whilst suspending any "translation-oriented" judgement. Indeed, if textual manipulations are detected in news translation, any judgement of appropriateness or fairness of these kinds of practices should be set aside in favour of an open-minded attitude, that eventually will allow the observer to try to guess the reasons behind those manipulations. Thus, it is important to keep in mind, that the professional

guidelines and codes that apply to professional translators have no reason to be applied to news translation, where "news people" follow different professional standards and ethics guidelines.

Third, Bassnett and Bielsa (2009) suggest it may be necessary to find an alternative name for news translation. It could be argued that instead of finding a new name for an already existing concept, we could keep the same name and expand its reach. Beyond journalism, there are many other contexts (advertising, copywriting, script adaptations for audio-visual description and/or translation) in which translation is performed on a daily basis and in which the ST-TT boundaries are blurred or not relevant, and the primary aim is to facilitate the communication between different linguistic systems and cultures. Widening the scope and reach of translation would allow researchers to be flexible and overcome the binary system of ST-TT which in turn calls for other binary oppositions, such as loyalty/disloyalty, equivalence/non-equivalence, that have proved to be problematic also in more traditional ST/TT-based fields, namely, as Schäffner points out,

> [t]he applicability of traditional binary opposites (such as source language/texts/culture and target language/text/culture, content vs. form, literal vs. free translation) is called into question and they are replaced by less stable notions (such as hybrid text, hybrid cultures, space-in-between, intercultural space). (Schäffner, 2004, p. 136)

Changing from a binary perspective to an inclusive one favours a more "eclectic approach to research whereby different methodologies can be combined together, acting as reinforces for each other" (P. Baker, 2006, p. 16), which is essentially what post-structuralists advocate for (see Derrida, 1978, 1981 quoted in P. Baker 2006). For example, M. Baker (M. Baker, 2007, 2010), while researching how situations of war and conflict are reframed in translation, suggests that the framework of narrative theory "encourages us to avoid these broad abstractions and to think individual choices as embedded in and contributing to the elaboration of concrete political reality" (M. Baker, 2007, pp. 157–158). In the present study then, we will

take on a broadened definition of translation, considering it as a communication "facilitator" or gatekeeping tool in the hands of the journalist/translator (Vuorinen, 1997) or, as Van Doorslaer puts it, "journalator" (Van Doorslaer, 2012).

Among the traditional theories of TS, those which seem to be more suitable In the field of news translation are the target-oriented functional theories, such as *skopos* theory (Reiss & Vermeer, 1984), Nord's text analysis (Nord, 2005), and Holz-Mänttäri's translational action (Holz-Mänttäri, 1984). These theories focusing on the *function* of the TT in the TC are probably the most relevant when investigating news translation. Albeit in many occasions it is an unconscious thought, the idea of *functional equivalence* could be seen as driving and guiding the translation process in the news. The informative and/or infotainment function of the journalistic text is a priority when considering and selecting sources for news reports, and this, as a consequence, virtually dominates any decision the journalist/translator makes. What can be problematic from the point of view of functional theories is the coherence between ST and TT, which is not obvious in news translation. Indeed, it is not uncommon for many STs contribute to the delivery of one single TT.

Moreover, following Nord's functionalist approach to translation, which considers translation as a "communicative interaction among individuals", we come across the concept of "loyalty" which entails taking into account the intentions and expectations of those involved in the translational process. We can see how functionalist theories within TS may be adapted to the framework of news translation, but also how concepts such as "loyalty" do not find a collocation in the news landscape, since loyalty in the news is rarely aimed at all the parties involved in the news process.

A concept from traditional TS that is relevant to news translation is Lefevere's *rewriting*, especially when he refers to textual manipulations and the expectation of the target reader:

> [t]he genre that is dominant in the target culture defines to a great extent the reader's horizon of expectation with regard to the translated work that tries to take its place in that target culture. If it does not conform to the demand of the genre that dominates the target culture its reception is likely to be rendered more difficult. (Lefevere, 1992, p. 92)

Even though Lefevere's focus is on literary translation, his concept of translation as "the most recognizable type of rewriting" (Lefevere, 1992, p. 9) and of TT's conformity to the target culture could be suitable for news translation, to the extent that textual manipulations happening in the journalistic context can be considered *rewritings*.

Another relevant theory to news translation is surely Stetting's *transediting*, defined as "a new term for coping with the grey area between editing and translating" (Stetting, 1989, p. 63), which argues that editing has always been part of the translation process (Stetting, 1989, p. 63). As Schäffner points out, Stetting's work was carried out and delivered at a peculiar time and in a particular setting, that is the 1980s, a moment in which TS were in their infancy and needed to carve a niche in academia to establish themselves as a fully-fledged discipline and break free from being considered a sub-discipline of Applied Linguistics (Schäffner, 2012, p. 867). Stetting's main aim was to pass on the message to her audience that translators should be allowed and encouraged to modify the content of a ST while translating, if this makes the message easier to deliver.

According to (Stetting, 1989, pp. 374–377) there are a series of cases in which *transediting* is applied and, in this list, she includes news translation in that she refers to journalists picking texts in other languages in order to draft their own reports. Moreover, Stetting also distinguishes between three types of *transediting*: "cleaning-up", "situational" and "cultural" *transediting*, respectively involving:

1. Adaptation to a standard of efficiency in expression: "cleaning-up transediting";
2. Adaptation to the intended function of the translated text in its new social context: "situational transediting";

3. Adaptation to the needs and conventions of the target culture: "cultural transediting".
(Stetting, 1989, p. 377)

Clearly Stetting's approach to translation is target-oriented and close to functionalist theories. It is also understandable why this specific approach has been considered a milestone by news translation scholarship. *Transediting* in news translation is a term that accounts for all the transformations, cuts, and manipulations that texts undergo before being presented to the audience. According to Hursti (Hursti, 2001), for example, *transediting* activities have to be considered part of the *gatekeeping* process, defining *transediting* as "the composite term used to refer to work done in the realm of 'practical texts,' such as news items, in which both of the processes, editing and translating, are not only very much present but also equally important and closely intertwined" (Hursti, 2001, p. 1).

In their paper about English and Turkish news stories from the *BBC World Service*, Aktan and Nohl (Aktan & Nohl, 2010) make reference to Stetting's *transediting* and draw up a list of "five typical patterns": "adding information", "modifying or safeguarding semantics", "reducing information", "enhancing comprehension by omission", "editor's input". These five patterns basically summarize and generalize what they had the chance to observe at the *BBC World Service*, adding that this what is likely to happen within intercultural communication in the media.

Finally, Bassnett and Bielsa quote Tapia's list (Tapia in Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009, p. 63) while describing the tenets of news translation and adding to the following list the point of "versatility", which they see as an essential requirement of journalist/translators:

1. The main objective of news translators is to transmit information.
2. News translators translate for a mass audience. Consequently, a clear and direct language needs to be used.
3. News translators translate for a specific geographical, temporal and cultural context. Their job is also conditioned by the medium in which they work.
4. News translators are subject to important limitations of time and space.
5. News translators are usually "backtranslators" and proofreaders.

43

(Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009, p. 63)

These contributions are very useful to gather an understanding of the basic characteristics and processes of news translation. However, even though they purport to be valid for all journalistic text types, it seems that they were envisaged mainly to account for written news.

Investigating translational processes in broadcasting news has to consider some other important factors. First, time and space constraints: audio-visual news usually have more pressing schedules and fixed airing times that lead to a condensation of the journalistic message, which in turn leads to a simplification of the language used in the reports. Second, the presence of audio-visual material adds a complexity to the whole matter of translation in this context. Tracing the sources of audio-visual news reports is very difficult, unless they are explicitly stated by the narrating voice or could be somehow retrieved in the video or images projected on the screen (in the case of television news).

As concerns audio-visual news, there are a number of contributions focusing on Anglophone broadcasters, mainly the *BBC*, thus portraying that particular context and ignoring a vast area of the world. In particular, broadcasting news translation in Britain has been investigated by Bauman, et al. (Baumann, Gillespie, & Sreberny, 2011), who described and analysed translational practices at the *BBC World Service*. Their study sheds light on how an international newsroom works, and they identified four main moments in the construction and packaging of world news:

1. "Transporting" involves processes involved in getting the information to the news provider;
2. "Translating" defined as "the techniques, crafts, and possibly grafts, of language-to-language transformations";
3. "Transposing and transediting", i.e. "implicit, and often silent, discursive re-intonations, while trans-editing emphasises the simultaneity of the translating and editing processes";
4. "Transmitting": broadcasting, in which other important issues such as audience segmentation and preferences come at play.

(Baumann et al., 2011, p. 137)

Bauman, et al.'s account, albeit limited to the British context, constitutes an important descriptive contribution to audio-visual news translation research.

There are other contributions to this field of TS that focus on audio-visual translational processes adopting a chronological perspective. For instance, Podkalicka (2011), again observing audio-visual material from the *BBC World Service*, identifies three main translational approaches in three different time periods. More specifically, until the 1990s the most common approach to translation was, in her words, "translation processes as a Fordist factory", that:

> [...] produced, reproduced, and trans-edited news bulletin gathered from the main international agencies, the BBC Monitoring Service, and from the globally unequalled network of BBC journalists and correspondents around the world. (Podkalicka, 2011, p. 144)

From the 1990s onwards, the main approach to translation in the broadcasting context is defined as "translation as a dialogic engagement" (Podkalicka, 2011, p. 145), which entailed a deeper link to the audiences involved in the reporting and led thus journalists and translators to be more sensitive to cultural specificity. As a consequence of this approach, news production has been decentralized and journalistic staff relocated.

The last of Podkalicka's approaches is "translation as networked communication" (Podkalicka, 2011, p. 147). This approach is driven by the revolution brought about by the Internet and essentially widens the scope and the reach of journalism up to the global scale. The latter approach is contemporary to our time, and has an important added value, i.e. opening the view on international news as a network constituted by a variety of people speaking many languages and residing in many different and remote places. Drawing from this, Podkalicka points out that, especially for non-English speaking countries, "translation is necessary to harness the Internet's potential to facilitate global communication" (Podkalicka, 2011, p. 147),

namely because the specificity of language is the only true obstacle to global communication (Caimotto, 2007).

Some scholars (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009; Tsai, 2006, 2010) have compared news translation to interpreting, focusing on the similar constraints that characterise these two kinds of linguistic and cultural transfer. The time and space constraints typical of interpreting are especially relevant for audio-visual news translation, due to the peculiarities of this medium. Limiting news translation to this comparison, however, would mean analysing just a few aspects of it and results would probably be partial. For this reason, the abovementioned scholars argued for an integrated theoretical approach to news translation, one that could fully seize its peculiarities and therefore explain its processes and meaning making decisions.

Tsai (Tsai, 2005, p. 59), for example, places audio-visual news translation halfway on an imaginary continuum that has at its extremes interpreting and translation. By comparing audio-visual news translation to interpreting, she intends to highlight the spoken dimension of translation in this context: audio-visual translated news texts, namely, are written to be spoken texts. Moreover, brevity and clarity are fundamental characteristics of both interpreting and audio-visual news translation alongside the pressing time and space constraints:

> [...] a broadcast news translator has one or two hours to produce one news item with sound on tape, i.e. the completion of translation, voice-over recording and film editing. When major international news breaks, the multi-tasks are expected to be completed possibly within 30 minutes, or less than 10 minutes for translation only. (Tsai, 2005, p. 62)

Tsai gathered these insights from her own experience as an interpreter at an international television station in Taiwan. Of course, other television channels may follow different procedures (e.g. the re-voicing may be performed by a journalist and not by the translator or the interpreter), nevertheless Tsai's contribution remains one of the few accounts of translational processes and procedures in the newsroom and is therefore very pertinent.

46

The degree of identifiability of the STs in its/their TTs may also vary. As we shall see in the course of this study, there are cases in which translation is made explicit, e.g. through voice-over or direct quoting; however, it is not uncommon to listen to or watch a news report recounting an international issue or event that does not quote any source. This of course complicates the process of detecting translational processes inside the report itself.

Tsai depicts the interpreter/translator as a fundamental figure in the newsroom, in charge of many duties that go well beyond the linguistic transferral of information. As a matter of fact, according to Tsai, the interpreter/translator acts as filter and gatekeeper, making choices about what to include and exclude in the report, what to add as background information and how to frame the issue at hand. From the observation of these characteristics, Tsai draws another line of comparison between audio-visual news translation and interpreting, that is the stress-factor. Indeed, she points how four main factors impinge on the broadcast news translator's psychophysical health, i.e. time, the type of STs, the type of translation processes in place and the space available for broadcast (Tsai, 2005, p. 67).

The type of STs and of translation processes highlight two interesting aspects about international news broadcasting. Tsai (Tsai, 2010, p. 180) indicates as prominent source materials for translated news reports two set of informative channels, one of which is "official", by which she means press agencies' audio-visual materials or television archives, and one, "unofficial" sources i.e. mainly Internet-based. Among the sources in the latter category, she does not refer to UGC, which is a phenomenon that has been gaining popularity in the mass media over the last decade. The translational strategies employed to translate such a variety of materials imply choices at the linguistic and journalistic level, which lead Tsai to state that "[...] news translators are expected to play the role of journalists rather than translators" (Tsai, 2010, p. 181).

One can conclude that the status of the STs in news translation is comparable to that of news agencies' bulletin or press releases, i.e. raw material to be deconstructed, re-elaborated, and re-packaged in the newsroom by a team of journalists, translators/interpreters (or both), editors, sound and video or sound operators, etc. Tsai points out how this reworking process in the newsroom is just one of the many filters through which information passes, concluding that:

> [a]s news passes through various gatekeepers before reaching the foreign desk of a national broadcaster like FTV, it would be difficult to trace the author(s). Given the minimal significance of source text authorship to the news translator and the audience, such efforts seem irrelevant and redundant. (Tsai, 2010, p. 184)

STs are then a (already re-worked) starting point from which the news report develops, the way in which the latter evolves depends very much on the news values and the news angles, which the network under consideration intends to employ in order to deliver information and their stance to the audience. That is to say that the recombination, repackaging and recontextualization of the various news sources through editing and translation is not at all a random process, quite the opposite.

There are two other important factors at play when considering journalism's sources, or news' STs and their status in the newsroom, namely technology and media convergence. These two factors have significant consequences not only for the translation of such texts, but also for journalism as a whole, in particular Berkowitz, referring both to television and online news, points out:

> Television news, for example, has become "more opinionated and less densely sourced", so that it can be considered a "soft discourse" that allows journalists to distance themselves from source-based facts (Schudson and Dokoupil, 2007). Convergence, likewise, has changed the situation, with less face-to-face or voice-to-voice communication between reporters and their sources, and email filling the gap. Even further, blogs have begun to blur the line about who is a journalist and who is a source, and the role of sourcing has become equally ambiguous as a result. Finally, the practice of obtaining sources second-hand from the Internet has complicated questions about which sources count and what degree of sourcing is sufficient. (Berkowitz, 2009, p. 112)

Not having clear and defined news sources inevitably complicates the picture, and news media convergence is creating networks and cross references that open up a dynamic and dialogic relationship between journalist/translators and sources. Hence, this dynamism and dialogue should be mirrored in the respective disciplines of TS and JS. As a matter of fact, translation theories that have been applied to the study and investigation of news translation cannot be taken per se as the only parameter and/or tool to analyse translational processes in the journalistic context. Instead, they should be considered and integrated with JS theories and other analytical tools such as CL and DA. These could inform news translation research and help understanding both translation processes and choices, thus inaugurating a fruitful synergy between these fields of studies, which hopefully will prove to be beneficial to both sides of the equation, as Chapter 2 will point out.

1.3.2 Journalism Studies on multilingualism and international news: theories and approaches

JS' scholarship rarely focuses on the inter- or intra-linguistic transfers that occur in newsrooms on a daily basis, and this is probably expression of an attitude that sees that of translation as a necessary and routinized activity in the journalistic field. Nonetheless, especially since globalisation started to exert a considerable pressure on the ways news are shaped and constructed, academia as well as journalism educators and practitioners have begun to be more aware of cultural specificity and what this entails in a globalised and international communication network.

Wahl-Jorgensen and Hanitzsch describe JS as an "extremely diverse scholarly occupation" (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009, p. 7), pointing out how this field of studies

has been drawing theories and inputs from an array of interrelated academic fields, such as social sciences, communication studies, cultural studies, semiology and structuralism, thus lacking a sense of unity. This is surely a point of contact with TS, which also are characterised by the same interdisciplinarity.

The relevance of JS in news translation is paramount, as journalists/translators cannot disregard key journalistic features such as agenda-setting issues, news values, journalistic sources and the discursive characteristics of the news. These topics have been extensively analysed and theorised by JS scholarship.

Conboy considers journalism's evolution throughout history as a series of discursive shifts, providing two main definitions of what *discourse* in Journalism Studies may entail:

> A first definition of discourse is in terms of the co-existence of text and context and the impossibility of understanding one without the other or prioritising one as more important than the other. [...] Discourse, in the second sense, [...] is a term influenced by the writings of Michel Foucault (1974). [...] This view of discourse claims that the language used about a particular practice in turn forms objects of which it speaks. [...] Discourses, according to Foucault, are also intrinsically bound up with questions of power, as they give expression to the meanings and values of institutions or practices and, in doing so, claim authority for themselves. (Conboy, 2004, pp. 3–4)

Both these definitions of discourse are relevant to this study, since they highlight the importance, in journalism, of the interaction of text and context, and the underlying power struggle that is expressed through language. Therefore, we would be able to consider journalism as an object of study and analyse it in order to disclose discourses and power relationships and/or structures, viewing "news production and dissemination as creating new forms of power, as well as forms of access to representation" (Conboy, 2004, pp. 3–4). Such a view establishes a direct link to DA and CDA, which are particularly relevant to this study, as we shall see in Chapter 2.

In order to account for the inter- and multidisciplinarity of JS, Wahl-Jorgensen and Hanitzsch (2009) provide a detailed account of the evolution of JS following a series of

subsequent "turns", a metaphor used to describe also shifts within the field of TS (Munday, 2010).

The "Empirical Turn" during the 1950s' essentially focused on media impact on audiences, by using quantitative methods and experiments, but academic attention was also addressed to "the news people and their professional values, as well as editorial structures and routines" (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009, p. 6) that resulted in the emerging of theories and models that are now widespread, such as the gatekeeping model (White, 1950), the professional paradigm (McLeod & Hawley, 1964) and the theories of news values (Galtung & Holmboe Ruge, 1965) and agenda setting (McCombs & Shaw, 1972).

Then, the "Sociological Turn" during the 1970s and 1980s witnessed an increasing interest in social and cultural aspects of journalism and included mainly qualitative methodologies borrowed from the Social Sciences and anthropology. This line of research "allowed for a greater understanding of news production processes through descriptive work, but also paved the way for the view of journalism's role in constructing and maintaining dominant ideologies" (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009, p. 6).

From the 1990s there has been the so called "Global Comparative Turn" (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009, pp. 6–7), which accounts for the consequences and transformations journalism has undergone both as a mass medium and as a field of studies in the globalised world, underlining the massive impact of technology as well as the need to include and differentiate perspectives in JS, Wahl-Jorgensen and Hanitzch then argue that "scholars ought to broaden the scope or research beyond mainstream journalism as well as beyond elite nations, leading news organization and prominent journalists" (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009, p. 12).

As a consequence, more attention should be paid to the work and practices of freelance and multi-skilled journalists, who are nowadays the rule rather than the exception in the

landscape of international journalism. This is another clear point of connection with TS, as the world of freelance translators is drawing attention not only from TS scholars, focusing in particular on how technology enables/hinders/facilitates their job (Fulford & Granell-Zafra, 2005), but also, if not prominently, from the blogosphere and virtual communities.[7]

Wahl-Jorgensen and Hanitzsch conclude their review of Journalism Studies with a reflection, which is, again, shared with TS, i.e.:

> Traditional metaphors of journalism as a process of transmission of information need to be rethought in terms of an understanding of journalism as a cultural practice that is essentially based on a public negotiation of meaning. If the field is committed to greater reflexivity about the power relation that underlie practices of journalism, it also ought to generate more fine-grained knowledge about ideological structures that underlie the highly rationalized process of news production and assess the ways in which they produce social and cultural inequalities - as well as the potential of journalism to challenge or at least interrogate these hegemonic structures by means of alternative journalism. (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009, p. 13)

Translation too is a cultural practice, and studies focusing on Cultural translation (Pym, 2010) have demonstrated the importance of translation not only as a linguistic practice, but also as a social practice, focusing on the translator in his/her intermediary position, i.e. as a gatekeeper, negotiating and redefining meaning (Buden, Nowotny, Simon, Bery, & Cronin, 2009).

This overview is by no means a complete review of the literature of JS, nevertheless it sets some interesting links to other disciplines and methodologies in the humanities, such as DA and TS. Despite these links and despite journalism being an international (and globalised) cultural practice shaped through and enabled by language(s), issues of translation, journalists' multilingual skills, as well as multilingualism of broadcasting news, have rarely been accounted for in JS.

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[7] Examples of virtual communities and blogs dealing with translation are.: Reddit: the front page of the internet. Retrieved December 12, 2017, from http://www.reddit.com/; The translation industry and becoming a translator. Retrieved December 12, 2017, from http://www.thoughtsontranslation.com/; Facebook groups ("Things Translators Never Say").

1.3.3 Relevant theories for a translational perspective on international news

Continuing this comparison between journalism and translation as meaning making and informative cultural practices, in this subsection I will briefly touch on some important issues brought up by JS that bear relevance to the field of news translation. In particular I will focus on how news items are structured and routinized, and on the theories of agenda setting and news values.

The news is produced by structured and multi-layered organization, whose motivations are mostly economic. Research in JS has shown how newsrooms rely on routinized news making patterns in order to be more cost and time-effective, thus remarking "[t]he identification of these routines has contributed to a major theoretical argument in the literature, namely that news should be viewed as constructed social reality rather than a mirror image of events that have taken place" (Becker & Vlad, 2009, p. 59).

News routines are defined by Shoemaker and Reese as "patterned, routinized, repeated practices and forms that media workers use to do their job" (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 105). The reason why journalists and editors need these routinized practices is that, being faced every day with a virtually infinite amount of raw information that could potentially be considered news, they need boundaries and/or hierarchies that allow them to select what is going to be news, and essentially perform their gatekeeping function. In turn, routines are also determined by external constraints such as space, time, technology, and profit (Becker & Vlad, 2009; Reese, 2001). Shoemaker and Reese conclude that "the job of these routines is to deliver, within time and space limitation, the most acceptable product to the consumer in the most efficient manner" (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, pp. 108–109). If routinized patterns are an integral part of news making activities, then these rules should also apply to international news

and therefore could help locate translational intervention in the newsroom and in the process of news making, packaging and delivery.

Journalists then routinize their work in order to face the constraints and limitations imposed by the way media organisations act on the globalised news market (cf. Hamilton, 2010). However, the routinisation of journalistic activities also implies the routinisation of their sources, thus journalists establish a long-term relationship with their sources. Berkowitz sees this as "a delicately negotiated relationship, with each party hoping to achieve their goals and maintain their organisational societal status" (Berkowitz, 2009, p. 103). It is evident how power struggles may intervene and interfere in this negotiating process, which in turn inevitably influences the news outlet (Berkowitz, 2009, p. 106). These dynamics of power between journalists and their sources have been observed also by Murrell when she describes the role of *fixers* (intermediaries for foreign correspondents) in foreign news reporting (Murrell, 2009).

Depending on the power (im)balances during the time of this dynamic negotiating process between journalists and source, the outcome could either reinforce dominant and mainstream ideologies or, albeit not frequently, portray and legitimise alternative ones. This brings issues of representation in the news to the fore and ultimately points out who is given a voice in the media: "[n]ot all sources are equal in their relationships with reporters, with women and minorities tending to have the weaker position whether as journalist or a source" (Berkowitz, 2009, p. 111). In this context, the issue of multilingualism and translation could be considered either as an empowerment for minorities, giving them a voice, or as a means of excluding them.

So far, our focus has been on theories about organisational and structural aspects of the news, but there are also content aspects that are relevant to this study. In particular, among the so-called content theories of the news, those describing *agenda setting* and *news values* are the

most useful for this study. *Agenda setting* and *news values* theories are both closely related with the above mentioned journalistic routines.

Agenda setting as a theory describes the way mass media prioritize certain topics or issues over others, influencing the audience into perceiving "those issues as more important than others" (Coleman et al., 2009, p. 147). Scholars in this field recognise two levels of the agenda setting: the first level considers how much space the media devote to a specific topic, whereas the second level considers how that topic is discussed and analysed. What is relevant here is that in the case of "second level agenda setting" the focus is primarily on

> […] the attributes or characteristics that describe issues, people or other topics in the news and the tone of those attributes. The general effect is the same: the attributes and tone that the media use in their descriptions are the attributes and tone foremost in the public mind. (Coleman et al., 2009, p. 149)

Even if agenda setting is designed by mass media to influence audiences, it cannot be successful if the topics and issues presented as prominent are not accepted by the audience, who has to comply and meld with the agenda. In order to be successful in setting their agenda,0 mass media resort to techniques that essentially play on psychological concepts such as "need for orientation", i.e. people's habit to turn to the media when trying to understand new situations and/or environments (Coleman et al., 2009, p. 152), and "obtrusive issues", i.e. familiar issues which are not very likely to be high in the mass media agenda-setting opposed to "unobtrusive issues" which are "most likely to become important to people if they are high on the media's agenda" (Coleman et al., 2009, p. 153). The combination of uncertainty and relevance clearly enhances audiences' need for information and mass media can set their agenda in a more effective way. Conversely, if relevance and uncertainty about a topic are low, then media agenda-setting effects tend to be weak (Coleman et al., 2009).

Alongside agenda-setting issues, JS' scholars have described and theorised *news values* for two main reasons: first to answer the question "what is news?" and secondly to provide a

set of values, that could both guide and justify news selection, thus making that of *news values* a relevant field of inquiry within JS (O'Neill & Harcup, 2009, p. 163). Often described as a "slippery concept" (O'Neill & Harcup, 2009, p. 162), *news values* can shed light and partially explain what is included in and what is excluded from in the news, for this reason, within the tradition of Media and JS, they have been put into lists and taxonomies following a bottom-up approach (Bednarek & Caple, 2014; Clark, 2007).

There are many taxonomies of *news values*, the first and maybe most influential was suggested by Galtung and Ruge in 1965, who listed 12 main and interrelating news-selection criteria: frequency, threshold, unambiguity, meaningfulness, consonance, unexpectedness, continuity, composition, reference to elite nations or people, reference to people and to something negative (Galtung & Holmboe Ruge, 1965, p. 70). More recent taxonomies (O'Neill & Harcup, 2009) put emphasis on the recent issues of media convergence and media meta-discourse, and on the power of the market in the news selection process, meaning that "news must be selected and packaged in a format that is audience-oriented and commercial by being entertaining and reflecting popular tastes" (O'Neill & Harcup, 2009, p. 166).

It is important to keep in mind that these lists and taxonomies "must remain open to inquiry rather than be seen as closed set of values for journalism in all times and places" (Zelizer, 2004, p. 55). News values are neither universal nor fixed in time, but are on the contrary liable to changes either diachronically or synchronically.

Especially relevant for news translation is the synchronic dimension of news values. When international news breaks, the relevant news values may change according to the places in which that particular event is reported, which, in actual fact, is an aspect of localization. The same event may be relevant for different reasons in different places, journalists/translators, when selecting a particular news event, must then have clear in their

minds why they are doing that and which aspects to prioritize and which to ignore or downplay.

News selection criteria and agenda-setting issues are not only relevant to news translation and hence TS, but also to other fields of studies such as CDA. Moreover, I would like to stress once again how international news and mass media are strongly influenced and shaped by two main and closely intertwined forces, the market and technology. The interplay between the latter forces cannot be ignored in the context of news translation, and this feature of news translation makes it very similar to translation within the advertising industry, with the difference that marketizing is something desirable and aimed at within advertising and the same cannot be said about the news (Caimotto, 2007, p. 26).

2. Towards a theoretical framework:

mixed approaches for researching multilingual audio-visual

journalism

2.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the description of a suitable theoretical framework which will serve as a backbone to the analysis and interpretation of the results inferred both from the corpus and from the contextual and comparative analysis of the texts in Chapter 6.

In order to build such a framework, I will first briefly review the already existing connections among the three fields of study under consideration and then establish a methodological convergence of TS, DA and CL, the latter bearing particular relevance to this study.

However, before doing this, I would like to explain the reason behind the choice of the term *convergence*. The term *convergence* has already been used throughout Chapter 1 with reference to the mass media setting. In that context, convergence is indeed an observable phenomenon that establishes network-like relationships not only among mass media, but also among social media, institutions and audiences.

Convergence is a useful concept from a methodological perspective, first because it clearly establishes an intertextual connection linking this study's methodology to what is happening in the mass media. Second, as a metaphor, it describes how all the methodological inputs that are used and exploited in this study converge, *tout court*, in an organic framework that allows us to have multiple perspectives on news texts, on their contexts (national and international) and languages (Italian and English), and on the discourses and narratives they

envisage, promote and finally broadcast, which ultimately is the objective of study of this thesis (s. Introduction). In this sense, the term *convergence* includes the concept of methodological synergy (P. Baker et al., 2008), and expands on it, in that the contributions by different research fields all point to and actively bestow on the understanding of multilingual news discourse and of the meaning-making activity of translation in this context (s. Introduction).

2.2 Combined approaches

In this section we will consider (C)DA as the common denominator, the linking thread between the methodological and theoretical inputs of TS and CL.

DA is an extremely interdisciplinary field of studies that can employ a wide variety of methods and resources, and, as such, it brings together very different disciplines from a range of academic fields. To the question "What is Discourse Analysis?" in *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, Schiffrin et al. provide the following answer:

> Discourse analysis is a rapidly growing and evolving field. Current research in this field now flows from numerous academic disciplines that are very different from one another. Included, of course, are the disciplines in which models for understanding, and methods for analyzing, discourse first developed, such as linguistics, anthropology, and philosophy. But also included are disciplines that have applied – and thus often extended – such models and methods to problems within their own academic domains, such as communication, cognitive psychology, social psychology, and artificial intelligence. (Schiffrin, Tannen, & Hamilton, 2001, p. 1)

By being so all-embracing, DA offers researchers great flexibility and freedom in analysing the discourses they are interested in, as they can avail themselves of the tools that they deem appropriate and fit to the task.

Of course, the kind of analysis that is carried out, mainly depends on the definition of discourse that one has in mind. In line with the plurivocity of contributions to DA as a field of study, the very definition of *discourse* is varied and strongly influenced by the researcher's

academic upbringing. For this reason, P. Baker (P. Baker, 2006, p. 3) describes discourse as being a "problematic term, as it is used in social and linguistic research in a number of interrelated yet different ways". In 1.3.2, *discourse* has been defined, following Foucault, as "practices that systematically form the object of which they speak" (Foucault, 1972, p. 49). Being mindful and aware of other perfectly acceptable and valid definitions of *discourse*, for the purposes of this study this one seems to be the most appropriate and thus it will be explored, expanded, and dynamically drawn upon in order to describe and understand the *discourses* that multilingual journalism singles out.

What is particularly relevant is that language(s) plays a pivotal role in constructing discourse(s), as P. Baker points out:

> [O]ne way that discourses are constructed is via language. Language (both as an abstract system: phonetics, grammar, lexicon etc. and as a context-based system of communication) is not the same as discourse, but we can carry out analysis of language in texts in order to uncover traces of discourses. (P. Baker, 2006, p. 5)

Language and discourse(s) are closely intertwined, and both of them are deeply rooted and criss-crossed in society as a whole. In this way, discourses create representations of realities and of self, categorizing and interpreting social situations on a daily basis, not exclusively through verbal language, but also, and at times more powerfully, through the interplay of the latter, of images and of other forms of nonverbal language.

Before reviewing and suggesting how DA can beneficially contribute to both CL and TS and how, it will be employed in the course of this study, it would be useful to briefly dwell on the methodological framework of CDA, which will be often drawn upon as it bears particular relevance to the analysis of news and political discourses.

> [CDA] is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to

understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality. (Van Dijk, 2001, p. 352)

CDA then embodies a critical theory of language, in particular it sees language as being a form of social practice (Fairclough, 1989, p. 17), through which social and power relationships are enacted. In CDA research the main questions that usually drive the analyst's interest are linked to issues of access, control and maintenance of (social) power through language and thus through discourse(s).

With reference to mass media, Fairclough suggests a list of eight "desiderata for a critical analysis of media discourse". Particularly relevant to the purposes of this study are number five and eight, which state:

> 5. Text analysis should include both linguistic analysis and intertextual analysis in terms of genres and discourses. It should be recognized that texts are commonly hybrid intertextually with mixtures of genres and discourses, and that such hybridity is manifest in heterogeneous linguistic features. […]
> 8. The relationship between texts and society/culture is to be seen as dialectically. Texts are socio-culturally shaped, but they also constitute society and culture, in ways which may be transformative as well as reproductive. (Fairclough, 1995, p. 34)

Being mindful of the power and social relationships that characterise and regulate mass media is of crucial importance to CDA, in that the role of the mass media as mediators between "public and private domains" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 36) of society puts them in a powerful position under many points of view. Moreover, the different dimensions of communication and social practices brought about by mass media inevitably influence the delivery of the messages, the medium and the receivers of the messages, shaping and constructing discourses that create multi-layered patterns of meanings and relationships, which the analyst should then uncover and try to expose, fulfilling thus the social-active and dissident function claimed by van Dijk (Van Dijk, 2001, p. 352).

2.2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics: synergies and separation

In order to describe the interplay and the mutual benefits of using corpora in CDA research, the first thing to do is to illustrate what corpora and CL are.

CL is concerned with the study of language through the use of corpora. McEnery and Hardie explain effectively what using CL as a methodology means,

> Just as observation of the universe through astronomy can help to prove the hypotheses of physicists such as Einstein, so observation of language through corpora can help linguists to understand language […]. Corpora allow us to *observe* language, but they are not language itself. (McEnery & Hardie, 2012, p. 26)

Thus, when observing language through corpora, analysts should always be aware of the fact that one single corpus can be representative of a language or language variety, but cannot, by any means, embody that language or language variety.

To answer to the question what is a corpus, Hunston replies: "[a] corpus is an electronically stored collection of samples of naturally occurring language" (Hunston, 2006, p. 234). To this short, yet thorough definition we might add, following Leech, that corpora "are generally assembled with particular purposes in mind, and often assembled to be (informally speaking) *representative* of some language or text type" (Leech, 1992, p. 116). Corpora are then large, representative sets of instances of naturally occurring language that are stored on a computer. This means that, being accessed and analysed through computers, they can carry out "complex calculations [...] on large amount of texts, revealing linguistic patterns and frequency information" (P. Baker, 2006, p. 2).

The adjective *representative* is important, since if a corpus is representative of the variety or language it intends to portray, then the findings based on the analysis of that corpus

will hold true for that specific language (languages in the case of multilingual corpora) or variety (Halverson, 1998; McEnery, Xiao, & Tono, 2006).

What is also relevant about Leech's definition of corpora is the idea of them being built around "particular purposes", which reminds us that, although computers play a role of paramount importance in CL, the trigger for building a corpus resides always in human curiosity.

Having established what corpora are, we are left to describe what can be done with corpora, i.e. what *Corpus Linguistics* is. According to McEnery and Wilson, CL is "the study of language based on real life language use" (McEnery & Wilson, 1996, p. 1) through the use of corpora, of course. CL, however, is also "a powerful methodology - a way of using computers to assist the analysis of language so that regularities among many millions of words can be quickly and accurately identified" (P. Baker & McEnery, 2015, p. 2).

These definitions seem to point to a more quantitative rather than qualitative analysis of language, which might lead us to believe that CL indeed is not compatible with CDA methodologies and analyses. If, on the one hand, it is surely true that CL employs quantitative methods to analyse language data, on the other hand, access to contextual information about the texts of a corpus is not only feasible, but also beneficial and desirable in CL research. As P. Baker and McEnery point out,

> [w]hile the earliest stages of a corpus analysis tend to be quantitative, relying on techniques like keywords and collocates in order to give the research a focus, as a research project progresses, the analysis gradually becomes more qualitative and context-led, relying less on computer software. Once quantitative patterns have been identified, they need to be interpreted and this usually involves a second stage of analysis where the software acts as an aid to the researcher by allowing the linguistic data to be quickly surveyed. (P. Baker & McEnery, 2015, p. 2)

In 2.2, I stated that discourses can and in fact are very often built and strengthened via language, thus CDA very often focuses on language and its contextual features (P. Baker, 2006,

64

p. 5). The focus on language and patterns of discourse in language is surely a point of contact between CL and CDA, but the main question in this case would be: why should we build a corpus to investigate a particular discourse type? The reason is that using a corpus to investigate any discourse type reduces biases and avoids the risk of cherry-picking texts and analysis' results (P. Baker, 2006; P. Baker & McEnery, 2015).

On the one hand, CDA scholars often rely on qualitative techniques, focusing on a very small number of relevant texts to test their hypotheses, because it would not be feasible for a single researcher to carry out qualitative analysis on a large collection of texts afferent to the discourse s/he intends to investigate. Alongside this kind of qualitative analysis, CDA researchers carry out comprehensive examination of the socio-political, economic, historical and intertextual context surrounding the texts under investigation. This inevitably shrinks the validity range of the claims which are made through such an analysis and cherry-picking the most suitable texts that somehow corroborate the researcher's initial hypothesis is indeed a lurking risk.

On the other hand, an analysis of language employing mainly or exclusively quantitative techniques, ignoring thus con- and intertextual information, is not complete, nor unbiased, since quantity cannot be the only measure of relevance when analysing patterns of discourse. This is why "[q]ualitative and quantitative techniques need to be combined, not played off against each other" (Hardt-Mautner, 1995, p. 2). P.Baker et al. (2008) refer to the combination of CDA and CL methodologies as a "useful methodological synergy" for investigating discourses, one that presents mutual advantages for both disciplines. First of all, although objectivity is to be regarded more as something to aspire to, rather than an achievable goal, using a corpus to inform DA can help the analysts' to reduce his/her own biases, "starting (hopefully) from a position whereby the data itself has not biases" (P. Baker, 2006, p. 12).

Corpora and, therefore, the use of computers and statistics in data analysis surely help "to unravel how particular discourses, rooted in particular socio-cultural contexts, construct reality, social identities and social relationship" (Hardt-Mautner, 1995, p. 1). This is exactly where CL can contribute to great deal in informing CDA, since discourses, in order to be built and successfully disseminated in society, to be dominant, hegemonic, and influential, need to be repeated and to negotiate their position in their socio-political system. Even when dominant discourses obtain a wide-core acceptance, i.e. when they become rooted in society and do not need to constantly assess their power and presence, they still have to find ways to remain influential. The way in which discourses are maintained is usually by creating repeated patterns in language, showing "evaluative meanings are not merely personal or idiosyncratic, but widely shared in a discourse community" (Stubbs, 2001, p. 215). Therefore, there is an "incremental effect of discourse" (P. Baker, 2006, p. 13) which is achieved through patterns of repetitions, which would be very difficult to demonstrate using qualitative methods of analysis alone.

By the same token, corpora allow the researcher to analyse what is frequent, but also what is not frequent, guiding thus the analysts' focus towards so called "resistant discourses", which in small-scale studies, involving one or few more texts, may be mistaken for hegemonic discourses (P. Baker, 2006, p. 23).

CDA can add to CL the kind of thorough contextual analysis that decontextualized collocations or frequency lists tend to overlook. Moreover, computer software used for corpus analysis easily allows the analyst to step outside the concordance lines and consider the wider context, but it is only with a greater sensitivity to extra-textual information, thus through a qualitative and all-comprehensive analysis, that claims about language and discourse can be made.

Finally, combining methods, a *triangulation* of methods contributes to a great extent to anchoring "findings in more robust interpretations and explanations, and it allows researchers

66

to respond flexibly to unforeseen problems and aspects of their research" (P. Baker, 2006, p. 16).

2.2.2 Mixed approaches to TS: CL and CDA

TS by its own nature is a transversal discipline, one that allows for the inclusion of different methodologies (Kruger, Wallmach, & Munday, 2011; Laviosa, 2002; Munday, 2010), inasmuch as translation itself is an activity that can potentially involve all aspects of human experience.

In our globalised world the amount of translated data is impressive, and growing day by day, since globalisation has brought people from different cultures and linguistic backgrounds closer. Traditionally, the investigation around issues of culture, politics and ideology in translation was limited to literary texts, even though these issues are more likely to have a deeper influence in people's everyday life rather than just be confined to literature, whose access is somewhat limited. As Cronin points out:

> The full significance of non-literary translation in cultures is drastically underestimated. [...] Translation Studies in the non-literary area can appear to be condemned to a purely reactive mode. In other words, instead of realizing that its disciplinary time has come, so to speak, and that it has important things to say about change in the contemporary world, pragmatic translation studies is content, more often than not, simply to register change and tailor translation courses accordingly. (Cronin, 2003, p. 2)

Although Cronin's statement is still partly true, in the last few years TS concerning non-literary texts has been drifting away from pure prescriptivism to favour a more flexible observation of both texts and contexts in order to "draw tentative conclusions about the political, economic and, most of all, social impact that these [translational] practices can have" (Caimotto, 2007, p. 16) on their target audiences.

It is then in this shifting away from both prescriptivism and binary oppositions, that TS has adopted combined and mixed methodological approaches. Mixed approaches in TS adequately cater for the social, economic, cultural and political complexities in which translation, both as a product and as a practice, is embedded. Among others, CDA and CL have proven to be very beneficial to TS, in that they combine respectively the effectiveness of considering language as a social practice embedded in a social context characterised by power struggles and relationships, and the capability of anchoring claims and hypotheses to real-life language instances.

The use of CL methodologies in TS has developed into a fully-fledged sub-discipline, CTS (Corpus-based Translation Studies), which "can be defined as the use of corpus linguistic technologies to inform and elucidate the translation process" (Kruger et al., 2011). Back in 1995, M. Baker suggested a treble typology of translation corpora: "comparable", "parallel" and "multilingual" corpora (M. Baker, 1995, pp. 230–235). This typology refers to corpora that are specifically built and envisaged for research on translated language and translation practices, but they can be surely useful in other related areas of research, such as Second Language Acquisition, Lexicography, Terminology, and translator education (Laviosa, 2002).

Generally, CTS are broadly divided into two fields, practical and theoretical. Practical CTS is closely related to and fostered by development of technologies that can either help professional translators in their tasks (CAT tools, TMs, translation software), or automatize the translation process (MT software). Research in this practical area of CTS is of course continuously developing and improving.

The theoretical field of CTS is more concerned with studying both processes and products of translational activities, but it also takes into account information about translators themselves, in order to understand the role played by translators' own cultural and linguistic background in their translational performances. CTS is another example of synergy, which

some scholars consider to be a "mini-paradigm" for empirical research in TS, following Laviosa,

> The composite research model adopted by corpus studies, together with their varied sources of hypotheses permits progresses from mere description to explanation and from linguistically oriented studies to socio-cultural investigations. (Laviosa, 2002, p. 118)

It is then evident how socio-cultural analysis of translation has to go hand in hand with its purely linguistic investigation, and whereas corpora can really improve linguistic and comparative analysis of translations, they are not designed to provide extensive contextual information, which instead CDA can supply.

Thus, CDA too has been informed by TS and vice versa. As a matter of fact, discourse and critical discourse analytical approaches to translation have been adopted for example by Hatim and Mason (Hatim & Mason, 1990) and Mason (Mason, 1994), demonstrating how ideology, defined as "the set of beliefs and values which inform an individual's or institution's view of the world and assist their interpretation of events, facts, etc." (Mason, 1994, p. 25), influences the translation process and product.

In her later work, M. Baker (M. Baker, 2007, 2010, 2013) draws upon CDA, narrative theory and the notion of framing to "explore various ways in which translators and interpreters accentuate, undermine or modify contested aspects of the narrative(s) encoded in the source text or utterance" (M. Baker, 2007, p. 151). M. Baker's narrative theory has proven to be indeed very useful and effective especially in combination with Fairclough's notion of "internal and external relations" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 36) in the analysis of international journalism and its multi-layered connections with translation (Federici, 2011). In this context translation could be "seen as a screen for journalistic editing", as Federici explains,

> When the complexity of relations between texts, meaning, and interpretation are considered, the process of meaning-making can become exponentially

complex in translation when two ideological systems meet or clash. In translation, the representation of the world, according to what Fairclough calls **social structure**, becomes a mediation between two social structures, that of the SL and that of the TL, each one carrying an ideological thrust. In the case of newspapers, a translation is then mediated once more.
(Federici, 2011, p. 1404) (emphasis in the original)

In a different, yet closely related context, Schäffner analysed political discourse, starting from the assumption that "translation is a very regular phenomenon for practically all types of political discourses" (Schäffner, 2004, p. 119) and explaining how

[...] translation is in fact part of the development of discourse, and a bridge between various discourses. [...] [P]olitical discourse analysis relates linguistic behaviour to political behaviour. The linguistic behaviour may well reflect evidence of mediated behaviour, i.e., mediated by translation. (Schäffner, 2004, p. 120)

The same can be said for other types of discourses because of the very intertextual nature of discourses themselves (Fairclough, 2009; Van Dijk, 1995, 1998), which are dependent upon society, politics, economy and history, but, at the same time, they need to manipulate the latter and to find confirmation in each other in order to realise and emerge as discourses themselves. Moreover, the awareness that discourses and ideologies are created, established and consolidated via language has brought about a renewed interest in translations and translators as gatekeepers, acknowledging them to be in a very powerful position.

From the point of view of DA and CDA, disciplines investigating the broad area of language(s) are of paramount importance, since language is and will always be one of the (main) means through which discourses are realized:

The CDA representatives agree to a large extent that complex interrelations between discourse and society cannot be analysed adequately unless linguistic and sociological approaches are combined. (Weiss & Wodak, 2003, p. 7)

This interdisciplinarity and interplay between different fields of studies is the methodological starting point of this thesis, whose results will be considered under the joint

light of the different methodological tools presented in this chapter. In the next section, I focus on how this convergence of methods can help us investigate and tackle the discourse of translation and multilingualism in audio-visual journalism and on the challenges of this kind of approach.

2.3 Multilingual perspectives in international audio-visual journalism: complex media, mixed approaches

In the previous sections I tried to demonstrate how the three fields of studies that constitute the methodological base of this dissertation are mutually beneficial to each other, focusing mainly on how CDA functions as the backbone or main point of convergence. However, it has not been explained how this virtuous circle of knowledge, this positive interaction between different methodological contributions will be achieved, in a word how the results will be "operationalised" and framed among the different disciplines. To this end, let us consider this statement made by Chouliaraki and Fairclough,

> The theoretical constructions of discourse which CDA tries to operationalise can come from various disciplines, and the concept of 'operationalisation' entails working in a transdisciplinary way where the logic of one discipline (for example, sociology) can be 'put to work' in the development of another (for example, linguistics). (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 17)

This is what mixed methodological approaches are all about, i.e. "putting to work" the underlying rationale of a discipline, which in our case would be CDA, in order to inform, integrate, complete and substantiate claims and results in other disciplines or theoretical frameworks, here TS and CL, and vice versa.

Keeping this kind of flexibility is the main concern here, precisely because of the textual genre under investigation. In news and even more in audio-visual news translation, carrying out a comparative analysis of a ST and a TT is almost never feasible. In order to

analyse how translation is carried out and which translational processes underlie the production of a news text, the analyst has to step out of the texts (or corpus) and consider other non-linguistic or non-verbal features, which are especially important in research about audio-visual media. This is the where a CDA-oriented approach comes into use, allowing the researcher to evaluate and ascertain the multiplicity of complexities that characterise translation in contexts where there is a blurring between the boundaries of ST and TT (Federici, 2011; Van Doorslaer, 2010a). In particular Van Dijk's claim that discourse is "a complex communicative event" that represents "a social context, featuring participants (and their properties) as well as production and reaction process" (Van Dijk, 1998, p. 2) has brought Marchi and Venuti to observe how,

> This holistic approach to discourse particularly suits television news, where the complexity of communication models, the ambiguity of language, the specific practices of newsmaking and "the underpinning processes of professionalization which turn men and women into television journalists" (The Glasgow Media Group, 1976: 346), constantly interact with the complexity of the codes the medium works with.
> (Marchi & Venuti, 2009, pp. 33–34)

As I will show in the next two sections, there could be some drawbacks or challenges in using this kind of "methodology-mix" or "holistic approach", and criticism could come transversally from each one of the involved fields of studies. However, analyses carried out with similar synergetic approaches have great potential and are able to deconstruct the multiple layers of complexities which are common features of all discourses and are particularly powerful and relevant in journalistic genres.

2.3.1 Integrating a corpus-based approach to audio-visual multilingual journalism with Critical Discourse Analysis

I would like to consider two assumptions here: the first is that "both translators and interpreters operate in contexts which are shaped by social aims and ideologies" (Schäffner, 2004, p. 122). The second assumption concerns the role of mass media in today's globalised world. Mass media, as a matter of fact, facilitate and basically enable the circulation of information across languages, cultures and countries, but it would be naïve to think that they do so following "fair-play" rules, so to speak. Mass media "can privilege specific information, and they can also hinder and prohibit information from being circulated" (Schäffner & Bassnett, 2010, p. 8). These two points are very important for the purposes of this study, since they cater both for a valid justification for the employment of a mixed methodology and for a good reason to go beyond the text and look not only at what is in the corpus, but also at the context of the texts in the corpus.

The corpus or rather the group of corpora that were built during the course of this study are, following M. Baker (M. Baker, 1995, 1996) and McEnery et al.'s (McEnery et al., 2006) categorisations, specialised comparable corpora, in that they focus on a specific text genre (audio-visual news) in two different languages (Italian and English), embedded in three different socio-political and economic contexts, which are Italy, the UK and the supranational political entity of the European Community, in two short periods of time. Details about how the corpus was built, about its data and the data retrieval methods, as well as about its tagging scheme will be explained and thoroughly presented in Chapter 5.

Following McEnery and Wilson's (McEnery & Wilson, 2011) claim that corpus-driven and corpus-based approaches do not exclude each other, but rather are complementary (s. also McEnery et al., 2006), the role of the corpus within the *convergence* framework is both of

providing the starting point for the analysis (*corpus-driven*) and of substantiating and/or reject hypotheses made *a priori* by the analyst (*corpus-based*). The insights, which this corpus is able to provide in a CDA-oriented framework of analysis of broadcast news and of translational features in this medium, are obtained mainly through the exploration of *frequency data*, *concordance lines*, *keywords*, and *collocation patterns*, which will be examined in Chapter 6. *Concordance lines* and *collocations* are considered to be particularly useful for uncovering discourses. Moreover, in a cross-linguistic perspective, they provide a good starting point for analysis alongside the exploration of normalised frequencies. With a corpus like AVNews, concordance lines are quite manageable in numbers, thus the analyst is encouraged to qualitatively analyse them, while collocations and keywords may be a statistically-relevant starting point for more detailed and fine-grained corpus-based analyses (s. McEnery & Hardie, 2012; McEnery & Wilson, 2011).

Corpus evidence will be compared across the three sub-corpora and also against other larger general and specialised corpora, such as the (Italian and English versions of) TenTen family corpora (Jakubíček, Kilgarriff, Kovář, Rychlý, & Suchomel, 2013), and the CorDis and SiBol/Port corpora.[8] The results will be then contextualised in a wider frame, which will allow for a more qualitative, textual and contextual analysis. The latter, in a virtuous circle, could bring about other aspects (regarding the language, but also the audio and visual features of the texts), which would point the analyst's attention back to the corpus in order to test hypotheses and intuitions deriving from this qualitative approach.

The translational features of these texts will be studied through a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches. The corpus, thanks to its POS tagging and its

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[8] CorDis, | Corpus Linguistics SiBol. Retrieved 5 December 2017, from http://www.lilec.it/clb/?page_id=103 ,; The SiBol/Port Corpus Linguistics Project | Corpus Linguistics SiBol. Retrieved 5 December 2017, from http://www.lilec.it/clb/?page_id=8

annotation according to news' topics, will allow us to pragmatically locate segments of text or entire reports, in which translation has intervened (interviews, voiceovers, reported speeches etc.). It will be then possible to observe whether there exist makers or expressions that identify or characterise translational intervention. From this pragmatic observation, it will be possible to infer which are the STs and about how translation is framed in the (source and target) communicative contexts. Finally, other contextual information is obtained by reading other related sources (newspaper articles, official/institutional press releases etc.) and through informal conversations with professionals, involving both translators and journalists working in and with the news-making industry (such as *BBC*, *RAI* and *SBS*).

2.3.2 Challenges in multidisciplinary research approaches

Inter- and multidisciplinary approaches come with many challenges. One of them surely derives from the insecurity of venturing into unknown academic fields, but, on the bright side, curiosity pushes us, making us feel less uneasy and more eager to learn.

Building an audio-visual corpus from scratch is also an insidious path, but it is mostly a lengthy one. Transcribing and correcting audio-visual texts is a very time-consuming activity, which explains the small dimension of the AVNews Corpus.

As a matter of fact, a rough transcription (without any kind of tagging and probably many typos) of one minute of broadcasting would on average take from 7 to 10 minutes. To this time, one has to add the time spent on deciding and defining the transcription and annotation schemes for the corpus. As described in Chapter 5, the AVNews Corpus comprises audio-visual material recorded on a four-days schedule, over four weeks. Surely, if a team of researchers and compilers built a similar corpus (cf. Haarman & Lombardo, 2009), making it a joint venture, the size of the corpus would increase significantly.

75

Another issue, related to the previous one, concerns the newness of the corpus itself. The news is updated at such a fast pace, that keeping-up with it is not humanly possible. Hence, we are well aware that once the data are ready to be put in the corpus, they are already outdated. However, the good news is that there is a fair chance that discourses and translation practices that those data embody and represent are still up to date and current. Indeed, even if the news market gets saturated very quickly (Tsai, 2012) and therefore always needs new events and stories for its audience, the ways those stories are retrieved, selected, framed and reported are likely to remain stable for longer periods of time.

As far as TS are concerned, the main difficulty lies in recognising actual translation in the news, as it is a slippery, fuzzy concept, that implies the use of a different kind of images and expectations according to the role of the subject (Schäffner, 2004, p. 64). Therefore, this news translation is "at the same time a service, a product, an occupation and a skill" (Schäffner, 2004, p. 64).

However, the greatest advantage of employing mixed methods lies in the fact that the shortcomings from this or that field can be made up for by the interplay of different methods. In the case of this study, since translations are not easily detectable, it is possible to investigate the issues that multilingualism in the news poses through CDA, or, combine CDA and CL to try to pinpoint translational interventions, as we shall see in 6.2.

Moreover, two important points have to be made. Firstly, throughout this thesis I will be referring to "journalists", meaning both journalists in a narrow sense, but also translators and, in general, all the other professional figures involved in the communicative core of the news, thus in texts' production and delivery. This term, however, will not include the professionals who actually allow audio-visual texts to be delivered, i.e. broadcast technicians, cameramen, etc. will not be considered in this study.

Secondly, although the AVNews Corpus is the main evidence-providing tool informing the study of audio-visual news, I will take some sort of detour and distance myself from the corpus and also from audio-visual texts, in order to consider some peculiarities and outstanding exceptions in news translation, taking into consideration written news in the form of community newspapers, and citizen journalism. Unlike traditional news media, where translational practices are often concealed and buried under the broad tag of *gatekeeping*, which presents different and layered activities such as editing and translating, in these two contexts translation is or could potentially be transparent.

Especially in the case of citizen journalism, users have complete access to STs, constituting a notable exception in the field of news translation. This would open up to the possibility of investigating differences and trends in news (translated) language and how it differs and/or resembles the language engaged by more traditional news actors. As concerns community newspapers, they pose interesting issues regarding the language, the context and the space of the news production, as case study 3 will point out (6.3.1).

In conclusion, the theoretical and methodological *convergence* presented in this chapter displays one way, out of many other possible ways, in which research into multilingual broadcasting journalism can be conducted. Inter- and multidisciplinarity do not always entail multi-methodologies, but they encourage them, since it is unlikely that different, albeit closely related, fields of studies would all employ the same single methodology. From the point of view of this study and its aims, this multi-methodological approach gives analysts the liberty of moving across disciplines and ultimately look for (partial and tentative) answers to their research questions addressing the complex ties binding journalism and translation. The *convergence* framework then responds to a need and a demand for more flexibility within this field of research, which is, by its own nature, interdisciplinary.

77

I have also shown how apparently contrasting methods, such as CL with its quantitative nature and CDA with its more qualitative one, could be reconciled and mutually beneficial.

Finally, I have described how crisscrossed theoretical and methodological approaches can create virtuous circles of knowledge and research, thus setting the foundation of this study's methodological framework, as Laviosa puts it:

> Theory, description, methodology and applications interact with one another on an equal basis, […] giving rise to a sort of serendipity process of discovery which continually throws up new data which, in turn, lead to new hypotheses. (Laviosa, 2002, p. 118)

This serendipitous way of researching is then only doable by means of converging theories and methodologies, shaping knowledge through different case studies and framing results in a flexible yet valid manner.

Part One: Conclusions

I. Theories and Methodologies for investigating multilingual journalism

Part One laid the theoretical and methodological foundations of the present study. In particular, it explored the existing connections between the literature on news translation and multilingual journalism and the methodological approaches that can be exploited in the investigation of such areas. More importantly, it showed how synergies between different fields of study and methodologies brought meaningful results in the analysis of media discourses, eventually arguing that harnessing such synergies and leading them to converge can bear fruitful outcomes within the field of news translation and multilingual journalistic discourse. Therefore, the application of convergent methods and theories for the analysis of such areas has taken the name of *convergence* framework.

Part Two: International Journalism, Sources and Perspectives

I. Introduction

The following two chapters provide an overview of the sources informing the case studies that will be presented in Part Three. Like the other parts of this thesis, it is also divided into two chapters. Chapter 3 is about news outlets in inherently monolingual contexts, such as Italy and the UK. In these contexts, news is presented under a monolingual (and mainstream) perspective within the country's national borders. Chapter 4 focuses on multicultural and/or multilingual news outlets, such those found in Australia and Europe. The distinction between monolingual and multilingual settings is effective for the purposes of this study, in which the distinguishing factor is language and the aim is contrasting monolingual news providers with multilingual news ones and mainstream with alternative ones.

Both chapters support the claim that relying on multiple sources of information is important when researching multilingual journalism. Indeed, the very essence of *convergence* as a methodological metaphor resides in considering multiple sources of information, either inside or outside a corpus of news texts. By including multiple perspectives on journalism in different contexts offered by interviewing journalists, editors and translators working in these contexts, we can actively engage with ethnography and DA as methodologies and allow insights from the latter inform the interpretation of the results from the corpus or the comparative analysis of news texts.

Part Two also includes three subsections (3.2.1, 3.3.1, 4.2.1.1) about a number of informal conversations with professionals working at three of the four broadcasting channels considered in this study. I met with these editors and interpreters either in person (*BBC* and *SBS*) or via Skype or email. When addressing each of these people, I will use feminine pronouns as inclusive of the masculine. In addition, their names will not be disclosed for

privacy reasons and I will refer to them by using acronyms, summarizing their professional

positions.

3. Monolingual and monocultural news outlets: two national perspectives on the news

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will focus on the three of the four channels that were used to compile the AVNews Corpus discussed in Chapter 5. The aim of this discussion is to explain the reasons that have driven my choice with reference to these news outlets as well as to present these sources in order to frame them in their respective socio-cultural contexts.

This chapter is divided into two main sections, one about the Italian national context and the other about the UK national context. The news outlets considered here are (supposed to be) representative of a certain nationality and therefore address a certain audience, who identifies with that precise nationality in an inherently and almost exclusively monolingual media setting. Given that national and international news do coexist within the same news provider, shifting and moving fluidly beyond national borders, a distinction based on the context and the language of news production seems sensible.

When comparing national journalistic discourses, one should bear in mind the differences between north and south European media systems and their relationship with politics and institutions. Even though Anglo-American journalistic conventions and values are widely accepted and recognised by media conglomerates and journalists all over the world (Mancini, 2000), the actual practice of journalism varies according to historical and social reasons, the explanation of which goes beyond the purposes of this study. However, one of the aims of this study is to provide a framework of reference in order to fully understand and interpret the data analysed in the case studies in Part Three. Thus, I will briefly summarise the main differences between south and north European journalism as sketched by Hallin and

Papathanassopoulos (2002) in their work on political clientelism and media in South Europe and South America. These scholars' study on three South American (Mexico, Colombia, Brazil) and four South European (Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece) countries identifies five fundamental traits that characterise their media systems:

1. Low levels of newspaper circulation;
2. Tradition of advocacy reporting;
3. Instrumentalisation of privately owned media;
4. Politicisation of public broadcasting and broadcast regulation;
5. Limited development of journalism as an autonomous profession.
   (Hallin & Papathanassopoulos, 2002, pp. 3–9)

Observing this list, one could argue that some of these features could also apply to media systems of northern European countries. Moreover, these features are not set in stone but probably shifting along a continuum, as media systems are fluid entities constantly evolving and shaping themselves according to market needs. Therefore, it would be sensible to consider these traits as the ends of continuums against which a number of European and extra-European media systems can be compared and assessed.

While focusing on public broadcast services in the two national contexts described above, I will also mention their online presence, which nowadays plays a fundamental role in keeping public service networks afloat, as Phillips and Lindgren, quoting Debrett (Debrett, 2009), note,

> the advent of digital television and Web 2.0 has given new life to public broadcasters, with an expanded range of opportunities to deliver against public service briefs as they morph from simple broadcasters to 'media content companies' (Debrett, 2009: 821).
> (Phillips et al., 2013, p. 21)

As pointed out, all the networks representing national monolingual perspectives on the news are public services. As public services, they share a fundamental trait, that is their aim is to build and strengthen a sense of national identity through the media (Conway, 2011). This is indeed their ultimate goal, but the paths taken to achieve this goal may be different. Although I

will not deal with these paths, I will try to keep them in mind, as they deeply characterise and influence the current style of the networks.

The reasons for choosing *RAI*[9] channels instead of other Italian news providers are multiple. First of all, *RAI* is a public broadcaster and shares similarities with other European public broadcasters, notably the *BBC*.[10] In order to be able to compare two different national broadcast systems, it seemed sensible to use the two countries' flagship networks. Although they do not share the same history, their general intent as well as their function were and are very similar.

Second, commercial television channels all have very different histories and purposes, though they share some traits too. A good alternative to the pairing *RAI-BBC* might have been Sky UK and Sky Italia. These private broadcasters are both owned by the BSkyB group (British Sky Broadcasting), and Sky Italia S.r.l. is the editor of the satellite television Sky Italia. Sky Italia has its own rolling news channel, *SkyTg24*, and its British counterpart is *Sky News*. Being privately owned satellite networks, they are both available upon subscription, which automatically makes their reach to the audience somewhat restricted.

Third, the Italian commercial television alternatives to *RAI* are the channels owned by the *Mediaset* group, and *La7*. The general-purpose channel closer to *Rai Uno* (and thus the BBC) would have probably been *Canale 5*, but there are several reasons why I did not want to include *Mediaset* newscasts. Its corporate history is both peculiar and controversial, and I could not find a corresponding example in the UK, thus establishing a line of comparison between *Mediaset* and the BBC seemed farfetched. Moreover, *Canale 5* newscasts were thoroughly

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[9] Information about *RAI*'s corporate history can be retrieved from http://www.rai.it/dl/rai/text/ContentItem-9e40fc26-6bca-4fc7-a682-50d48a0f19e0.html.

[10] Information about the *BBC*'s corporate history can be retrieved from Conboy, 2004 and from http://www.bbc.co.uk/aboutthebbc/insidethebbc/.

analysed and studied in another comparative study, focusing on stance and evaluation in war news (Haarman & Lombardo, 2009).

The last reason for choosing *RAI* lies in its channels' wide availability. As I will show, *RAI*'s broadcast channels are publicly available on a number of outlets, and this facilitated the recording process.

With reference to the UK, the private alternative to the *BBC* would have been *ITV* Network Ltd., the first broadcast company to break the *BBC*'s monopoly on television and radio back in 1955. *ITV* provides its audience with a valuable news service; however, its reach is not as wide as the *BBC*'s and its history is not reflected by any Italian broadcast group. In terms of purposes and mission, *ITV*'s Italian counterpart would have been *La7*, which is a television channel currently owned by Cairo Publishing Group. While drawing a line of comparison between *LA7* and *ITV* with reference to their mission is possible (especially in as far as their news programmes are concerned), we cannot consider them similar in terms of audience data: *ITV* has bigger figures, therefore a wider reach, and is part of a bigger media group.

For these reasons, I believe that using *BBC* and *RAI* is the most straightforward way to compare Italy's and the UK's broadcast journalism and that is why the *BBC* channel chosen to be part of the corpus is *BBC One*.

As a last remark about what has been included and excluded in this study, I would like to quote Conway, who interrogates himself about data gathering: "it would be possible to broaden the scope of the study, but how broad is broad enough? [...] Just as journalists must choose what to include and exclude, so must academics" (Conway, 2011, p. 11). Researchers need to establish boundaries for their researches; therefore, I chose to limit my general focus to public service as far as monolingual perspectives on the news were concerned.

3.2 Italian context: RAI UNO and Rainews24

The Italian perspective on the news is represented in this study by two channels owned by the same network but envisaging two different concepts as far as their programming, audience and communicative aims are concerned. These two channels are *Rai Uno* and *Rainews24* and recordings of their newscasts form the *Rai* sub-corpus, which will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Rai Uno and *Rainews24* are both part of the Italian flagship network *RAI*, an acronym that stands for *Radiotelevisione Italiana*, Italy's public broadcast company. Founded in 1924 as *URI* (*Unione Radiofonica Italiana*), *RAI* is at present the major broadcast company in Italy and is also a founding partner of the European Broadcasting Union (EBU).

Italian journalism and especially *RAI*'s journalism embodies well the typical characteristics of South European countries' media systems. *RAI* is financially supported partly by government funds and partly by license fees charged on every Italian household, company and organisation which pays electricity bills on Italian soil.

At present, the Italian "Ministero dell'Economia e delle Finanze" owns 99.56% of *RAI*'s shares and a parliamentary committee is responsible for choosing *RAI*'s CEO and members of the administration board.[11] Albeit with few exceptions (e.g. *Rai Tre* news shows), *RAI* channels seem to covertly endorse Italian government's stance and point of view on major political issues. This is something that has to be kept in mind when analysing *RAI*'s journalism, even

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[11] 21.5 - I membri del consiglio di amministrazione (nel numero di sette a far data dal primo rinnovo successivo al 3 febbraio 2016 sono così individuati: a) due eletti dalla Camera dei deputati e due eletti dal Senato della Repubblica, con voto limitato a un solo candidato; b) due designati dal Consiglio dei ministri, su proposta del Ministro dell'economia e delle finanze, conformemente ai criteri e alle modalità di nomina dei componenti degli organi di amministrazione delle società controllate direttamente o indirettamente dal Ministero dell'economia e delle finanze; c) uno designato dall'assemblea dei dipendenti della RAI S.p.A., tra i dipendenti dell'azienda titolari di un rapporto di lavoro subordinato da almeno tre anni consecutivi, con modalità che garantiscano la trasparenza e la rappresentatività della designazione stessa. (RAI, 2016, p. 8)

though, as we shall see, "all public broadcasting systems are to some degree subject to political influence" (Hallin & Papathanassopoulos, 2002, p. 6).

Rai Uno was the first *RAI* channel ever broadcast in Italy in 1954 and started off as an educational channel. Its main aim was to foster literacy among the Italian population and boosting the creation and circulation of a common Italian language after World War II. It then developed into a general interest channel, acquiring today's configuration.

The target audience of *Rai Uno* is ideally the entirety of the Italian population, its programming is therefore varied and it provides everything on the continuum between entertainment and information. As far as news is concerned, *Rai Uno* broadcasted its first newscast in 1954 under the name of *Telegiornale*. After a number of re-stylings throughout the years, it is now known as *TG1* and usually features 12 newscasts every day.

From 2010 all *TG1* newscasts are also available on-line on the website www.tg1.rai.it in the archive section, but Italian viewers can also access *RAI* channels via live streaming and limited-time reruns on *RAI*'s general website www.rai.it. *Rai Uno*'s signature newscast is at 8 p.m., and it is claimed to be the most followed by the Italians with an average of almost 5.7 million viewers each night.[12]

TG1 evening newscast is on air from 8 to 8:35 p.m. nightly and follows a specific structure, which features an anchor-man or -woman reading the headlines for approximately one minute and 15 seconds, during which topical images and titles are shown on the screen. After the headlines, the anchor launches each news report by giving a quick contextualisation or summary and presenting the journalist(s) who prepared the report(s).

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[12] (2015, July 31). Focus Ascolti dei Telegiornali: Vince il Tg1 in crescita rispetto allo scorso anno. Retrieved December 09, 2017, from http://www.tvblog.it/post/1164557/focus-ascolti-dei-telegiornali-vince-il-tg1-in-crescita-rispetto-allo-scorso-anno

As in any other newscast on a general interest channel, priority at *TG1* is given to the most pressing matters following a hierarchy of news values. Therefore, the first news to be aired are the most relevant and important for the Italian audience. By being aired at the beginning of the newscast, these reports capitalise the viewer's attention on the most important news of the day. The images and the kind of language associated with this relevant news items can be loaded and intend to make an impact on the viewer. Thus, reports about relevant news items are broadcast first, then other reports are transmitted according to a degrading scale of importance. Usually *TG1* ends with viewing recommendations for the audience, inviting them to stay tuned for the next programme on *Rai Uno*, which is usually an entertainment or infotainment programme.

TG1 anchors follow quite a structured script while launching the news, even when engaging in live conversation with reporters. Therefore, the language spoken at *TG1* is quite clear and rarely broken. The only case in which they are not following a pre-written script is when there is breaking-news which call for an interruption of the regular format of the newscast, and therefore anchors improvise their speeches, which of course affects their speech and fluency.

Summing up, the reason for choosing the *Rai Uno* 8 p.m. newscast to inform this research lies in the fact that it represents a long-established tradition of journalism in Italy, it has a well-defined structure and high audiometric scores. *Rai Uno* as a general interest public channel can be considered representative of Italian television in general, and of Italian broadcast journalism in particular.

Rainews24 is the *RAI*-owned rolling news channel. It was launched in 1999 and was the first channel in Italy to provide a 24-hour news broadcast service, inspired by its American *CNN*, and by other rolling news channels from European countries which invested in this service before Italy. If compared to the rest of Europe, though, *Rainews24* presented from the

outset some innovative features as far as the layout and the mode of transmission were concerned. Due to budget restrictions, *Rainews24* authors had to come up with a way of airing more media contents at the same time. For this reason, they designed a multi-screen or multi-frame interface which allowed them to put multiple media items on the screen at once. This layout has been maintained throughout the years and various re-stylings.

In its early years, and specifically until Monica Maggioni[13] became *Rainews24* chief editor (2013-2015), this rolling news channel aired many in-depth analysis programmes focusing on a variety of topics and, of course, several news updates and newscasts. From the "Maggioni-Era" onwards, *Rainews24*'s focus has shifted towards current events and affairs especially regarding Italy, hence devoting less airing space to commentaries and in-depth analyses.

Like *TG1*, *Rainews24* has its own website www.rainews.it. In this case, however, the website has a different function. The *Rainews*' website is set as a complex and fully-fledged news website with written reports, videos, different news sections. A prominent banner contains the link to the *Rainews24* live streaming, as Figure 1 shows.

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[13] From 2016 *Rainews24* has a new chief editor, Antonio Di Bella, who made substantial changes both to the channel layout and contents, adding an interesting online-based news service in English, "Rainews Weekly". However, the audio-visual texts of this study were recorded in 2015, for this reason the Di Bella's administration and what that entails for the channel will not be discussed here.
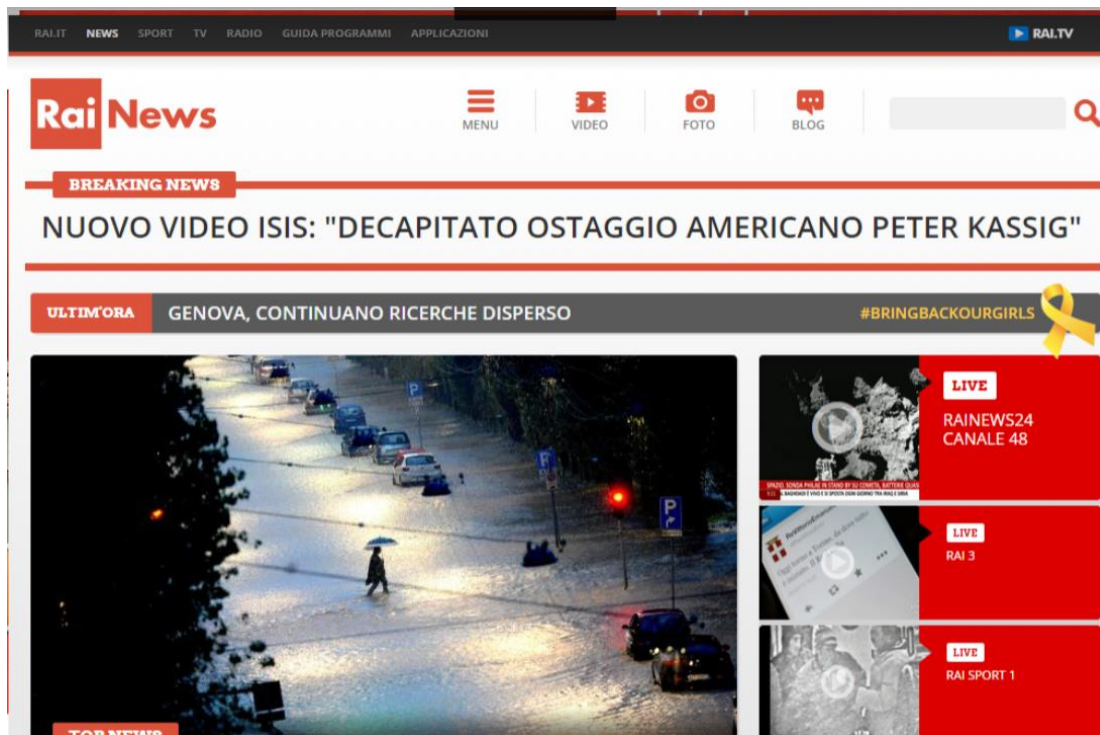
Figure 1. **www.rainews.it** home page screen-shot, 16/11/2014, h. 10:05 am

This means essentially that the website has an independent *raison d'être* and is not subordinated to the channel, but rather contains the channel and expands its reach, as the names given to the website and the channel seem to suggest.

Shifting the focus to *Rainews24*, I will briefly consider its viewing options, daily programming and audiometric figures. As pointed out earlier in this section, *Rainews24* can be accessed via live streaming either from *Rainews* or *RAI* websites, and via digital terrestrial television. In contrast with *TG1*, *Rainews24* does not have a publicly accessible archive and does not provide reruns or on-demand services. For these reasons, the recordings for the corpus were taken live.

Like any other rolling news channel, *Rainews24*'s programming is spread across a 24/7 timetable. Its programming is more flexible than *Rai Uno*, because, the news being their only focus, authors and editors can easily manage quick changes in their daily schedules which essentially have to be consistent with and adapted to breaking news.

When the recordings took place, *Rainews24*'s daily programming revolved around three main types of newscasts being broadcasted over 24 hours: "News Lunghe" (*Long News*), "News", and "News Brevi" (*News Flash*). These newscasts followed the daily schedule presented in Table 1.

	Morning time-slot (6 a.m. - 1 p.m.)	Afternoon time-slot (1 p.m. - 9 p.m.)	Evening time-slot (9 p.m. - 12 a.m.)	Night time-slot (12 a.m. - 6 a.m.)
News Lunghe - approx. 30 min.	2	3	2	-
News - 10-15 min.	3	-	-	6
News Brevi - 3-5 min.	4	4	-	5

Table 1. *Rainews24* daily newscasts

Weather forecasts are also frequent, averaging 30 per day. At the time of the recordings, *Rainews24* broadcast, between one newscast and the other, recurring segments about a variety of issues (for example programmes like "Il Caffè", "Meridiana", "Giro di Boa" and others) fulfilling an infotainment function as well. "News Lunghe" at 1 p.m. and 3 p.m. were recorded for the corpus. Both newscasts presented headlines read by the anchor directly on camera, although this is not fixed and sometimes while she or he is reading the headlines, the direction moves the image of the anchor onto a smaller screen and airs images or videos on the main screen.

As in *TG1*, *Rainews*' anchors have a script to follow while launching the news, but it seems to be less structured and again more flexible, at least this is what their performance seems to suggest (many false starts, repetitions, and hesitations). Additionally, *Rainews24* newscasts feature more live reports by correspondents and guests, either in the studio or on phone/conference call. These aspects make these newscasts livelier especially from a linguistic

point of view, with more interactions between anchor and reporters, and anchor and guests. This in turn, places more importance on the role of the anchor, who as a result is under more pressure because of the unexpected turns newscasts might take.

As is foreseeable with rolling news channels, news reports are often rerun throughout the day's programming, and *Rainews24* is no exception. The rerun reports sometimes present minor changes, especially in terms of length. Probably directors adapt these reports to fit the airing space allotted to them during each newscast, assuming that editors, and not reporters, are responsible for the cuts and other manipulations of the end-product and this is confirmed by the findings reported in section 3.2.1.

3.2.1 Conversing with professionals: interviews with two interpreters/translators working for Rainews24

Between September and October 2015, I contacted two interpreters and translators (TI1 and TI2) working at *Rainews24*, before our encounters I submitted a list of general topics and questions for their approval.

TI1 and TI2 have both been employed as interpreters at the *Rainews24* foreign news section for more than 10 years. Their job at *Rainews24* is organised according to a roster of six hour shifts in order to cover a time-span that goes from 8 a.m. to 12 a.m. Their workload and rhythm are quite unpredictable, their general task is interpreting and translating, and they usually learn about their daily duties upon their arrival at the newsroom. The amount and the topics of translations/interpreting they have to carry out depend for the most part on what is the latest news, and if it is relevant for the channel. For this reason, scheduled and pre-organised work is limited and rare. In particular, according to TI1, each shift is different as far as workload and newsroom requests are concerned, stressing how it really depends on the nature

of the event, and how newsworthy the newsroom deems the event to be. *Rainews24* foreign newsroom is in fact just one of *Rainews24*'s sections, and has itself restricted availability of air time, thus making the process of news selection very important.

The textual genres TI1 and TI2 are most frequently called up to interpret or translate are press agencies' statements, interviews and news reports by *RAI* correspondents, and reports or (parts of) newscasts by foreign news broadcasters (predominantly *BBC* and *CNN*). Usually, these topics can be broadly categorized as hard news, especially in the areas of international politics and economics, and rarely local news stories, arguably following the news values model in place at *Rainews24*.

According to TI2, there are no network-imposed guidelines or code of ethics[14] when it comes to translation, whose only guideline is the loyalty to the ST. On the same note, but in a more articulated and explicative manner, TI1 stressed that translators and interpreters working at *Rainews24* cannot rely on corporate guidelines or code of ethics to assist and support them in their activities. Moreover, TI1 felt that she is considered by journalists and editors at *Rainews24* to be "just a linguistic medium", implying a perception of translation on the part of the network as some kind of automatic language transfer.

Moreover, according to TI1, these informal (at times self-imposed) translational guidelines seem to be changeable and to depend much on who is the chief editor of the channel, providing specific examples referring to the "Maggioni-era" discussed in the previous section. In particular, she reported about three specific instances in which the then editorial stance weighted and influenced her work in a substantial manner: the livelihood of the dubbing and interpreting, the use of erudite and uncommon words, and the employment of borrowings as translational strategy.

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[14] There is in fact a code of ethics which generally apply to the entirety of *RAI* Group (RAI. Codice etico del gruppo RAI. Retrieved December 09 2017, from http://www.rai.it/dl/docs/1381735752342codiceetico.pdf).

According to TI1, *Rainewsw24*'s editorial board requested "lively interpretations", encouraging interpreters to act and add emphasis to the texts while interpreting, touching extreme (and paradoxical) levels when they were asked to dub or re-enact EU-parliament's audio-visual texts, for which official interpretations by EU interpreters were already available, but were considered flat and uninteresting because of the "neutrality" of the interpreters' performance. The second form of "editorial interference" reported by TI1 regarded the use of erudite and uncommon words. When encountering such words, TI1 usually consults with the journalist in charge of the report, and delegates to him/her the decision of using or avoid them. Lastly, as concerns the employment of borrowings as a translation strategy, TI1 declared that her personal choice would be to employ this strategy only if strictly necessary. However, quite often she was asked by journalists to revert back to the borrowed expression. She also noted that during the editing process a choice was made to opt for the foreign word despite the availability of an Italian equivalent. Her strategy to avoid such interferences was then to retain the foreign word and add an explication, where possible and/or advisable.

Both TI1 and TI2 have rarely been asked to translate written texts. When that happens, the main rule to follow is to deliver a TT that follows the Italian journalistic style, sometimes bending the ST's punctuation and overall tone in order to meet the standards of Italian news language.

Within the newsroom, journalists are in charge of selecting the texts and ask interpreters/translators to translate or dub those texts. Once the translation has been carried out, the reporters edit their piece, which eventually is aired. In case of breaking news and live press conferences, interpreters deliver their interpretations in simultaneous mode and go live, thus there is no one filtering or manipulating the texts they deliver, at least the first time they go on air. When the same interpreted text is rerun, journalists may manipulate it or ask the interpreters to re-dub some parts of it.

According to TI1 cuts are the main manipulative technique, adding that manipulations generally occur often with translated audio-visual texts originated in other networks, rather than with recordings of interpreted live events. Apparently, when *Rainews24* employs (bits of) news videos from foreign networks, that audio-visual text is usually cut, translated and manipulated in order to better suit the needs of *Rainews24*'s newscasts and audience.

Sometimes journalists use translated texts as a basis for their own reports, or they ask translators/interpreters to provide a summary of the text's content. These kinds of requests by journalists are linked to the previously mentioned lack of official guidelines. Indeed, these are activities pertaining to the journalistic sphere of duties rather than the translational one, and this attitude finds confirmation in the literature about news translation (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009; Conway, 2011; Tsai, 2005, 2010). These facts notwithstanding, in TI1's opinion the translational and journalistic sides of the news are kept apart and there is little to no interference, claiming that the editorial board firmly discourages any kind of translation/journalism blending, especially for legal liability reasons.

Regarding the main constraints faced in their translational work at *Rainews24*, TI1 and TI2 agreed that time is the main constraint when interpreting or when dubbing, adding to the usual constraints that apply to audio-visual translation (AVT), that of the airing space, which calls for a condensed mode of TT's delivery. TI1's description of how foreign news reports are created stressed that the amount of time allowed for a report based on a foreign newscast is around 30 minutes, during which the report has to be cut, edited, translated and revised before being aired. Translation does not take more than ten minutes. In the best case, translators/interpreters learn about what they have to translate five minutes before they are actually performing the translation itself, otherwise they just delve into it without any preparation.

According to TI1's experience, translators/interpreters are not required to be prepared about any specific topic. It would make in fact little sense to do so, given the unpredictability of breaking news. However, with breaking news which might entail specific terminology (e.g. the BP oil leak in the Gulf of Mexico or the Fukoshima disaster in Japan) they do their best while on air, and eventually gather as much information as they can in order to improve their performance in later editions of the same news.

Finally, speaking freely about their jobs, TI1 insisted on the fact that it is stressful and hectic, and both deemed their remuneration inadequate. However, when asked about the percentage of journalism that their job entails, TI1 and TI2 disagreed. TI2 defined her work as containing a journalistic side, whereas TI1 disagreed, claiming her job to be separate from journalistic practices, conceding nevertheless that interpreters at a news channel are embedded in a dynamic journalistic context, which eventually (and inevitably) influences their performances. In connection to this, TI1 reported the presence of bilingual journalists at *Rainews24* who are strategically employed to be autonomous in their work. These bilingual journalists usually speak languages that are not covered by in-house translators/interpreters, filling in this way the channel's linguistic gaps so that the network can avoid outsourcing translations.

According to the conversations I had with TI1 and TI2, their work as interpreters/translators in a Italian broadcaster's newsroom seems to resemble what Tsai described within the Taiwanese environment (Tsai, 2005, 2010). Despite this resemblance, TI1 and TI2 do not feel that their roles entail many journalistic aspects. On the one hand, this points to the fact that journalists seem to disregard translation as the meaning making activity that it actually is; on the other hand, it critically signals that interpreters/translators may not be fully aware that the tasks they perform within that dynamic news environment are indeed inherently journalistic.

Finally, TI1 and TI2 observed how foreign newscasts aired at *Rainews24* tend to undergo more manipulations than other audio-visual texts, such as interviews and press conferences. This fact hints at something similar to localization, a phenomenon that Van Doorslaer observed in the context of Flemish TV (Van Doorslaer, 2010a, 2012).

3.3 British context: BBC One

The British context is represented in this study by the British public broadcast service, the *BBC*. The *BBC* is partly owned by the government of the United Kingdom and is funded by annual television fees charged to users. The corporate system in place at *BBC* makes it independent from the direct intervention by government, which however functions as overseer through the *BBC Trust* (Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, 2006, p. 5). A Royal Charter regulates the statutory corporation of the *BBC*, and according to the current charter the aims and purposes of the *BBC* are as follows:

> **3. The BBC's public nature and its objects**
> (1) The BBC exists to serve the public interest.
> (2) The BBC's main object is the promotion of its Public Purposes.
> [...]
> **4. The Public Purposes [...]**
> (a) sustaining citizenship and civil society;
> (b) promoting education and learning;
> (c) stimulating creativity and cultural excellence;
> (d) representing the UK, its nations, regions and communities;
> (e) bringing the UK to the world and the world to the UK;
> (f) in promoting its other purposes, helping to deliver to the public the benefit
> of emerging communications technologies and services and, in addition,
> taking a leading role in the switchover to digital television.
> (Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, 2006, pp. 1–2)

Even though *RAI*'s purposes and functions are not stated as clearly as the *BBC*'s, we can assume that the two national broadcasting groups have similar aims and fulfil, in their respective contexts, similar functions. Like *RAI*, the *BBC* is a partner of EBU, which is

completely independent from the European Union and thus the *BBC* - EBU partnership was not affected by the outcome of the 2016 "Brexit" Referendum (Hunt & Wheeler, 2017).

The history of the *BBC* differs greatly from that of *RAI*, and we can consider the *BBC* to be an ancestor of *RAI*. The similarities between the two public services make them a good match for the purposes of this study. *BBC One* was the first channel broadcasted by the *BBC*, it is therefore *BBC*'s flagship channel and was launched in 1932. *BBC One* is a general-purpose channel and all its programmes, including newscasts, are accessible via digital terrestrial television, via the *BBC* website, www.bbc.co.uk/bbcone, and via *IPlayer*. According to the Broadcasting Audience Research Board (BARB) approximately 23.8% British viewers watched the *BBC One* during January 2015[15], and according to BBC's official reports *BBC One* reached 43.9 million people weekly between January and March 2015 (BBC, 2015). With these figures, it is then reasonable to assume that a good proportion of UK viewers watch the news on *BBC One*.

The newscasts aired on *BBC One* are provided via simulcast by *BBC News*, which is *BBC*'s rolling news channel. *BBC One* then hosts eight national newscasts per day during the week and six at the weekend. Out of those eight newscasts during week days three editions are local, in that they address local audiences within the UK. During the weekend, out of six newscasts just one is local. We can observe here a few differences with *Rai Uno*: *TG1* is not featured and aired through a sister-channel, and it always addresses a national audience.[16]

As I will present more in detail in Chapter 5, the *BBC*'s newscast I chose to record to be included in the corpus follow a precise structure featuring an anchor reading the headlines for approximately one minute and 30 seconds being framed by the camera at the very beginning of

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[15] Weekly viewing summary. Retrieved December 07, 2017, from http://www.barb.co.uk/viewing-data/weekly-viewing-summary/.
[16] At *RAI*, *Rai Tre* features regional or local newscasts four times a day.

the headlines. As in *TG1*, while the anchor is reading the headlines topical images and videos are screened, and sometimes the anchor is silent in order to let the sound of the videos to be aired. In each *BBC News* newscast recorded for the purposes of this study, the headlines sections also include sports' anchors reading their own headlines. *BBC Sports* newscasts, however, are not part of the recorded material, as they are aired separately. After the headlines, the anchor launches the news reports by contextualising them and giving background information to the viewers, including the name and the qualification of the reporter who authored the piece. The reports may vary in length, usually giving more space to UK's most pressing matters. Hence, as happens in *TG1*, the news reports are arranged in the newscast according to their relevance.

In the *BBC*'s newscasts recorded for the present study, there are not many live news reports, so the majority of reports are recorded and then aired. However, compared to *TG1*, live news reports are more frequent, and often follow a specific format: the anchor launches the report and joins the reporters live asking them few questions about the event they are reporting on; reporters answer and then launch their recorded news report themselves; once the news reports are over the journalists and the anchor briefly discuss the matter at hand again. The impression is that these sorts of practices between anchor and reporters are well rehearsed, since their interactions do not seem to have the features of spontaneous spoken language, such as false starts, overlaps and hesitations. Overall, *BBC*'s newscasts are very clear as far as language is concerned.

In some of the newscasts there is a sort of *wrap-up* moment halfway through the programme, in which the anchor sums up the main news stories in a headlines-style, often repeating the text used for the headlines. The background music used for these *wrap-ups* is the same theme used for the headlines, the length of these summaries however is shorter (approximately between 40 and 55 seconds).

Finally, most of the newscasts in the AVNews Corpus leave a couple of minutes, at the end of the programme, for weather forecasts, which are usually detailed and lively. Weather forecasts are featured in none of the *RAI* channels considered here, because usually they form a separate block of the programming schedule. After *BBC One*'s weather forecasts, the viewer's attention usually is reverted back to the anchor, who in the closing titles reminds the viewers either about other journalism-related programmes on other *BBC* channels or about the local news coming after the newscast.

3.3.1 Conversing with professionals: a chief editor at BBC World Service.

In September 2015, while in London, I contacted the *BBC Academy* and they kindly put me in contact with one of *BBC World Service* (WS) chief editors (CE henceforth), and I spoke with her for about 15 minutes. CE is the chief news editor at one of the *BBC WS* national outputs. Like many journalists working at *BBC WS*, she can speak three languages proficiently and has been working at the *BBC* for 20 years. She is a very experienced journalist and her mother tongue is not English.

CE is occasionally involved in *BBC News* programmes and affirms that translation is surely a frequent and necessary activity, as she roughly estimated that 60-70% of the news to be delivered to *BBC WS* language outputs are primarily sourced in English. However, CE seemed to have some issues with the noun "translation" used to refer to linguistic transfers happening in the newsroom, showing a preference for the term *reversions*,

> [W]e don't call them translation, but we call them reversions. Because even if a BBC correspondent, who is an English speaker, has sent a report it has to be a reversion for [language *x*][17] speaking audience, because that thing [ehm] that particular report would be crafted for a broad audience, which know some things, doesn't know other things or don't care about other things. (CE, 2015)

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[17] All sensitive information has been anonymized including CE's SL.

According to CE, the term *reversion* better describes the process of language transfer happening at the *BBC WS*, adding that with authored pieces and legal documents/procedures generally it is necessary to be more precise and to be sure that "this [the translation] is word by word, everything is there, so you check and check" (CE, 2015). Apparently, the term translation evokes a practice that is closer to what in TS is known as *gloss* or *gloss translation*, than *reversion*. The latter is common in legal language, but it also has an additional historic meaning that is in a way related to translation. "A new translation, version, or edition of a text. Also: translation of a text back into the original language".[18] Therefore, *reversions* can be translations, and it seems that this term includes journalistic practices and processes that the word *translation*, to CE's understanding, would have left out.

Throughout our encounter, CE insisted that law- and economic-related documents would be translated very closely to the ST and not adapted/manipulated to better fit the audience's needs. In every other case, the journalists' loyalty is to the story, it is indeed very important to deliver good and original journalism to the viewers, which, according to CE, requires to "work around it [the story] as a journalist, not as an interpreter" (CE, 2015). The stress on originality is key here and explains why translation is regarded as something to be concealed in journalistic contexts. From a journalistic point of view, overtly acknowledging the use of translation means giving up to this "originality", which is regarded as the key feature of "good journalism" (CE, 2015).

Regarding the relevance and pervasiveness of social media in contemporary journalism and in particular how Twitter is exploited within *BBC WS*, often journalists can base their reports on social media trending, picking up Tweets and trending hash-tags, which eventually

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[18] "reversion, n.2". OED Online. June 2017. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.unibo.it/view/Entry/164801?rskey=PB1zup&result=2&isAdvanced=false (accessed December 10, 2017).

become selecting criteria for news stories. Within international news, tweets are multilingual, and this potentially constitutes a barrier to the journalist's understanding, and by extension to her job. In order to overcome this linguistic hurdle, CE reported that the use of machine translation apps such as *Google Translate*[19] is widespread to get the gist of the tweet and then report about it.

As concerns in-house interpreters or translators, CE spoke of "people who know languages" (CE, 2015, 2015), who serve as support especially in cross-checking facts and sources. It remains unclear whether these people are journalists, translators/interpreters, or something in between, such as *transeditors*. What emerged from this short conversation is that even if language transfers do happen on a daily basis in international journalism, they are not considered translations by journalists performing the very act of translation, because this *reversion* is not at all "like interpreters interpret or translators that just go word by word, Google can do that, it needs style. You have to convey the style and the idea" (CE, 2015). At the core of these beliefs, which find confirmation in the literature about news translation (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009; Tsai, 2010), there is a misreading and misinterpretation of what translation is and what it entails.

Even though it seemed that CE was firmly convinced of the clear-cut separation between what she conceived as proper journalism and proper translation (a semi-automatic transfer from language A to language B), CE noted that many of her colleagues went from being journalists to being translators or interpreters and vice versa, concluding that this is part of the evolution of journalism as a profession. Indeed, she stated that nowadays international journalists "work as journalists who speak languages", and thus the profession "gradually changed into journalism, but with the knowledge of languages". This would suggest that in the

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[19] Google Translate. Retrieved December 07, 2017, from https://translate.google.com/.

news context being bilingual and being a journalist are good enough requisite to be able to convey messages across nations and to move across cultures.

However, while adding that she enjoys translating literature as a side activity, she implied using her translator's skills when faced with opinion and feature news reports, considering these textual genres worthier of the "translation" label, since they are closer to literary translation. In this way, she granted a status to (literary) translators that was denied to them just few moments before, confirming my impressions of a rigid categorization of translating/interpreting and translators/interpreters.

As concerns the existence of guidelines and/or code of ethics specifically aimed at translators/interpreters, there are reportedly general guidelines and code of ethics (Thompson, 2005) that apply to all departments at the *BBC*. These guidelines are collected in the *BBC Producers Guidelines*, a document available online, which I searched for references to language policies. The only two references I could find[20] reported general advice to journalists to rely on and use *BBC*'s "own specialist advice and expertise", which "include, but are not confined to, the language services of the World Service" (Thompson, 2005, p. 12).

The conversation I had with CE brought about some aspects of multilingual journalism that seem to confirm what TS scholarship observed about news translation, especially regarding the amount of texts that are journalistically "re-worked" through processes that include language transfer. In particular, CE distinguished between translation and *reversion* and translation and "good journalism", thus strengthening the impression that, according to reporters, the label of "translation" comes with issues of inauthenticity and non-originality.

Finally, like TI1 and TI2 in the previous section, CE reported the presence of multilingual journalists within the newsroom, and added that multilingualism is indeed an asset

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[20] My search words were: *interpret**, *translat**, *language**, *transfer** and *reversion**. *Language* was the only productive search.

in this context, viewing the growing number of these figures as part of the evolution of the profession.

4. Mainstream and alternative perspectives on national and international news outlets

4.1 Introduction

The present chapter provides a double focus on multilingual news by considering the latter in national and international contexts as well as from mainstream and alternative perspectives. The national context is represented by two Australian news outlets, whereas a European TV channel and a citizen journalism website will account for the international context. I will consider mainstream and alternative news making as two sides of the same coin, therefore focus will be placed first on the Australian context (4.2) and successively on the European and citizen journalism news providers (4.3), representing in both aspects of mainstream and alternative news making.

Although I chose to describe the news outlets along the axes of nationality and internationality, it is worth exploring the other two aspects considered in this Chapter, that is mainstream and alternative news. As pointed out above, mainstream and alternative news can be considered as two sides of the same coin, one of them is more pervasive than the other and their audience is composite, varied and often overlapping. Mainstream and alternative forms of news do coexist and therefore are not mutually exclusive. Moreover, in what Jenkins (2006) defines "convergence culture", the participatory side of the media gains particular importance, and "convergence represents a cultural shift as consumers are encouraged to seek out new information and make connections among dispersed media content" (Jenkins, 2006, p. 3). Therefore, it is nowadays not unusual that mainstream media open up to and allow for user-generated contents, which are, after all, a form of participatory journalism.

I would like to briefly reflect on alternative news making and, in particular, on the two kinds of alternative media (ethnic and citizen journalism) that are brought into discussion in

this chapter. Traditionally, ethnic media are considered to be the result of diasporas and global migration trends, but in the last decades they have gained increasing popularity and, following Deuze, this phenomenon has to be framed "in a wider social trend: the worldwide emergence of all kinds of community, alternative, oppositional, participatory and collaborative media practices" (Deuze, 2006, p. 263). Once more, the whole picture of social and media convergence becomes relevant for the interpretation of contemporary journalistic trends. Media convergence envisages an active role played by audiences, creating new patterns of interaction between communities which now have the chance to participate in the media carrousel with varying degrees of involvement.

> [I]t seems clear that people not only have come to expect participation from the media, they have increasingly found ways to enact this participation in the multiple ways they use and make the media. It is exactly this element of participation that transnational media corporation seem to be struggling with, but [it is] what all kinds of local, community, minority and alternative media have relied on since the earliest days of the printing press. As with so many other social developments, the Internet can be seen as a worldwide amplifier of this trend. (Deuze, 2006, p. 273)

This participatory trait is shared in ethnic, citizen and mainstream media. From this perspective, we can even argue that probably ethnic media have been the first convergent media in the world before the Internet revolution brought convergence to the technological level. Community newspapers, for example, show convergence as being concerned with news and issues from the heritage country and the host country, letting these two aspects converge in the same medium. On the one hand, participation is fundamental in community media as it resides at their very foundation, that is the migrant community. The latter is actively involved in the creation, maintenance and promotion of its community media. On the other hand, participation and convergence in citizen media are fundamental aspects as well, since they integrate the use of the convergent medium *par excellence*, the Internet, and count on the active participation of

107

concerned citizens from the global community in order to bring a different and non-mainstream perspective to the news (Allan & Thorsen, 2009; M. Baker & Blaagaard, 2016).

When considering alternative forms of journalism, citizen and ethnic news media are the journalistic expression of two different kind of communities, in both participation by the (virtual or ethnic) community is of paramount importance. In this way, they become part of the "alternative" media as opposed to "mainstream" ones.

What Noronha and Papoutsaki observe about ethnic media can be noted also about citizen media, i.e. "ethnic, migrant, diaspora media play an important and supporting role by providing an alternative to an increasingly homogenised mainstream media" (Noronha & Papoutsaki, 2014, p. 17). Alternative media fill the gaps left by mainstream newscasters, covering aspects and representing interests that are overlooked, underrepresented or denied by mainstream media, defining their *niche* audiences and envisaging participation as their lifeblood.

A final introductory consideration concerns the status of translation in mainstream vs. alternative media. As pointed out in Chapter 3, translation and, in general, language transfer activities in mainstream (national) media tend to be flattened and possibly concealed to the viewers' eyes. If we consider ethnic media, one of their characteristic features is often that of being written or broadcasted in the migrants' community language, with the ultimate goal of maintaining the heritage language alive within the community. Therefore, when fulfilling their role of intermediaries between the host country and their community, ethnic media inevitably pass through the filter of translation, mediating concepts and ideas from one culture to the other.

As concerns citizen media, they often intend to give voice to underrepresented social categories or geographical areas of the world. Thus, they endorse a type of journalism which calls for activism and advocacy, and they use the Internet as a means of communication to

reach as many people as possible, expecting and encouraging participation from their audiences. Translation in this context becomes essential in that it enables citizen media to overcome the language barrier, reaching and connecting different linguistic communities in the world.

4.2 Australia: mainstream and alternative perspectives on the news

The current subsections will consider the Australian news landscape holding a double focus on mainstream and alternative news making. I will do so by taking into account two Australian public broadcasters (*ABC* and *SBS*) and an Italo-Australian community newspaper (*Il Globo*).

Australia's public broadcast companies differ greatly from their European counterparts, where competition is eroding both the market and the space for public broadcasters. Moreover, the European Union exerts influential pressures on the regulation of the European media market itself. It is therefore instructive to observe differences and similarities between these journalistic contexts in order to gain a different perspective on media systems and practices. The Australian perspective on the media is not included in the AVNews Corpus (Chapter 5), however, the Australian context provides some interesting examples of public broadcasting services and multilingual media outputs that could be useful especially for further reference and projects.[21]

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[21] The Australian perspective on the media is not included in the AVNews Corpus. The reason behind this choice is that adding a national monolingual channel (*ABC*) and a national bilingual channel (*SBS*) to the AVNews Corpus would render its already composite structure even more complex. Indeed, adding those channels would have meant that the corpus comprised two additional monolingual and bilingual components only partially overlapping with the other components. Given that *ABC* and *SBS* are both aim at national audiences (as Rai and BBC), to counterbalance their presence in the corpus, I should have added another component comprising Italophone audio-visual news texts not originating in Italy. By the same token, two further components comprising audio-visual bilingual news aimed at Italian and British audiences should have also been added. All in all, the advantages of having more data seemed detrimental to the building of the corpus itself, as its complexities would have grown exponentially.

Even though there are no Australian audio-visual texts in the corpus, the Australian perspective on the news is present in this thesis by means of a case study on community newspapers (case study 3, 6.3.1). I shall demonstrate the relevance of ethnic media in multicultural countries like Australia, and their role within immigrants' communities in maintaining a double link to heritage and hosting countries.

4.2.1 Australian mainstream perspective on the news: ABC and SBS

The *Australian Broadcasting Company* (*ABC*) and the *Special Broadcasting Service* (*SBS*) are two Australian public networks with a nation-wide circulation. The Australian government established the *ABC* in 1932 drawing inspiration from the *BBC* model.[22]

Initially, *ABC*, like *RAI* and *BBC*, was funded by license fees, but soon the funding system changed and *ABC* received funds directly from the government (Kelly, Grahame, & Australian Corporation Broadcasting, 1984). The *Australian Broadcasting Corporation Act* of 1983 ensures *ABC*'s editorial independence through the *ABC* Charter, which guarantees "an independent national broadcasting service" taking into account the country's multicultural nature and aims to find the right balance in their broadcasting offer between information, education and entertainment (Australian Government, 2013).

The same Charter describes *ABC*'s functions as a public broadcaster:

> (1) The functions of the Corporation are:
> (a) to provide within Australia innovative and comprehensive broadcasting services of a high standard as part of the Australian broadcasting system consisting of national, commercial and community sectors and, without limiting the generality of the foregoing […]
> (b) to transmit to countries outside Australia broadcasting programs of news, current affairs, entertainment and cultural enrichment […]

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[22] ABC - Australian Broadcasting Corporation. (2013, February 27). Retrieved December 07, 2017, from http://www.abc.net.au/

(ba) to provide digital media services; and
(c) to encourage and promote the musical, dramatic and other performing
arts in Australia.
(Australian Government, 2013)

According to Phillips and Lindgren, the *ABC* Charter "makes the *ABC* both more and less free than its commercial counterparts" (Phillips et al., 2013, p. 10). On the one hand, being free from commercial pressures, it has the liberty of being innovative and to provide quality services in order to fulfil its educational, entertaining, and identity-building functions. On the other hand, it is less free because "its product is determined by government decree" and "its funding imposes rigid limitation on what it can do, without the option of seeking additional funding from non-government sources" (Phillips et al., 2013, p. 11).

Unlike *RAI* and the *BBC*, *ABC* does not envisage any kind of advertising revenue or sponsorships, and it stands out as one of the few public service broadcasters in the western world that offers an advertisement-free service to its audience.

Like its European predecessors, *ABC* started off as a radio broadcaster and expanded its reach to television services in 1956 featuring its first channel *ABN2-Sydney*, after the 1953 Commonwealth *Television Act*. In 1995 *ABC* launched its website www.abc.net.au, marking *ABC*'s entering into the digital age. *ABC News24*, *ABC*'s rolling news channel, was established in 2010 and it was the first free-to-air 24 hours news channel in Australia. Currently, *ABC* television service counts five channels, and the on-demand provider *ABC I-view*, which is very similar to *BBC*'s *IPlayer*.

Traditionally, *ABC* is regarded as a source of information and "the 'elitism' label that was attached to radio was also attached to television" (Phillips et al., 2013, p. 21). *ABC*'s news services are varied, offering local, national and international coverage. *ABC*, however, does not provide a radio or TV channel exclusively meant for an international audience.

SBS was established in 1978 as the second public broadcaster with the specific aim of catering for Australian multicultural and multilingual audience's needs. Like *ABC*, *SBS* started off very quietly with only two radio stations in Melbourne and Sydney, but rapidly grew into today's multimedia asset, featuring radio, television and online content. *SBS* television service was launched in 1980, followed by its online version in 2001. It features eight radio channels and four TV channels and provides an on-demand or catch-up service online called *SBS On-Demand*.[23] Unlike the *ABC*, *SBS* funding system is hybrid and comes partly from Australia's government and partly from advertising revenue.

According to the *SBS* Charter contained in 1991's *Special Broadcasting Service Act*, *SBS*' main function is "to provide multilingual and multicultural radio, television and digital media services that inform, educate and entertain all Australians and, in doing so, reflect Australia's multicultural society".[24] *SBS* sets out to perform a series of activities aimed at fulfilling this duty, in particular it seeks to

> […] (c) promote understanding and acceptance of the cultural, linguistic and ethnic diversity of the Australian people; and
> (d) contribute to the retention and continuing development of language and other cultural skills; and
> (e) as far as practicable, inform, educate and entertain Australians in their preferred languages; […][25]

These points unmistakeably involve translation. Indeed, *SBS* provides radio services in 74 different languages, at least 60 different languages on television and 50 languages online. It has an extensive and varied programming schedule and is a multilingual and multicultural network, including the *NITV* (*National Indigenous Television*).

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[23] SBS - On Demand. Retrieved December 07, 2017, from http://www.sbs.com.au/ondemand/
[24] SBS Corporate. SBS Charter. Retrieved December 09, 2017, from
https://www.sbs.com.au/aboutus/corporate/index/id/25/h/SBS-Charter
[25] S. footnote 20.

With this kind of variety of languages and productions, *SBS* employs in house professional translators and interpreters. As a matter of fact, there is a section in *SBS* network, *SBS In Language*, which provides "specialist strategic consulting, translation services, subtitles, voice over, typesetting and video production"[26] to external customers. *SBS* producers can rely on their own network of language experts, delivering high-quality services to their audience.

Moreover, *SBS* is committed to promoting multiculturalism, which they define as "reflecting back to us the increasingly multicultural spirit of our own community".[27]

SBS is a public service addressing Australian local communities by providing content in the communities' heritage languages. It actively supports communities and the maintenance of diversity among Australian society, thus representing a rarity in public broadcasting.

Public networks like *SBS* are hard to find for two main reasons. The first reason is that usually the setting up of a public broadcast service aims a unifying communities and societies within a nation, hence creating a common cultural ground; the second reason is that multilingualism, historically, was (and in some places still is) a scary entity for governments, as it is considered a threat to national unity and a statement of a fragmented national identity (Blommaert, 2009; Pavlenko, 2006; Spinner, 1996).

Australia, however, is a country which was shaped by and built through immigration and displacement of people and resources, multiculturalism and multilingualism are therefore fundamental characteristics of its identity as a nation (cf. Hornberger, 2002). In this sense, *SBS* fully represents Australia, encouraging local communities to preserve their peculiarities and to share their Australian experiences with other local communities in and outside the country, and this all fits into the nation-building scope characteristic of public service networks.

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[26] SBS. Translation, Voice Over, Subtitles. Retrieved December 07, 2017, from
http://www.sbs.com.au/inlanguage0/
[27] S. footnote 20.

Not all multicultural or multilingual nations were successful in setting up public service networks which reflected their country's diversity, encouraging at the same time a sense of unity and shared culture despite the differences between local communities. For example, *CBC/Radio Canada*, the Canadian public bilingual network was not able to create unity among its fragmented audience (Conway, 2011). In this context, Conway sees the failure of (news) translation in bringing together the Anglophone and Francophone souls of Canada, despite its "potential of making it possible to provide access to Canadian diversity in one central place [i.e. the public broadcaster]" (Conway, 2011, p. 170).

Canada and Australia are two different countries and establishing a comparison between the two goes beyond the purposes of this study. Yet, they share some similarities that are relevant when speaking about public broadcasters. The reasons for the failures mentioned by Conway consisted mainly in privileging one side over the other in the public broadcasting scenario (Conway, 2011), and I might add, in the will imposed by policy makers of providing a binary and therefore restrictive public broadcasting service, ignoring other ethnic communities in Canada. This did not happen in Australia in general, and at *SBS* in particular. The latter maintained its flexible structure over the years, embracing cultural diversity and reflecting differences and similarities of the multiple identities of Australia as a political entity (Hall & Rutherford, 1990). Therefore, I might suggest that at *SBS* (news) translation did not fail and actually contributed to build Australia's multicultural identity.

4.2.1.1 Conversing with professionals: a senior journalist at SBS world news

In May 2016, I met with a senior cross-platform journalist (SBS-J henceforth) at *SBS* who gave me an overview of how workflow is managed in a multilingual newsroom.

According to SBS-J, *SBS*' newsroom is shaped around the so called "one newsroom model", which best faces today's media convergence and operates across platforms and regions/geography (Avilés & Carvajal, 2008). *SBS*' newsroom envisages a specific hierarchy and comprehends two executive editors, one domestic editor, one international editor, one planning editor and one technical editor. In the newsroom there are usually platform-specific editors as well, with two editors in charge of the overall radio output and others in charge of online and social media.

Averagely *SBS* newsroom hosts up to twelve reporters a day, furthermore the network can also count on three state-based correspondents, and on its bureaus in Melbourne and Canberra. Sydney hosts the main broadcasting office, then there are correspondents in Brisbane, Adelaide and Perth. As concerns foreign news correspondents, there are a Hong Kong-based correspondent attending Asian affairs and a London-based correspondent for European affairs. In addition, *SBS* employs freelance journalists who are called upon or sourced according to the event's relevance.

SBS' newsroom is divided into two main sections: the "IN-TAKE" section assesses the story level (i.e. selects which stories make it to the newsroom) and provide a draft of the report; then, the "OUTPUT" section edits and packages the story, which will be eventually aired. SBS-J remarked that some reporters are more independent in their job, in that they often provide an already edited audio-visual report. Finally, the main world news division in the newsroom remains flexible and non-thematic.

For what concerns news sourcing at *SBS*, SBS-J explained that the main sources of news are press releases and press agencies, mainly *Reuters*, *IAP*, *CNN*, in minor part the *BBC WS*, and limitedly *Al Jazeera* in English. According to SBS-J, a very important role at *SBS* is played by community stories, thus stories that come from the viewers' and/or users' perspective. Differently from UGC, these contributions are very important at *SBS* since they

help to maintain the multiculturality and multi-perspectivity that the broadcaster intends to deliver to its audience. Often community stories pass through the filters of radio divisions, since users would set contact with their own SBS-community service first, and then journalists at that radio division will bring the matter to *SBS* cross-platform newsroom, if newsworthy.

As SBS-J pointed out, ALC (Audio Language Content) plays a fundamental role at *SBS*. Operating within *SBS* radio division, each ALC division takes care of its translated and original content. For this reason, at *SBS* radio journalists are preferably bilingual, and, according to SBS-J, in the newsroom being bilingual generally constitutes an added value for journalists, even though proficiency in English is the only requirement.

Indeed, *SBS* main newsroom is predominantly English speaking and cross-platform, in that it edits and provides materials for *SBS*' three main platforms (i.e. TV, Online, Radio), and it also provides materials (STs) to be translated into other languages. These STs envisaged for all three platforms are translated only within SBS radio services, since television content of this type is usually in English.

Actually, SBS-J remarked that, as far as news is concerned, the translations used in international news packages usually come from agencies, and just on rare occasion, ALC broadcasters translate interviews for the television section, as ALC is mainly dedicated to translating within the radio multilingual service. Namely, according to SBS-J, sometimes journalists at ALC have a background as translators, working for *SBS* translation services but also for other agencies. Moreover, many journalists at *SBS* language divisions have worked as reporters in their home countries.

Finally, SBS-J remarked that programmes about different cultural and linguistic communities are very important at SBS, highlighting how multiculturalism is one of the main characteristics of SBS and probably the most important. This last remark brings us to consider multiculturalism in Australia, and how it affects the journalistic landscape of the nation. More

than in European countries, where distances are easily bridged, ethnic press in Australia has an important function which will be the focus of subsection 4.2.2.

4.2.2 An Australian alternative perspective on the news: Il Globo, the voice of Melbourne's Italian community

Ethnic press is part of Australia's multicultural identity. During its development as a nation, Australia has been shaped by migrations, becoming a multicultural country in which ethnic identity has a specific importance. Indeed, ethnicity can be a source of comfort for migrants, "a compelling connection between people" (Spinner, 1996, p. 59) especially for the generation resettling in the new host country.

Community newspapers represent and reproduce an ethnic identity, embodying an ongoing struggle between multiple forces of globalisation, which are represented by the host- and the heritage cultures and languages. At the same time, community newspapers define and give voice to the community they are representing, delineating a unique space for the community itself, which can distinguish its identity from the identities of the host and heritage countries. Moreover, if migrant communities are represented through their own ethnic media, not only their sense of shared and unique identity is strengthened, but they also have the chance of being more influential within the host country.

This is the framework in which the Italian community newspaper in Melbourne, *Il Globo*, has thrived. The Italian or rather the Italo-Australian community is nowadays completely integrated and well established in the fabric of Australian society, but it has not always been like this. Southern European migration to Australia, as elsewhere, was marked by offensive racist attitudes, and Italian migrants were not exempt from such discrimination (Totaro, 2013).

The establishment of a community newspaper in such a context assumes a symbolic function, in that it signals the intellectual and economic growth of the ethnic community and its will and need to define its unique identity with reference to other communities in the same geographical space, to the homeland, as well as to the hosting country. One of the issues that settling Italian migrants often struggled with, particularly during the pre-Internet era, was precisely that feeling of limbo, of not belonging to the homeland nor to their new country. Such dilemma contributed to their difficulties in defining their own identity (Spinner, 1996; Totaro, 2013). As a result, the sense of community created among individuals sharing the same geographical origin was received by and expressed through the publication of a newspaper in Italian. *Il Globo* played in this sense a "proactive role for, and on behalf of, the Italo-Australian community" (Johansson & Battiston, 2014, p. 425), being crucial to the building, acceptance and finally empowerment of an Italian identity in Melbourne and in the state of Victoria.

Il Globo was established by Ubaldo Larobina and Tarcisio Valmorbida in 1959 with the aim of filling "the void of the lack of information about the homeland" (Mascitelli & Battiston, 2009, p. 21). It consequently became the journalistic output of the growing Italian community settling in Melbourne during the post-war Australian Government campaign "Populate or Perish" (Jupp, 2007; Mence, Gangell, & Tebb, 2015, pp. 25–48).

During its first years, and essentially until the Internet became a widespread commodity, *Il Globo* served this primary informative function of bridging distances in two directions: towards Italy, filling the gaps left by Australian mainstream informative media, and towards Australia, assisting the Italian community to interpret and translate the major political, social and economic events unfolding in Australia (Johansson & Battiston, 2014). Additional side functions were (and are) those of providing a source of relief, a safe place for the Italian community (Spinner, 1996), to contribute to the shaping of an Italo-Australian identity and, at the same time, to educate the Italian community (Carli, 2009; Mascitelli & Battiston, 2009).

118

This educational function has evolved greatly since the establishment of *Il Globo* and can be viewed as operating on three levels: first, improving the literacy level of the Italian community (Carli, 2009, p. 100); second, assisting the so called "working holiday generation" with useful and practical information about various aspects of Australian society, culture, law and politics; third, maintaining and improving the heritage language and identity for newer generations of Italo-Australians.

With reference to the first of these three functions, it is important to bear in mind that many of the Italians who came to Australia in the 1950s were semi-literate and spoke (different) dialects as their first languages, and (possibly) standard Italian as their second language (Rubino, 2002, p. 2). *Il Globo* embodied the journalistic output of Italian migrants in Australia, and as such it fostered literacy among the Italian community and consequently promoted its acculturation and integration into Australian society as well. In this sense, *Il Globo* also encouraged the community's progressive Italianisation (De Mauro, 1970), in that it constituted an abstract meeting place where Italians from different linguistic backgrounds read and learnt facts about the homeland and about Australia. Nowadays, this educational function has transformed, as it focuses more on preserving the use of Italian within the community, particularly among the newer generations, and translation thus plays a fundamental role.

One could argue that this kind of publication is no longer necessary given that the Italian community in Australia could simply turn to the Italian news websites to receive first-hand information about Italy. Moreover, the second and third generations of Italo-Australians are growing apart from their heritage culture with their identity becoming increasingly Australian, and they might not be interested in or able to read the news in Italian.

Today, *Il Globo* faces therefore cultural and linguistic challenges, which are going to be crucial for its future. However, the lifeblood brought about the "working holiday generation" of Italians who migrated to Australia might act as a decisive factor for community newspapers

like *Il Globo*, whose audience still prefers "an Australian paper written in Italian rather than an Italian lifestyle newspaper with no interest or loyalty to the local community" (Carli, 2009, p. 97).

It is now worthwhile considering *Il Globo*'s corporate structure and its main features. Italian Media Corporation[28] owns the Melbournian *Il Globo*, the Sydney-based community newspaper *La Fiamma*, as well as the Italo-Australian broadcasting radio *Rete Italia*. *Il Globo* and *La Fiamma* also provide an online service through their websites, which share content concerning Italian and Australian affairs and culture/historical pages. The two newspapers diverge when they address local issues regarding Melbourne and Victoria or Sydney and New South Wales respectively.[29]

Il Globo is published twice a week (Mondays and Thursdays), and it offers a two-fold focus covering Italian and Australian affairs, and issues concerning the Italian community in Melbourne in particular, and in Australia in general. It also features special issues both in English and Italian about celebrities, food and fashion. The main topics on which *Il Globo* focuses are:

- Italian national and regional news

- Australian national and state by state news

- World news

- Italian community news and op-eds

- Sports news

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[28] Italian Media Corporation. Il Globo, La Fiamma & Rete Italia. Retrieved December 09, 2017, from http://italianmedia.com.au/

[29] For the purposes of this study, I will focus exclusively on the printed version of *Il Globo*, and ignore its website since it presents most of its content in English.

Published predominantly in Italian, *Il Globo* posits itself as a mediator between the Italian community and Italy on the one side, and the Italian community and Australia. From a translational point of view, this mediating activity represents an interesting intersection, hence the inclusion of this community newspaper in this study. At *Il Globo* it is possible to observe what Conway calls "cultural" and "linguistic" translations, arguing that translation in the news

> [...] takes two distinct but related forms, linguistic translation (or the re-expression of words in another language) and cultural translation (or the explanation of how a community with a different perspective makes sense of an object or event). Linguistic translation is one tool that makes cultural translation possible. Cultural translation in turn affects linguistic translation.
> (Conway, 2011, p. 166)

Within the context of ethnic media, translation primarily enables linguistic transfer, but fundamentally mediates between different cultural and linguistic locales and promotes linguistic "revitalization" of the heritage language. In the specific case of *Il Globo*, both linguistic and cultural translation occur. On the one hand, "linguistic translation" occurs in the pages dedicated to Australian issues, where the primary sources of the news are evidently in another language, i.e. English. On the other hand, to some degree a cultural translation, or rather a cultural re-contextualisation occurs in the pages about Italian news. These are the issues that the case study about *Il Globo* will explore and try to define taking into account TTs from *Il Globo* as well as insights from a senior journalist working there (6.3.1).

4.3 International mainstream and alternative perspectives on the news

In international news and with international news providers, the issue of agency becomes central to the analysis. Being mindful and receptive of the dynamics of power at an international level is therefore fundamental.

This subsection is aimed at showing how multilingual mainstream and alternative news providers deal with the issue of language transfer. With this aim in mind, I will consider

Euronews (4.3.1) and *Global Voices* (4.3.2) as models of mainstream and alternative providers of multilingual news. Thus, I will analyse the structures of their websites and how they relate to translation.

4.3.1 A Supranational European perspective: Euronews

In this study, I chose the European channel *Euronews* as the source of data for the AVNews Corpus. *Euronews* is a news provider that mainly appeals to a European audience, even though, as many other international news channels, it is well-spread and represented in those places that in Chapter 1 I defined as *non-lieus*.

The offer of international news services is wide and varied, and often national (commercial and public) news media have sister channels that cater for an international audience. However, I was looking for an international channel that broadcast news in different languages (Italian and English in particular) and this, of course, restricted my options. I originally identified three possible candidates for the study of multilingual audio-visual news: audio-visual services provided by press agencies (e.g. *Reuters*, *AP*, *ANSA*, *AGI* etc.); international news services provided by major television networks (e.g. *CNN*, *BBC* or *RAI*); independent supra-national news services (e.g. *Euronews*, *AlJazeera* etc.).

My choice eventually fell on *Euronews* because it is one of the few channels in the world that not only broadcasts news in many languages without holding any particular national affiliation, but also (and more importantly) provides the same audio-visual material in all the languages comprised in their services.

Euronews is a European-based news network launched in 1993 initially as a rolling news channel, to which, from 1998, a website was added, following the global trend of media convergence. Information regarding *Euronews* can be found on its website, where a booklet

(Euronews, 2016) about its mission and history, distribution figures, and corporate structure is available.

Until recently *Euronews* was partly funded by the European Union and partly by other stakeholders, among which *RAI*. EU participation in the channel's venture has been often criticized by Eurosceptic politicians at the European Parliament, who saw it as instrument of political propaganda.[30] In 2015 *Euronews* underwent a major change in its corporate structure when *Media Global Networks* acquired 53% of *Euronews*; 47% is still shared among its traditional stakeholders and local authorities.[31] Additionally, *Euronews* also receives advertising revenues.

The abovementioned changes introduced three steering bodies, a Supervisory Board, an Executive Board and an Editorial Board. The latter is the most important one for the purposes of this study as it was created in order to preserve *Euronews*' editorial line and somehow gives a certain continuity to its original mission despite this corporate change.

The mission of *Euronews* is to provide world-wide relevant information to an arguably world-wide audience; however, it also plays a pivotal role in reporting European affairs, trying in a way to build a European supranational audience as well as a global one. *Euronews* declares its mission and values in its *Media Kit*, stating that

> Since its launch, euronews has been striving to supply factually-correct information in a non-superficial format. Far from political interests, euronews is already the ultimate TV journalism laboratory. Every day, euronews' team of over 400 journalists of 25 different nationalities work together reporting on relevant stories to serve our global audience, driven by a solid uncompromising journalism. The concept has proven to be efficient; euronews

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[30] E.g. "EU triples its financial contribution to Euronews" - Media News. (2011, January 16). Retrieved December 07, 2017, from http://ejc.net/media_news/eu-triples-its-financial-contribution-to-euronews ,; MemHT Portal (www.memht.com) - Miltenovik Manojlo. (2011, January 17). Retrieved December 07, 2017, from http://www.ukipmeps.org/blog_view_2828_EU-triples-its-financial-contribution-to-Euronews.html.

/[31] Digitaltveurope.com. (2015, July 10). Retrieved December 07, 2017, from http://www.digitaltveurope.net/396191/sawiris-takes-majority-stake-in-euronews/

[31] Digitaltveurope.com. (2015, July 10). Retrieved December 07, 2017, from http://www.digitaltveurope.net/396191/sawiris-takes-majority-stake-in-euronews/

is the European leader in terms of audience figures in spite of the increasing competition.

What is euronews' reason for being?

An international view over the world, thus from a new and different perspective. A neutral and objective view of the world.

What is the main difference between euronews and any other news channel?

Facts and nothing but facts, in the viewer's language.

What does euronews stand for?

The belief in human intelligence. The audience is able to make its own opinion.

What makes euronews popular?

Honesty, integrity and neutrality.

(Euronews, 2016, p. 3)

Despite the changes at the corporate-structural level, *Euronews* seems to play its role of main non-official voice of the EU, as it "is able to understand and decipher the various political debates and implications of political decisions made within Europe and their effects not only on a global scale but also on the day to day living" (Euronews, 2016, p. 8). In this way, it posits itself more as a pan-European channel rather than an international one, preserving nevertheless the fundamental characteristic of being concerned with international news and not displaying any single national membership.

Euronews envisages a non-national editorial style 24/7, broadcasting in 13 different languages. This polyphony and variety is reflected in its news outputs both online and on TV. Among the 13 different languages many are European (9)[32], but there are also extra European languages such as Russian, Turkish, Arabic and Persian, which extend *Euronews*' reach outside the EU.

Euronews headquarters are located in Lyon, France, but as Figure 2 shows, it has 11 editorial bureaus in nine different countries, the majority of which are on continental European.

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[32] I.e. languages spoken in countries within the European geopolitical area (English, Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Geek, Ukrainian, Hungarian).

Figure 2. *Euronews*' editorial bureaux worldwide (Euronews, 2016, p. 7)

Looking at *Euronews* audiometric reports (Fig. 3), one can notice how Europe is actually its main market.

Figure 3. *Euronews*' distribution report Q32015 (Euronews, 2016, p. 17)

As pointed out, *Euronews* is a rolling news channel, simulcasting on digital terrestrial and satellite TV. In a number of countries some public service providers offer a time window in

which they transmit *Euronews*.[33] Another way to access *Euronews* is via its website, www.euronews.com, which provides links for live streaming. This channel was also described as a "just-in-time" broadcaster (Baisnée & Marchetti, 2006) to signal the fact that information is delivered and programmed in situ. This aspect, alongside a somewhat limited budget, renders its journalism less sensational if compared to the other channels considered in this study.

I will discuss *Euronews* programming briefly, as I will focus more on the website, which is the source for the comparable bilingual sub-corpus in the AVNews Corpus. From 5 a.m. to 10 a.m. *Euronews* runs concise newscasts or bulletins every 15 minutes, and after that every 30 minutes. Other information and infotainment services are broadly divided into eight categories: "news", "sports & weather". "Business", "European Affairs", "Science & Environment", "Reportage & Society" and "Lifestyle". All these categories have different subsections addressing different topics and aspects of the news.

Similar to *Rainews*, *Euronews* website contains and expands the channel's reach. Recently, it has been re-designed and restyled, but just in its layout and not in the ways its content is presented and delivered. For example, Fig. 4 presents screenshots of *Euronews* homepages in English and Italian. It is quite evident how the same news items are reported in the two languages; only the banners on the right provide a "mild localization" of the content.

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[33] This happens, for example, in Italy, where *Euronews* is available via live streaming on *RAI* website and in simulcast during specific time windows on *Raninews24*.
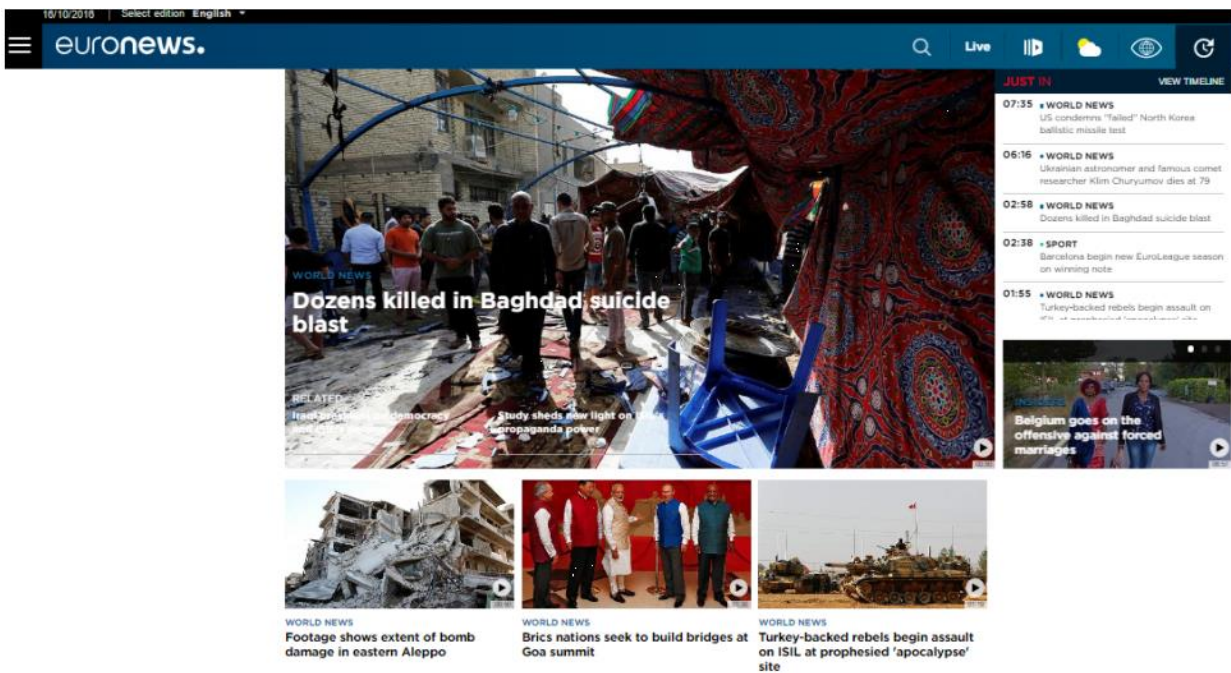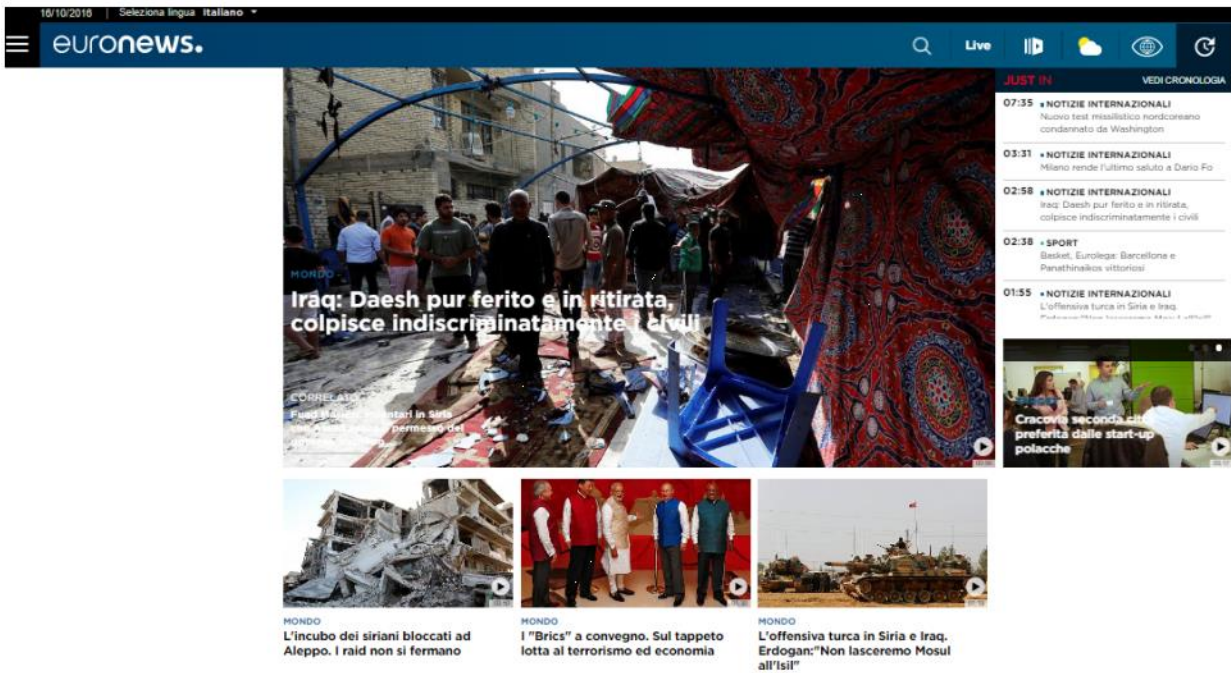
Figure 4. Euronews Italian and English homepages (16/10/2016)

Users can select the language of their choice on the top left corner of the page. Beneath the language drop-down menu, a click on the tribar icon will open a side window, which contains direct links to the websites' different sections, whereas on the top banner there are buttons connecting to live streaming and to the news video (third button from the right). The news

videos in Italian and English used as sources of data for the AVNews Corpus (Chapter 5) were downloaded from the "bulletin" section. [34]

The videos were downloaded from the archive of the website, which contains all the news videos starting from 2001 divided in a calendar-like fashion, making the retrieval of information easy and extremely user-friendly. As Chapter 5 will point out, all the news videos are accompanied by a commentary, which is a partial transcription of the video; importantly, the videos are always the same for each language-specific version, and a superimposed voice track reports the news item in one language or the other.

Several times during 2015 I tried to get in touch with *Euronews* in order to gather as much information as possible about their translation policies and processes. Unfortunately, I did not receive any response from the PR employees I had contacted. As a matter of fact, they did not give their availability for an informal conversation about translation and translators at their network, claiming that they "do not employ translators but INDEPENDENT language journalists (13 'national' language news-teams)" and that "there is never a master text to translate" (email exchange, August 2015), apparently outsourcing any translation need that might come up.

The term "language journalists" sounded like a label employed to disguise translational processes. Changing the label allowed me to find out more about these figures which have been studied from an ethnographic perspective (Baisnée & Marchetti, 2006) rather than a linguistic/translational one, exception made for (Valdeón, 2009). Baisnée and Marchetti interestingly report that *Euronews*' "language journalists" re-voice each video in their respective languages, maintaining "roughly the same" content (Baisnée & Marchetti, 2006, p.

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[34] "Latest breaking news available as free video on demand". Retrieved December 07, 2017, from http://www.euronews.com/ ; "Gli ultimissimi bollettini TV - notizie dall'Europa e dal mondo". Retrieved December 07, 2017, from http://it.euronews.com/bulletin.

110). Additionally, they are required to de-sensationalize and denationalize news events, drafting their reports for a "transnational audience" (Baisnée & Marchetti, 2006, pp. 108–109). The scholars also signal that the length of online news videos calls for a condensed mode of information delivery, which sometimes might result in a less entertaining way of presenting the news. If one considers that *Euronews* broadcasts the same news videos in 13 languages re-voiced by their "language journalists", arguably some language transfer activity takes place at a certain point in the news production, an activity that the network struggles to define as translation.

In connection to how translation is considered within the network, I would like to make a final remark regarding *Euronews* website. As mentioned above, *Euronews* has recently undergone major corporate changes. Although the channel's main mission and structure of the news have not been greatly affected by these transformations, its website has been renewed and upgraded after the recordings took place. Indeed, as of May 17th 2016, *Euronews* changed its logo and its website content structure. Currently, under each news video there is a banner quoting "ALL VIEWS Get a different perspective. Every story can be told in many ways: see the perspectives from *Euronews* journalists in our other language teams".[35] Beneath this banner, there is a multi-choice window including the links to other available editions signalled with a "SEE TRANSLATION" button.[36] One would expect this button to provide a link to the translation of the "other perspective" of the story, however, in most of the cases, it just provides an automatic translation in the language set up by the browser. As things stand, it is not possible to ascertain whether providing an "other perspective" window means that the

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[35] E.g. Euronews. (2017, April 03). EU foreign ministers voice unity with Russia following St Petersburg metro blast. Retrieved December 07, 2017, from http://www.euronews.com/2017/04/03/eu-foreign-ministers-voice-unity-with-russia-following-st-petersburg-metro-blast

[36] This button and this area of the webpage, however, were not present at the time of the recordings.

network's understanding and sensitivity to translational processes has grown, or it is just a quick and easy linking system.

4.3.2 An international participatory perspective: citizen journalism at Global Voices

This subsection deals with international news reported by the alternative voice of participatory or citizen journalism. A case study in Chapter 6 (6.3.2) takes into consideration this alternative form of reporting by means of a small parallel corpus taken from the website of *Global Voices*.

Global Voices was launched in 2004 by Ethan Zuckerman (director of the Centre for Civic Media at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology - MIT) and Rebecca MacKinnon (former *CNN* journalist and director of the "Ranking Digital Rights project" at the New America Foundation).[37] This non-profit initiative was started by the Hartman Centre for Internet and Society at Harvard University during a bloggers' conference. Its motto is "The World is Talking, are You Listening?" and its mission and values are, according to the website, as follows:

> Mission:
> We work to find the most compelling and important stories coming from marginalized and misinterpreted communities. We speak out against online censorship and support new ways for people to gain access to the Internet.
>
> Our culture:
> We value curiosity, honesty, and correctness in the name of understanding and friendship across borders. Our goal is to empower people who value justice, equality and empathy.[38]

Initially, it was meant to be a project in which regional editors gathered blog posts by "bridge bloggers" (Zuckerman, 2007) from under- and misrepresented areas of the world. Bridge bloggers are able to bridge between two cultures and two languages (one of them being

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[37] Ranking Digital Rights. Retrieved December 09, 2017, from http://rankingditigalrights.org/
[38] Global Voices · What is Global Voices? Retrieved December 07, 2017, from https://globalvoices.org/about/

English), and present them to concerned and involved citizens of the world hopefully stirring up discussions and comments on the web.

However, the number of "bridge bloggers" was limited during the first years, and it was not possible to cover all those areas. For this reason, through various sponsors, notably *Reuters*, *Global Voices* reached out to translators instead, in order to report and blog about those areas not covered by the current "bridge blogosphere". As scholar and *Global Voices* language editor Chris Salzberg points out, from the moment it began employing translators, "[t]he current organization, wherein there is overlapping coverage of regions and languages was in this way born" (Salzberg, 2008).

Even though translators or local *fixers*[39] (Murrell, 2009) were employed to account for those geographical areas ignored by mainstream news and without suitable bridge bloggers, *Global Voices* news outputs were all in English. Therefore, at first, translation was performed just in one direction, that is from STs in languages other than English into TTs exclusively in English. It was only with the launch of the *Lingua Project* in 2006 that *Global Voices* reached out to new audiences scattered around the world.[40] This project is the main focus for the purposes of this study, as it allows for the observation of news translation in the rapidly evolving context of online citizen journalism.

The *Lingua Project* is one of the seven parallel projects run by *Global Voices* as part of their mission. The foundations for *Lingua* were laid, perhaps unconsciously, by the Taiwanese blogger Portnoy Zheng, who in 2005 begun translating selected articles from *Global Voices* into Taiwanese and posted them on his own blog.[41] Soon an experimental page of *Global Voices* in Chinese followed, edited by Portnoy himself. Other receptive netizens took notice of

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[39] *Fixers* are figures who act as middlepersons between foreign correspondents and the local context and authorities.

[40] Global Voices · Lingua. Retrieved December 07, 2017, from https://globalvoices.org/lingua/

[41] Global Voices · Portnoy Zheng – Contributor profile. Retrieved December 07, 2017, from https://globalvoices.org/author/portnoy/

the initiative, and at the *Global Voices* 2006 summit in Delhi, they brought the matter to discussion, which eventually led to the creation of the *Lingua Project*.

Lingua's aim is to amplify the reach of *Global Voices* through translation and vitally relies on volunteer translators who are given "the front page, top of the page credit for their work and can gain valuable exposure or build translator portfolios that way".[42] There is a bit of confusion as to the number of languages into which *Lingua* translates, but it is safe to assume that there are between 35 and 40 language-specific pages of *Global Voices*.[43] *Lingua* is limited to translation or at least it was at its launch, however *Lingua* websites can produce their own original content and it does not have to be translated to English.[44]

The organization of *Lingua* is somehow different from that of the main website, as might be expected given its multilingual nature. Despite being a multicultural and multi-background initiative, *Global Voices* has a centralized core of operations broken down into local sections that always report to the top-central core, which manages and overlooks all aspects of the initiative. *Lingua*, however, escapes this centralization logic, because this kind of control is not feasible with all the languages involved in the project. *Lingua* has a general manager of operations (currently Mohamed Elgohary), but of course he cannot have any control over the *Global Voices* content translated into each language of the project.[45] Therefore, each language has its own team of translators and proof-readers who take care of the accuracy and quality of the translations.

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[42] S. footnote 40.

[43] "What is Global Voices?" page seems to suggest that stories are reported and translated in "more than 40 languages" (https://globalvoices.org/about/); whereas the "Project" page, under the section of the "Lingua Project" reports about "Nearly 500 active volunteer translators form the global Lingua community, making Global Voices available in more than 35 languages on as many independent websites" (https://globalvoices.org/about/our-projects/).

[44] Global Voices Community Guide. Retrieved December 07, 2017, from https://community.globalvoices.org/guide/

[45] Global Voices · Mohamed ElGohary – Contributor profile. Retrieved December 07, 2017, from https://globalvoices.org/author/mohamed-elgohary /

Salzberg (2008) points out that translation is fundamental not only for *Lingua* sites, but also for the "traditional" *Global Voices* in English, for which he describes three main steps in the editorial process:

1. *Search*. Regional Editors, Language Editors and Authors search for topics being talked about in blogs and other user-generated content in the region or language.
2. *Select*. Once an issue or topic has been found, entries and background information on this topic are selected. Reference information (linked but not generally quoted) may include newspaper articles and other sources that are not strictly user-generated content.
3. *Compile*. Selected passages from blog entries and other user-generated content are compiled into an article (or series of articles), with background information and reference links incorporated to provide context for a global audience. (Salzberg, 2008)

Here, translation towards English clearly intervenes somewhere between 2 and 3. *Lingua*'s volunteer translation teams step into the picture once the article drafted according to the above process is posted on the *Global Voices* main website. The process described here has one important consequence for the kind of translation that the *Lingua* teams set out to perform. If "the selected passages from blog entries and other user-generated content" and their incorporated links and audio-visual materials are not in English, who is drafting the article translates them into English, which, by the way, could be the bridge-blogger/journalist/author's second or third language. Therefore, the point of departure for *Lingua* translators is partially or entirely a bridge translation.

This fact has of course an impact on the TT delivered by *Lingua* translators, especially concerning access to "reference information" incorporated in the article, which can be in a language that translators do not speak. Limited access to this information hinders the translators' performance, in that they cannot take informed decisions as to whether a piece of information is enough or needs to be expanded for their reference audience. Moreover, the

133

inclusion of reference information via links is confusing, because it sends the reader back to content which is neither in English nor in the potential reader's language.

Volunteering as a translator for *Global Voices*, I faced this kind of difficulty as well as other complications especially related to the mastering of blogging tools. As a matter of fact, many translators volunteering at *Lingua* are not bloggers, so they might see and feel these tools as an obstacle. Furthermore, it is important to keep in mind that often both translators and contributors are not professionals. Hence, the existence of a community blog[46] which contains guidelines (in English) both for translators and contributors. In addition to these guidelines, some *Lingua* sites may have their own style sheets or guidelines, which they share with their language community.

Translators at *Lingua* pick the texts they wish to translate from the *Global Voices* main website (provided they have not been translated yet) and, at least in the Italian *Lingua* group, they commit to deliver the translation within three days. The Italian *Lingua* site manages translations through a Google Group in which translators "book" an article from *Global Voices*, deliver their translation on the Italian *Global Voices* Wordpress platform and then submit it for proofreading on the Google Group.[47]

To conclude this section, I would like to point out how the status of English as "pivot language" (Salzberg, 2008) and the amateur aspect of translation at *Global Voices* are shared features with another growing field of TS, that of *fan-subbing* (Massidda, 2015; O'Hagan, 2009, 2011a). Describing this phenomenon is not within the scope of this study, it is nevertheless interesting to note how two apparently unrelated translational outputs have so

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[46] S. footnote 40.

[47] The Italian *Global Voices* workflow as well as the its guidelines for translation will be discussed in the case study about *Global Voices*, as I mentioned at the beginning of this section.

much in common, especially concerning the technological issues of their medium and the people involved in translational processes.

Part Two: Conclusion

I. News, perspectives and translation

I would now like to draw some conclusions from the various strands brought together by the previous discussions around different perspectives on the news. Starting from the people who produce the news, I would like to consider the following quote:

> When it comes to sharing the credit, I think that it is one of the high crimes in journalism, for western and non-western producers and fixers and translators to not share the credit. Because obviously with foreign correspondency and also with television, it is teamwork, it is not a single individual. (Murrell, 2009, p. 5)

Here, former *CNN* Baghdad correspondent Michael Ware acknowledges the fact that translators alongside another very important figure, that of the *fixers*, are fundamental in foreign news reporting. Despite their importance, they are rarely mentioned either by journalists themselves or in JS literature. The figure of *fixers* (Murrell, 2009), sometimes overlaps with that of the translators/interpreters, and this could have contributed to the underrepresentation of these professional entities in the literature about international journalism.

Under certain aspects, bridge-bloggers and volunteer translators at *Global Voices* can be considered the *fixers* of citizen journalism, in the same way as journalists working for community newspapers are the *fixers* for their ethnic community, both bridging gaps left by mainstream global news. However, there is a fundamental difference between the *fixers* of these alternative media and those who work in mainstream media, and that is a difference in autonomy and ultimately in power. The degree of autonomy enjoyed by *fixers* working in alternative media is dramatically higher than that allowed to *fixers* (especially translators) working in mainstream media.

Often those who are involved in the production of journalistic texts for alternative media are not professional journalists, but rather concerned and involved citizens. This is particularly true for citizen journalism, and is considered by some scholars one of the reasons behind the decline of professional journalism (Flew, 2009; Gitlin, 2009). However, it is equally true for ethnic media. For example. with reference to *Il Globo*, possessing professional journalistic qualifications is by no means an entry requirement. Indeed, some of those who write for this community newspaper are not professional journalists and put their prior professional expertise and qualifications to the service of the community through the newspaper itself.

Within the alternative forms of journalism observed in Chapter 4, translation plays a fundamental role. Indeed, just as community newspapers inform their ethnic communities about newsworthy events in the host and heritage countries through translational processes, citizen media employ translation to inform virtual communities using and Internet in order expand their reach and resonate around the world. In both cases, translation can be viewed as an empowering tool. Moreover, Salzer's (2008) claim that ethnic communities all over the world have shown interest in citizen journalism websites, such as *Global Voices*, draws a further parallel between the audiences of these two kinds of alternative media and their use of translation as a means for making their voices heard.

As concerns mainstream journalism, this imbalance of power is reflected by the perception of translation among the people engaged in the production of the news. Translation is not perceived as a mediating and bridging tool, but rather as a semi-automatic linguistic transfer. For this reason, some journalists believe that machine translation apps, such as *Google Translate*, are enough to get the gist of a text written in a language they do not speak. As language experts, we are well aware that nothing could be further from the truth and that those apps have major pitfalls, that human translators could easily avoid.

137

My question, however, is more down to earth. Given the high probability of mistranslations/misinterpretations and inaccuracy that the use of such apps entails, if journalists base their piece on a tweet that is (mis-)translated via machine translation, who takes the fault? Mistranslation has often been used in international news gaffes as "a handy scapegoat" (Baines, 2013, p. 110), implicitly making the translator guilty and getting the journalist (and the network or newspaper) out of trouble (Baines, 2013; Caimotto, 2007; Zanettin, 2016).

To revert this power imbalance, empowering translators working in mainstream news may not be enough. A shift should occur also in the mindset of translators as well. As a matter of fact, journalists working close to translators and interpreters sometimes complain about a lack of flexibility on the part of the latter, fostering in this way their perception of translation as purely linguistic and not cultural. At the same time, Conway, mainly referring to the Canadian bilingual public service, notes how translation clashes with "the ideal of objectivity" in that,

> The paradox was that the North American journalistic ideal of objectivity is based on a notion of perspective-free reporting [...]; thus, it makes a discursive claim to a representation of otherness unmediated by a journalist's language or worldview. However, unmediated representation of otherness is impossible [...]. When journalists act as translators, they must make choices about how to represent ideas expressed in one language to viewers who speak another. In this inescapable act of mediation, journalists' perspective enters into the equation. (Conway, 2011, p. 62)

Therefore, journalists themselves are not too keen on making translation (and translators) visible as that would compromise (the pretence of) objectivity. Ideally, journalists and news translators should come to a compromise where both embrace a more flexible attitude towards translation. Rather than being the object of negotiations between journalists and translators, translation in mainstream news should not be considered as something that hinders objectivity, but as the means that allows news to be delivered to various audiences who speak different languages. Audiences, after all, should be provided with an honest news service striving for

objectivity, but they should also be made aware that such a thing does not exists, as perspective is unavoidable and inherently human.

Part Three: Applications of methodological *convergence*

5. Building an audio-visual corpus of news transcripts: the AVNews Corpus

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will describe one of the tools used to analyse multilingual journalistic discourse and to investigate translational interventions in audio-visual news, the AVNews Corpus. First of all, I will briefly discuss the sources of the audio-visual data used to build the corpus, as were thoroughly described in Chapter 3. In particular, I will consider the time frame during which the data were recorded, and the role played by each set of recordings within the overall corpus structure, its components and the relationships between them.

Secondly, I will discuss the annotation scheme and the transcribing and time-stamping conventions with which the corpus is provided. Even though transcribing and time-stamping are highly interpretative operations (Niemants, 2012; Zanettin, 2013), it is believed that they are nevertheless necessary in order to access the data through corpus query software and to make sense of the results of such queries.

Finally, this chapter will lay the bases for showing how to use this small audio-visual corpus in the investigation of international journalistic discourse and its translation, by suggesting how the corpus can be employed not only as a tool for linguistic inquiry, but also as the backbone of a more qualitative research approach, allowing the researcher to put the concept of theoretical and methodological *convergence* described in Chapter 2 to work.

5.2 Corpus design: sources, structure and issues

The AVNews Corpus consists of three sub-corpora of transcribed newscasts (*RAI* and *BBC*) and video news (*Euronews*).[48] This audio-visual corpus features a total of 419,147 running words, it is therefore rather small, but it is possible to consider it as a specialized corpus (Haarman & Lombardo, 2009, p. 9), since it focuses on a specific genre (i.e. audio-visual journalism). As Calzada Pérez reports, "[m]icro-corpora are commonly linked with genre studies and much of the research carried out with small corpora to date revolves around the features of specialised genres (a methodology which is particularly useful for ESP [English for Special Purposes] and TS)" (Calzada Pérez, 2010, p. 191). Thus, small corpora can bring valuable insights, especially if they are employed in combination with larger corpora that can back up the claims that are made through the study of such corpora. Moreover, as Haarman and Lombardo point out, referring to their own audio-visual corpora,

> The manageable size of the corpora makes it possible not only to read the texts through, but also to return easily to the data during application of the software in order to verify the meaning of patterns across contexts. Especially in comparison of corpora which have different cultural bases, the possibility to develop a 'feel' for the text/corpus *as a whole* is of great assistance. (Haarman & Lombardo, 2009, p. 9)

There are several reasons behind the decision to build the AVNews Corpus. First of all, such a corpus represents an innovative tool within this research field. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the literature about broadcasting news in the fields of TS and Media Studies focuses mainly on qualitative aspects, thus taking into consideration a limited number of newscasts often by just one or two channels. As reported by Harmann and Lombardo in their corpus-based study of stance and evaluation in American, British and Italian broadcasting war news, CL methodology

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[48] A distinction is made between newscasts and video news. Newscasts are aired on any TV channel according to a fixed or semi-fixed schedule in a palimpsest: accessing the TV channel via online streaming does not change the nature of the newscast. Video news are short videos accessed online that do not belong to a palimpsest; they are generally shorter than newscasts and, more importantly, each video usually contains one news item, thus creating a one-to-one correspondence between video news and news item.

can expose language patterns that could be misread or missed in a qualitative-only analysis (P. Baker, 2006; Haarman & Lombardo, 2009).

Second, although this corpus is not large enough to make general claims about broadcasting news discourse and its multilingual rendering, it is still possible to make claims that are restricted to the size, the time-span and the channels involved in this study. Such a qualitative and quantitative analysis can point researchers towards facts, or issues, that can be cross-checked in other larger corpora or complemented with facts/insights from other sources or other contexts.

Third, building an audio-visual corpus is an extremely time-consuming activity, the larger the corpus, the more time is needed in order to set it up, transcribe it and link the audio-visual component to the transcribed texts. For this reason, large audio-visual corpora are not the outcome of the effort of a single, but rather that of a team. Thus, this audio-visual corpus is small as it was compiled almost single-handedly, exploiting the valuable insights and priceless help from senior researchers and programmers at the Department of Interpreting and Translation of the University of Bologna.

5.2.1 Audio-visual sources: who, where, when, how

An extensive description of the sources informing the AVNews Corpus was given in Chapter 3 (*Rai Uno, Rainews24* and *BBC One*) and 4.3.1 (*Euronews*), to which the reader is referred as far as the broadcasting channels involved in the study are concerned. This section discusses the definition of the time window for the recordings, the tools used to perform such activity and when this activity was carried out.

The audio-visual data informing this corpus are recordings carried out according to a weekly schedule which was defined at the beginning of the first year of this doctoral project.

Initially, it was decided to record newscasts by *Rai Uno*, *Rainews24* and *Euronews* in Italian and English. Therefore, the recordings from these channels started on the 21st December 2014, following a weekly schedule, as reported in Table 2 (below). *BBC One* was added at a later stage, because it was thought that including a British, or anyway Anglophone, perspective to the corpus would make it more balanced and representative. Recordings of *BBC One* started on the 9th of February 2015.

Week No.	Days
Odd weeks (1, 3, 5 …)	Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday + Sunday
Even weeks (2, 4, 6 …)	Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Sunday

Table 2. Weekly recording schedule

As reported in Table 2, during odd weeks, recordings took place from Monday to Wednesday and Sunday; during even weeks from Thursday through Sunday. The week starting on the 21st of December 2014 was considered as the first week (odd week), and the following weeks were numbered accordingly. The decision to distinguish between even and odd weeks is functional mainly to the recording schedule, which is intended to account for, albeit incompletely, the waves of news and newsworthiness. For this reason, I recorded newscasts and news videos according to the abovementioned scheme, including Sunday in both even and odd weeks as to give continuity to the news that were reported from one week to the other.

The first round of recordings ended on the 22nd of February 2015 for all channels in the corpus. After having transcribed a pilot section of the data focussing on two weeks of the recorded material (from the 9th to the 22nd of February 2015 for all sources), a pilot study was carried out in order to check the transcriptions and to adjust the annotation scheme. Thereafter, a second round of recordings followed between the 6th and the 16th of August 2015 according to the same schedule, thus producing the overall structure shown in Table 3.

Corpus components	Italian monolingual sub-corpus	Italian & English bilingual sub-corpus	English monolingual sub-corpus

Channels	Rai Uno	Rainews24	Euronews Italian and English	BBC One
Recording times		News 1 and 3 p.m.		News 6 and 10 p.m.
Downloaded videos	TG 1 8p.m.		All videos for each day of recording	
Time span	9-22 February 2015 + 6-16 August 2015			

Table 3. AVNews Corpus sources and recording times

As can be deducted from Table 3, the final audio-visual corpus includes a total of one month (2+2 weeks) of recorded newscasts or videos, and it can be split into three main sub-corpora. There are two comparable monolingual components (the *Rai* and *BBC* sub-corpora) and one bilingual comparable component (the *Euronews* sub-corpus), which contains two smaller sub-corpora of news videos in Italian and English (the IT-*Euronews* and EN-*Euronews* sub-corpora).

When opting for an audio-visual corpus, there are some fundamental decisions to be taken about the tools enabling the recordings and also regarding permission to record and share the videos. As concerns the tools used to record the data, there are quite a few options available, and a basic distinction has to be made between the Italian and the British channels. As mentioned in Chapter 3, both *Rai* and *BBC* provide their service online to whoever connects their device from Italy and Great Britain respectively. However, there is a fundamental difference between the two of them, as *Rai* offers its content mainly via streaming (and occasionally via download from web archives), whereas the *BBC* allows the user to download its programmes through its software *IPlayer*, in which downloaded programmes can be stored for as long as four weeks.[49]

As concerns *Rainews24*, I had two recording methods at my disposal: recording the streaming via desktop video-catcher software, or connecting my laptop to the TV-cable through a USB recorder/receiver. As reported in Chapter 3, *Rainews24* is a rolling news channel, and

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[49] Four weeks are usually granted to TV shows and TV series, for news programmes that are updated on a daily basis the time window is considerably shorter as it varies from one day to one week depending on the programme.

when I contacted *Rai* archives and asked them if aired *Rainews24* newscasts were available to be downloaded or recorded, they told me they do not keep the recorded materials for longer than 24 hours, moreover they are not available for public access. Given that my choices were restricted to the two abovementioned options, I made a few tests, recording live streaming on my laptop. These tests showed that the main issues with streamed programmes is that the internet connection can be extremely unstable, resulting in cracking and unclear videos, and that the quality of the videos is not always high. Therefore, I decided to employ a USB receiver/recorder and record *Rainews24* newscasts with this method instead.

Differently from *Rainews24*, *Rai Uno* is a general channel and its newscasts are available on demand through the TG1 website, which has an archive section where all its newscasts are available for Italian IP addresses, dating back more or less 8 months.[50] Once more, I had two choices: either recording the newscasts through a desktop video-catcher, or via software that allows users to download videos by providing their URL, and then creating an output file in MP4 (or any other common video format). I ran a few tests and decided that the software was the best option, since it combined user-friendliness and quality of the output videos. I downloaded *VideoStreamingRecorder* by Apowersoft[51] and bought a one-year subscription that I exploited in order to download videos from *Rai Uno* and *Euronews* web archives. This software allowed me to download more videos at the same time, so that I could perform this operation once a day or once a week.

BBC One recordings were more complex as my Italian IP address prevented me from accessing *BBC IPlayer* contents. In this case, my only option was to change the location of my

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[50] Tg1. Retrieved December 07, 2017, from http://www.tg1.rai.it/dl/tg1/2010/video.html

[51] Streaming Video Recorder - Record streaming video and record Internet TV. Retrieved 10 December 2017, from https://www.apowersoft.com/streaming-video-recorder

IP address and place it in the UK.[52] In this way, I could download the videos on *IPlayer*, which allows users to download and store their favourite programmes on their computers or mobile devices for a limited time, and watch them offline. In the case of *BBC One* newscasts, they are usually available for 24 hours for downloading and direct streaming, and then for a couple of days or so on *IPlayer*. Once *BBC One* newscasts were on *IPlayer* I recorded them with a desktop video-catcher and stored them on my laptop and hard drive.

5.2.2 Legal issues and copyright

I would now like to consider the legal issues concerning the creation and use of the AVNews Corpus. As McEnery and Hardie state, "[t]he most fundamental issue in corpus construction is whether or not you have the legal right to gather and distribute the data you intend to include in your corpus" (McEnery & Hardie, 2012, p. 57). Intellectual property regulations vary according to the country and to the media involved, and it would be very complicated to go through all the copyright laws involving all the audio-visual texts I set out to study.

For instance, in the US, M. Davies's corpora refer back to the "US Fair Use Law", which allows the use of copyrighted material "based on the belief that the public is entitled to freely use portions of copyrighted materials for purposes of commentary and criticism" (Davies, 2017). With large and composite corpora, such as Davies', the only way of not infringing the law is limiting the access to the text within the "Keyword in Context" (KWIC) view, which, as M. Davies points out, is like the "snipped defense" employed by Google.

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[52] Changing the IP address does not constitute a law infringement, unless what is accessed online is illegal. Accessing free content by changing the IP address is generally not considered unlawful. With regards to the BBC, as it is stated on its website (https://www.techadvisor.co.uk/how-to/digital-home/watch-bbc-iplayer-abroad-3512135/), there are ways to access *IPlayer* outside the UK, including change VPN and IP settings. For more details on building corpora and potential legal issues see subsection 5.2.2.

In a similar fashion, McEnery and Hardie (McEnery & Hardie, 2012, p. 59) and also Mikhailov and Cooper (Mikhailov & Cooper, 2016, p. 39) suggest that a way to avoid asking for permission to collect, reproduce and use corpus data is to gather them without consent, and to limit their reproduction to research purposes only, as it is the case for this thesis. Indeed, "if the corpus is for one's personal research (a so-called do-it-yourself or DIY corpus), it is unlikely that copyright restrictions will be an issue, and the same applies when the corpus is used 'privately' by a small group or researchers" (Mikhailov & Cooper, 2016, p. 39). Moreover, analysts who will gain access to the AVNews Corpus will not be able to watch videos in their entirety. On the contrary, they will access only the sections whose transcriptions show up in the concordance lines according to the time-stamps associated with those stretches of text. Summing up, the AVNews Corpus is envisaged to be used for academic purposes only, and not for financial gain, therefore I did not ask the intellectual property owners of these texts for recording and reproduction permissions.

5.2.3 Corpus structure: components and relationships

In Table 3 in 5.1.1, I briefly described the structure of the AVNews Corpus and its components. Here, I will return to that structure and focus on each sub-corpus, defining the relationship that each part entertains with the other.

Considering the two monolingual components of this audio-visual corpus, the *Rai* (Italian) sub-corpus and *BBC* (English) sub-corpora, it is possible to observe (Tables 4 and 5 below) the exact number of newscasts that I recorded, their average length, number of tokens in the transcription, and finally the newscasts that accidentally were not recorded, and are therefore missing from the corpus.

Channel	Newscast no.	Language	Newscast Type	Newscast length	No. of tokens	Missing newscasts
Rai Uno	16		General purpose	Av. 35 min.	91,941	-
Rainews24	28	Italian	Rolling news	Av. 22.5 min	112,428	19/02/2015 1 p.m. 20/02/2015 3 p.m.
Total	44		-	-	204,369	-

Table 4. *Rai* Italian sub-corpus specifications

The Italian sub-corpus (Table 4) can be further split into two components according to the two channels included in the study. *RAI* owns both *Rainews24* and *Rai Uno*, therefore the stance on news items remains more or less the same in these channels, however the nature of the broadcast news is rather different. On the one hand, *Rai Uno* broadcasts are very similar in structure and aims to those of *BBC One*, as they are both meant for a general audience on a general-purpose channel. *Rai Uno* newscasts are around 35 minutes long, following a precise structure that consists of headlines, newscast theme song, newscast body with reports and interviews, and then closing remarks.

Rainews24, on the other hand, provides a 24-hour news service that entails updates every 15 or 30 minutes, depending on the time of the day, following a semi-fixed structure that is easily adjustable to the necessities of breaking-news style reporting. The prospective audience of *Rainews24* is therefore more similar to that of *Euronews*, in that in both channels the audience can count on 24-hour news airing. By observing the "missing newscasts" column of Table 4, it is evident how two newscasts are missing from the *Rainews24* component. The reason for their absence is of a technical nature, namely that during both newscasts the cable connection dropped, and the resulting recordings were incomplete and/or damaged, and thus they were left out from the audio-visual corpus.

Summing up the information in Table 4, as concerns the *Rai* sub-corpus there are 44 newscasts in total (16 from *Rai Uno* and 28 from *Rainews24*) and 204,369 tokens (91,941 in

the *Rai Uno* sub-corpus and 112,428 in the *Rainews24* one), the language of this component is Italian and it features two different modes of news delivery (general purpose and rolling news).

Channel	Newscast no.	Language	Newscast Type	Newscast duration	No. of tokens	Missing newscasts
BBC One	29	English	General purpose	Av. 25 min.	115,614	22/02/2015 6 p.m. 08/08/2015 10 p.m. 16/08/2015 10 p.m.

Table 5. *BBC One* English sub-corpus specifications

Table 5 shows information about the *BBC* sub-corpus. On average, *BBC One* newscasts are 25 minutes long and they are structured according to a fixed framework that envisages a sequence of headlines, newscast theme song, newscast body and closing remarks. As previously mentioned, *Rai Uno* newscasts have a similar structure, even though the timings are quite different (for the differences between the two types of newscasts please refer back to Chapter 3.1). In the "missing newscasts" column, there are three newscasts that were not recorded mainly for technical issues either with the software or the connection. Summarizing the information in Table 5, the *BBC* sub-corpus is composed of 29 newscasts in total, has 115,614 tokens, is monolingual (English) and features one mode of news delivery (general purpose).

Judging by the shared features of the *Rai* and *BBC* sub-corpora, for the purposes of this study they are considered comparable monolingual components. They are comparable sub-corpora in that they contain the same type of newscasts, with similar structure and length. Moreover, the two networks (*BBC* and *Rai*) are both public service channels, being comparable also at a news-market level, as they appeal to the same general audience, in Great Britain and Italy respectively. Therefore, I expected to have very similar percentages as far as the proportions (Chapter 5.4) of local and foreign news are concerned, providing thus a balanced mix and an appropriate counterweight to the *Euronews* sub-corpus, whose description follows.

Channel	News videos no.	Languages	Newscast Type	News videos length	No. of tokens	Missing news videos
Euronews	316	Italian	Online / rolling news	Av. 70 sec.	51,340	2
	317	English			53,349	1
Total	633	-			104,689	-

Table 6. Euronews Italian and English sub-corpora specifications

Table 6 sums up *Euronews* sub-corpus information. As previously noted (Chapter 4.2), *Euronews* is a 24-hour news channel that broadcasts mainly in European countries. In Italy, this channel can be accessed freely either via streaming through *Rai*[53] or *Euronews* websites or on TV during specific time windows on *Rainews24*. As recording live streaming is a complicated and unstable activity, I settled for a compromise, that is to download the *Euronews* news videos which are available under the tag "bulletin" on the *Euronews* website. The *Euronews* sub-corpus consists of two components, one in English and one in Italian, and there are 633 videos in total, of which 316 in Italian and 317 in English. Usually to each English video news corresponds one Italian video news and vice versa; however, as can be observed in the "missing news videos" column, sometimes this was not the case. There are three videos in total that do not present a one to one correspondence in each *Euronews* sub-corpus.

With reference to the *Euronews* English sub-corpus, there is just one video that is not matched, its title is "Un caso di tubercolosi bovina allerta il Belgio"[54] and it was broadcast on the 7th of August 2015. This video is available in 10 different languages besides Italian (French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Greek, Ukrainian, Russian, Arabic, Farsi, Turkish), but English is not among them. In the *Euronews* Italian sub-corpus there are two missing news videos. In this case, it is appropriate to speak about "missing" rather than "not-matching" videos, because in theory those videos were available in Italian and English, but in practice something went

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[53] *Rai* is among the founding partners of *Euronews*.
[54] Euronews. (2015, August 07). Un caso di tubercolosi bovina allerta il Belgio. Retrieved December 07, 2017, from http://it.euronews.com/2015/08/07/un-caso-di-tubercolosi-bovina-allerta-il-belgio

wrong within the Italian section of *Euronews*. The first video is called "Suspected Afghan ISIL leader killed by drone strike"[55] and was aired on the 9th of February 2015, whereas the second one is titled "UN envoy calls for Libyan unity government by August",[56] and was aired on the 12th of August 2015. In both cases, if users search for the Italian version in the window below the video[57], they can find the corresponding video and click on it. However, the page that opens up is an "Error 404" page (i.e. it does not exist on the *Euronews* servers).

I would now like to turn the focus to the relationship that the *Euronews* sub-corpus entertains with the other components. In order to do this, I should first consider *Euronews* components. Above I mentioned that this sub-corpus, in turn, consists of two sub-corpora, each of these featuring a different language. This is therefore a bilingual corpus; however, even though the majority of the news videos are or can be considered ST-TT couples, it is not a parallel corpus, but a comparable one. *Euronews* English and Italian sub-corpora are not aligned, because, according to the people working in *Euronews* PR (4.3.1) and previous studies carried out on this channel, its "language journalists" re-voice each video in their respective languages, maintaining "roughly the same content" (Baisnée & Marchetti, 2006, p. 110). Apparently, this is not considered a good enough reason to use the term translation. Setting aside any argumentative dispute over the use of the term "translation", it must be conceded that it would have been an arduous job to decide which audio-visual text was ST and which TT for each of the 633 videos. In the end, this reluctance or resistance in accepting the term translation as part of the journalistic routine at *Euronews* played out conveniently for the analyst, who

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[55] Euronews. (2015, February 09). Suspected Afghan ISIL leader killed by drone strike. Retrieved December 10, 2017, from http://www.euronews.com/2015/02/09/suspected-afghan-isil-leader-killed-by-drone-strike

[56] Euronews. (2015, August 12). UN envoy calls for Libyan unity government by August. Retrieved December 07, 2017, from http://www.euronews.com/2015/08/12/un-envoy-calls-for-libyan-unity-government-by-august

[57] Euronews. (2015, August 12). Afghanistan: Drone uccide leader di Isil. Retrieved December 10, 2017, from http://it.euronews.com/2015/02/09/suspected-afghan-isil-leader-killed-by-drone-strike; Euronews. (2015, August 12). Libia, le dimissioni del premier di Tobruk irrompono nei colloqui di Ginevra. Retrieved December 10, 2017, from   http://it.euronews.com/2015/08/12/un-envoy-calls-for-libyan-unity-government-by-august

avoided the long and virtually unfeasible job of distinguishing STs from TTs without any help from the network, and of identifying corresponding segments in the ST-TT couples.

From the description of the sub-corpora, it is possible to understand the relationship that each component entertains with the other, as Figure 5 (below) shows. The two yellow outer squares represent two national contexts (Italy and the United Kingdom) in which news events can either originate from (local news) or be brought in (international news). Although both national contexts replicate and broadcast news through different news outlets within their national borders, some of the local news items they report about might be of interest for the international community. These news items are located at the intersections between the two yellow outer squares and the green middle square, which represents the international context.

Of course, the same movement happens from the international context towards the national context. Indeed, news items travel within the squares according to the forces that regulate the news market. Translation then occurs especially at the intersections between the squares, whereby, for example, a UK-related news event x is relevant to the UK national context, however, x concerns also the international community and hence those national communities that are part of the international square. For this reason, event x will be replicated within international news outlets as well as within national ones in other linguistic and cultural contexts (e.g. Italy). Once x gets to another national context, it will be dismembered, interpreted, discussed and, obviously, translated on a virtually endless number of news outlets in each country which is concerned with x for any reason, creating other versions of news event x (x_1, x_2, x_3, x_4 and so on) within that local context.
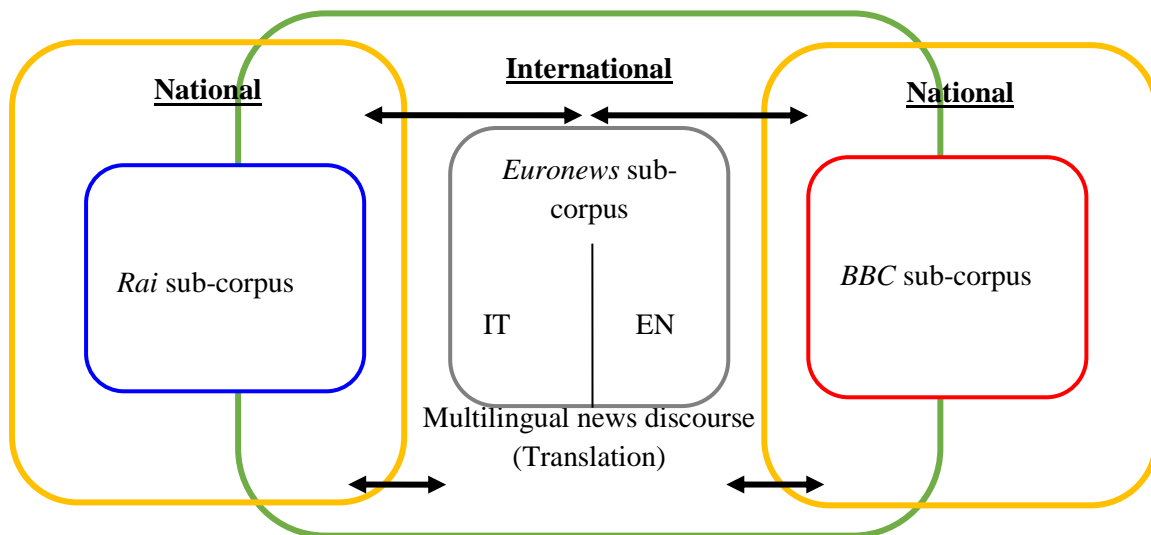
Figure 5. Relationship between the sub-corpora

This process happens almost simultaneously and concerns multiple news events. This is why, in the context of news broadcasting, focusing on translational interventions only is like looking for a needle in a haystack. If the focus is instead enlarged and centred primarily around the investigation of multilingual (or bilingual in the case at hand) news discourse, it will allow the researcher to be more flexible and find translational interventions and/or markers by comparing instances of discourse and not just single texts. Hence, the importance of having three different sub-corpora that refer to three different cultural and linguistic contexts, as explained in Chapter 2.

Let us consider a practical example of the research process made possible thanks to the set up in Figure 5. Starting from a news event, such as the tax dodging scandal that crushed the Swiss branch of the London-based banking institution HSBC back in February 2015, the analyst could set out to investigate this event in multiple lingua-cultural contexts. The first aspect to consider is indeed the context in which the newsworthy event originated. The *BBC*

conducted an inquiry into HSBC and the event was widely reported by media all across Europe, as HSBC Switzerland has high-profile customers from all over the world.[58]

After having analysed the context in which the news originated, it is necessary to create a sub-corpus within the *BBC* component that includes all the reports about HSBC, and the same procedure should be followed for the other components of the AVNews Corpus, i.e. *Rai* and *Euronews* (Italian and English). Once these sub-corpora are ready, each one of them is investigated and compared against the other, and if needed, with external reference corpora, such as the TenTen Family Corpora (Jakubíček et al., 2013). Special attention is given to *Euronews* reports in English and Italian, as they are composed of matching pairs of videos, and therefore they are the ideal site to look for language transfer activities.

Moreover, analysts should pay attention to the videos and, in general, audio-visual material that are broadcast by each channel, as they should expect those images/materials to be repeated across the sub-corpora. If that is the case, this is an unmistakable clue that the audio-visual text originated somewhere else, and therefore was manipulated (translated, adapted, cut, re-voiced) in order to meet the needs of a specific audience.

These movements back and forth from the corpus data or individual texts to the context and vice versa are what in Chapter 2, I described as *convergence* and define the heuristic of this mixed-methodology (Haarman & Lombardo, 2009), which will be further illustrated in Chapter 6.

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[58] "The bank of tax cheats", *BBC One*, *Panorama*, aired on 9/02/2015.

5.3. Annotation scheme: mark-up, tag set and transcription

This section will consider in further detail the AVNews Corpus briefly sketched in 5.2. In particular, the annotation and the transcribing conventions will be thoroughly reported, in order to give a full account of the process that brought this corpus into being.

As reported by many scholars within the field of CL (Marchi & Venuti, 2009; McEnery & Hardie, 2012; Zanettin, 2013), corpus encoding is an interpretative operation imposed by the analyst on the texts that constitute the corpus. Namely, "[c]orpus annotation is the practice of adding interpretative linguistic information to a corpus" (Leech, 2004). Even though it is a hermeneutic operation, annotation is also a helpful tool for the researcher, as it "makes the corpus usable as a complete, harmonized and coherent body of texts" (Marchi & Venuti, 2009, p. 28). We can appreciate this double nature of encoding: on the one hand it is subjective, on the other hand it enriches the corpus, providing its users with an invaluable body of information that sustains the interpretation of the texts contained in the corpus.

Some scholars in CL are critical about annotation, for example neo-Firthian and "corpus-as-theory" scholars (Sinclair & Carter, 2004; Tognini-Bonelli, 2001). Their main arguments are that (especially linguistic) annotation impinges on the purity and the integrity of the texts and imposes pre-defined theoretical linguistic frameworks onto the corpus data. McEnery and Hardie however dismiss these arguments, pointing out how corpus annotation consists in

> a process of labelling, not creation or transformation. To that extent, we can say that the corpus is *enriched*, from the point of view of a program or user, but we cannot say that the corpus has had new information added to it. (McEnery & Hardie, 2012, p. 131)(McEnery, Hardie 2011: 31)

In line with scholars from the corpus-as-method approach, I believe that encoding information in a corpus is an operation that adds value to the corpus itself and, with particular reference to

the case at hand, the annotation of the audio-visual texts helps restoring some of the audio and visual information that are inevitably lost during the transcription, as Marchi and Venuti argue

> […] marking up television texts is particularly useful, precisely because annotation allows us to account for complexity, making it possible to integrate multilayered information into the text and to simultaneously keep track of multiple variables. Mark-up is thus an excellent tool for the analysis of television news, as it facilitates the constant shunting between different levels of investigation, modes of meaning (verbal/visual) and approaches to text analysis. (Marchi & Venuti, 2009, p. 34)

Annotators should always strive to be as consistent and coherent as possible while annotating the texts of their corpus, nevertheless a certain degree of human (and/or software) error is to be expected. Inconsistencies as well as interpretations imposed by the annotator, however, are not concealed or hidden to the users, on the contrary "the choice of the analyst (or annotation software) is explicitly present in the text, any inconsistency is clear and open to scrutiny, and any necessary allowances can be made by users of the data" (McEnery & Hardie, 2012, p. 32).

Before considering the specific encoding set-up of this audio-visual corpus, and thus the peculiar interpretative choices made by its compiler, it is worthwhile considering the various types of information that corpus annotation might express. In this respect, McEnery and Hardie distinguish between "three types of information that might aid in the investigation of the data in the corpus: metadata, textual mark-up and linguistic annotation" (McEnery & Hardie, 2012, p. 29).

First, metadata provides information about the text. In the case of the AVNews Corpus, the metadata is information about the newscasts or the news videos: file IDs, date, time, name of the newscast and name of the main anchor.

Second, textual mark-up gives the analyst information "within the text other than the words itself" (McEnery & Hardie, 2012, p. 29), that is metalinguistic data which are inevitably subject to a certain degree of interpretation, as we shall see in 5.3.1. By means of example, in

the AVNews Corpus, information about the speakers, the news items and, to some extent, the audio and visual parts of the texts constitute the textual mark-up.

Third, linguistic annotation refers to the purely linguistic information about the grammatical function of each single word in the corpus (e.g. part-of-speech annotation). Like textual mark-up, linguistic annotation may be subjective. In fact, even if the annotation is carried out automatically through a part-of-speech tagger, the simple decision of which tagger to use or those decisions made by the analyst who designed the tagger are arbitrary and therefore subjective. In 5.3.1, I will focus mainly on metadata and textual mark-up, while linguistic annotation will be briefly mentioned in 5.4.

5.3.1 Mark-up scheme of audio-visual news texts: telling a story

In 5.3 has been established the usefulness of annotation and mark-up with particular reference to television news, stressing out how in audio-visual (news) texts meaning is transmitted and constructed through "different sign systems, that is visual images and verbal language" (Marchi & Venuti, 2009, p. 33). Therefore, the organization of discourse (and meanings) in audio-visual texts creates a structure that tells a story. This *narrative structure* has recurrent characteristics that researchers might find relevant to consider in their analyses. These characteristics are made available for study through annotation:

> Through XML mark-up we can encapsulate the information into the corpus and then retrieve each representation separately or in combination with another, by merging the various encoded parameters when querying the corpus with concordance software. (Marchi & Venuti, 2009, p. 36)

XML (eXtensible, Mark-up, Language) is a standard mark-up language widely used for text encoding. XML has the undeniable virtue of being standard, but also of being highly customizable: annotators can choose to encode whatever information they like using XML, as long as they do so consistently and unambiguously, meaning that an XML-conformant

document has to be well-formed and its tags have to be clear and unequivocally associated to their elements. For the purposes of this study, XML was used to encode information into the texts and make it retrievable through corpus querying.

Before explaining in detail which information is encoded in the audio-visual texts that this corpus consists of, I would like to briefly comment on two important corpus-related issues, that is availability and storage of the audio-visual texts and videos, and naming conventions of the documents.

With regards to the first issue, transcriptions and videos were initially stored on two external hard drives and, once the annotation and mark-up of the texts were done, a copy was stored on the Department of Interpreting and Translation's intranet server in Forlì. Copies of the files on the University's server were necessary not only in order to link videos with their transcriptions (5.3.2), but also to make the corpus available to other researchers upon request. The original copies of the videos are stored on two external hard-drives and they consist of 90.4 GB (videos and transcriptions). Within an audio-visual corpus project, preserving the original versions of its video files is of paramount importance, as during conversion and/or compression processes some error could occur, which would give back a damaged output file. By preserving the original files, one can always go back and repeat these processes virtually *ad libitum*.

Regarding the second issue, that is naming conventions, my primary goal was to find a suitable system that allowed me to immediately recognize to which sub-corpus each file belonged. Additionally, it was fundamental that each file ID was readable for prospective users of this corpus. Table 7 sums up the strategies underlying the naming conventions used in this study. Each file ID contains information about the broadcasting date and channel; newscasts are identified through their name and the time of broadcasting, whereas news videos are identified according to the language they contain and the title of the video in its shortened form.

Channels		Information	File ID: example
Rai Uno		Date (yymmdd), Channel, Name of newscast, Time	150209_RaiUno_TG1h20
Rainews24			150806_Rainews24_Newsh13
BBC One			150222_BBCOne_Newsat10
Euronews	ENG	Date (yymmdd), Channel, Language, short title of video news	150209-Euronews-EN-KievPeaceTalks
	ITA		150209-Euronews-IT-KievPeaceTalks

Table 7. Naming conventions

Metatextual information, including file IDs, information about the newscasts or the news videos (title, anchor name etc.) are contained in the header tag of each transcribed text, followed by a <text> tag, which signals the beginning of the transcribed text. The information contained in the header is displayed as follows:

- BBC, RAI:

```
<header>
      <filename="FILE ID"></filename>
      <title="name">TITLE, TIME OF NEWSCAST</title>
      <anchor="name">NAME OF NEWS ANCHOR</anchor>
</header>
```
- EURONEWS:

```
<header>
      <filename="FILE ID"></file>
      <title="name">EXTENDED VIDEO NEWS TITLE</title>
      <press agency="name">NAME OF PRESS AGENCY</press agency>
(if applicable)
</header>
```

The information encoded in the corpus mark-up can be divided into three main categories: "report", "audio-visual" tags and "thematic" content. Each category contains a set of elements (tags), which in turn contain a set of attributes describing the elements they are referring to.

I will explain each category and its related elements and attributes, starting from the first one, i.e. "report". This category provides information about the newscast's structure, hence it describes those fixed and recurring elements of each newscast or news videos as shown in Table 8 (below). The "report" category embodies the syntax of the newscasts and news videos, as it represents the skeleton upon which they are built (Marchi & Venuti, 2009). Being able to

systematically search for these structures in the transcribed texts can be very helpful. In this way, contrastive analyses of the information contained in a specific part of the newscasts can be done across the sub-corpora.

Tags	Description	Text types
`<headlines> </headlines>`	Short summary of the news event that will be reported on in further detail during the newscast.	Newscasts
`<newscastbody> </newscastbody>`	Signals the beginning and the end of the actual newscast and contains <launch/>, <report/>, <wrap-up/> and <follow-up/> tags.	Newscasts
`<launch> </launch>`	Signals the launching of a news report by the news anchor; usually it contains a brief description of the news event and the name of the reporter.	Newscasts
`<report> </report>`	Signals the beginning and the end of each news report.	All
`<wrap-up> </wrap-up>`	Anchor summarises or recaps on the news or top stories during an on-going newscast.	Newscasts
`<follow-up> </follow-up>`	Anchor adds info or remarks immediately after the airing of a news report or briefly recaps on an ongoing news issue without launching a news report.	Newscasts

Table 8. "Report" tags

The "audio-visual" category refers to features strictly associated with the multimodal nature of the texts under consideration. This category tries to restore some of the audio and visual aspects that are inevitably lost when the texts are transcribed. As shown in Table 9 (below), the tags belonging to this category can be further divided into three sub-categories: "speaker", "event" and "pic(ture)". "Speaker" tags describe speakers and their roles; these tags also contain information about turn taking (time stamps), which will be dealt with in detail in 5.3.2. "Event" tags refer to all audio-visual events that take place on screen and are not commented on by the speaker (either anchor or reporter), but are nevertheless relevant to the news report because they somehow interrupt the report, overlap with it, or function as (audio-visual) background to the speaker's utterances. Finally, "pic(ture)" tags contain information about visual elements being projected on the screen (e.g. informative slides, relevant pictures/images, text).

Speaker	Description	Text types
`<s who= "name" "role" video= "video`	Information about the video and time stamps of the utterance (beginning and end), speakers' names and roles	All

`file link">UTTERED TEXT</s>`	(reporter, VIP, interviewee).[59]	
`<ol= "#">OVERLAPPING TEXT</ol>`	Overlapping speech: # is a number which has to be repeated in the following overlap, signalling an interruption/overlap by speaker 2 on speaker 1, e.g. <ol="1"> (part of) utterance delivered by the speaker who gets overlapped or interrupted <ol="1"> (part of) utterance delivered by other(s) speaker(s), who interrupts and/or overlaps the previous one	
`</unclear>`	Unclear (parts of) utterances.	
`<q> QUOTE </q>`	Quotes and reported speeches.	
`<vo> TRANSLATED TEXT</vo>`	Signals the presence of voice-over translation, <vo/> has to follow <s/>.	
`</untranslated>`	Untranslated stretch of text, in which the language is different from the main reporting language and a translation is not provided.	
`<name> ITEM NAME </name>`	Book/Film/Shows and alike, titles that normally would be written between inverted commas.	
`<anym> ACRONYM </anym>`	Acronyms uttered by the speakers, but reported in the conventional acronym form, e.g. <anym>NGO</anym>.	
`<onomatopoeia> </onomatopoeia>`	Onomatopoeic sounds uttered by the speaker, e.g. <onomatopoeia>tadan</onomatopoeia>.	
`<website> www.pincopallino.au </website>`	Websites quoted in the newscast/report	
`</beeped>`	Censored utterances and/or expression either for privacy concerns or swearing and alike	
`<spellerr desc="UTTERED WORD">CORRECT SPELLING</spellerr>`	Misspelled and mispronounced words, disfluencies.	
Event	**Description**	**Text types**
`<event desc= "event type"> </event>`	Main structure of event tags.	All
`<event desc= "live report"> </event>`	Live report and live interaction between anchor and reporter.	Newscasts
`<event desc= "framed person speaks"> </event>`	Close-up of someone who is speaking because s/he is interviewed and/or speaks directly on camera (reporters and anchors are excluded)	
`<event desc= "topic video", "topic footage"> </event>`	Video or footage (shot with a phone or hand-camera) about the topic of the report	
`<event desc= "war noises", "war footage"> </event>`	Footages war zones, gunshots, missiles, etc.	All
`<event desc= "press`	Video of a press conference or political rally	

[59] e.g.: <s who= "Lucia Goracci – reporter"> </s>; if the speaker is an unnamed interviewee, < who="Interviewee # - woman/man"> </s>; if the speaker is the anchor <s who= "anchor"> </s> (name of the anchor is reported in the header section).

conference", "political rally"> </event>		
<event desc= "phone record"> </event>	Recorded voices	
<event desc= "music playing"> </event>	Music playing (background or as part of the report)	
<event desc= "crying", "laughter", "applause", "cheering crowd"> </event>	Emotional responses that affect speakers' utterances	
<event desc= "newscast theme"> </event>	Newscast themes usually broadcasted between headlines and newscast body.	Newscasts
Pic	**Description**	**Text types**
<pic desc= "pic type"> </pic>	Main structure of pic tags.	
<pic desc= "info slide"> </pic>	Slides projected on screen containing relevant information about the news item.	All
<pic desc= "photograph"> </pic>	Photographs about key figures of the news item.	
<pic desc= "subtitles"> </pic>	Inter- or intralingual subtitles of what is being said (e.g. cctv camera footages).	
<pic desc= "text on screen"> </pic>	Relevant parts of a textual document projected on screen as anchor/reporter reads it.	Newscasts
<pic desc= "webpage screenshot"> </pic>	Screenshots of webpages	
<pic desc= "Tweet"> </pic>	Screenshots/projection of social media textual elements.	All
<pic desc= "Facebook"> </pic>		
<pic desc= "map"> </pic>	Geopolitical maps projected on screen.	
<pic desc= "newspaper page"> </pic>	Newspapers projected on screen.	

Table 9. Main *Speaker*, *Event* and *Pic* tags

The "thematic" category is perhaps the most relevant, because through this kind of mark-up we can carry out searches according to news items, and, consequently, comparisons between the distribution of information across sub-corpora, that is to check how pervasive is a news item across the sub-corpora. The thematic annotation consists of three main tags, each referring to aspects of the news item being reported on, as Table 10 shows. "News area" refers to the geopolitical pertinence of the news items; for the purposes of this study two national areas were

identified, Italy and the UK. The rest of the world was divided in larger geopolitical zones (see Table 10). The second thematic tag concerns the news item itself, and contains a keyword either summarizing the main topic of the report or giving a more specific location for the news item, as the examples in Table 10 show. Finally, the last thematic tag represents a further specification of the main topic. Since sometimes the "topic" tag is specific enough, this is not necessarily present in every report.

Thematic	Description	Text types
`<news area= "geographical location of the news item"> </news area>`	Geographical locations: Local IT, Local UK, European, North America (NAm), South America (SAm), Middle East, Africa, Asia, Oceania, Worldwide.	
`<topic item= "News item main area of concern" / "more specific geographical location"> </topic item>`	News areas of concern: politics, healthcare, economy, transports, migrants, justice, crime, war, terrorism&security, sports, weather, etc. More specific locations: single countries within wider geographical areas, e.g. <news area= "European"> <topic item= "France"> … </topic> </news>	All
`<subtopic item= "more info about main topic"> </subtopic>`	In case <topic item= "more specific location">, sub-topics describe the concern of the news report, e.g. <news area= "European"> <topic item= "France"> <subtopic item= "politics"> … </subtopic> </topic> </news>	

Table 10. Thematic tags

Summing up, this section argued that mark-up is an essential feature for an audio-visual corpus, conceding that it can have its downsides, especially if performed manually. We foregrounded the interpretative and hermeneutic aspects of annotation, which are fundamental characteristics of another necessary operation when dealing with audio-visual texts, that is transcription. The next section (5.3.2) will focus on transcription and time-stamping and their importance for successfully linking transcribed texts to their corresponding videos.

5.3.2. Transcribing and time-stamping: linking videos and transcriptions

Before providing details about the transcribing conventions employed for this corpus, it seems important to explain why this operation has been defined as highly interpretative and subjective, yet necessary. Moreover, I would like to briefly dwell on which kind of transcription I decided to perform on the audio-visual texts at hand.

The AVNews Corpus was designed and consequently built in order to observe and gain evidence about how news events are reported in different national and international contexts. By comparing sub-corpora in different languages, it is assumed that some evidence about translational strategies will eventually surface. This corpus was not meant to provide evidence about paralinguistic or prosodic features, hence I opted for an orthographic, non-phonetic type of transcription. This means that intonation and pronunciation patterns were completely ignored, as were all other phonology-related issues. As my focus was not on how the speakers sounded, but rather on what they said, I deemed it too time-consuming transcribing the audio-visual texts with such a meticulous phonetic work. The same goes for multimodal transcription, i.e. the transcription of speakers' kinesics and the description of frames (Baldry & Thibault, 2006; Knight et al., 2006). That also was beyond the purposes of this corpus and this study. It can be argued that there are some multimodal elements in the mark-up scheme, but only a subjective selection of elements was performed to be included in the mark-up scheme.

The argument that transcription is an interpretative action is quite strong: Niemants (2012) rightly considers the process of transcription as a type of translation, and, we might add in Jakobson's (1959) terms, as intralingual and, in a way, also intrasemiotic translation:

> It is not just the transcription product that is important, but also the process, and the transcriber performing it. Researchers can no longer pretend not to see the mediation process involved in this special translation from the oral to the written form, and the role played by the ever wider community of transcribers. Just as translations with parallel text lay bare the transformations, and the losses, involved in the translation process, alignment of audio and transcript

uncovers the transformations, and the losses, perpetrated in the transcription process.
(Niemants, 2012, p. 168)

For the sake of transparency and clarity, it is then worthwhile describing which conventions guided the transcription process, as "[t]ranscriptions, whether linked to audio(visual) recordings or not, are not only non-native texts, but also secondary data in themselves" (Zanettin, 2013, p. 105) and the mediation imposed on the texts is the result of conscious and/or unconscious choices made by the transcriber.

In this regard, there are quite a few (conscious) decisions to be taken before engaging with the actual transcription of texts, such as which type of transcription to perform, what to transcribe and which layout should the transcribed texts have. These decisions mainly depend on the purposes of the research and on the role of the transcribed texts within the research project.

In order to better describe the rationale behind the choices made within this study, it should also be borne in mind what type of audio-visual texts we are dealing with. Newscasts and news videos cannot be considered pure spoken texts, as they always follow a script, even when they include live interactions between anchor and reporter. If we imagine a continuum going from spoken to written texts, audio-visual journalistic texts would be placed towards the written pole, just before orations or public speeches. Indeed, audio-visual journalistic texts can be defined as "written to be spoken texts", and this was one of the main characteristics that informed transcription-related choices made within this study.

As mentioned above, I opted for an orthographic transcription with a vertical layout where speakers followed each other in a sequence of turns. The basic transcription unit is the utterance, that is a full sentence-like unit followed by a short pause. Identifying utterances was not very difficult, as in written-to-be-spoken texts speakers tend to follow punctuation very closely, making their speech clear and easy to interpret for the audience.

166

In general, for the transcription and the editing of the transcribed texts, I drew from the *EPTIC Guidelines* (Bernardini, Ferraresi, & Miličević, 2013), adapting them to the specific needs of the audio-visual texts of this study. As reported in Table 11 (below), hesitations, false starts and filled pauses, which were not very frequent, were codified with the unique "ehm" wording, whereas empty pauses were codified with "…".

Transcription convention	Description
"ehm"	Hesitations, false starts, filled pauses, stuttering
"…"	Empty pauses
Cardinal Numbers	From 1 to 10: words (e.g. one, two, three…nine, ten). From 11 to 999: figures (e.g. 137). From 1000 to ∞: figures and words according to the conventions of each language (e.g. 1387, and 254 million).
Ordinal Numbers	Usually they follow the conventions of each language involved; if they refer to names, they are written in Roman numerals (e.g. "Carlo I d'Inghilterra" – "Charles I of England").
Percentages	They are written as figures followed by the symbol according to the conventions of each language (e.g. "5,5%" and "5.1%"). If the audio-visual text employs alternative expressions to refer to percentages, the verbatim transcription reports them as they are (e.g. "8 punti percentuali" and "8 percentage points").
Punctuation	It follows the succession of pauses and intonation patterns of the utterance.

Table 11. Transcription guidelines for the AVNews corpus

In Table 9 (above), I described the mark-up of the corpus, and a few tags encoded specific characteristics concerning the multimodal aspects of the audio-visual texts. Some of those tags referred to the typically spoken features of the texts, e.g. overlapping speech, unclear utterances, voiceover translation, onomatopoeic sounds uttered by speakers, beeped utterances, mispronunciations and disfluencies, and emotional responses (crying, laughter, applause). Keeping record of these spoken events in the mark-up of the corpus thus meant that transcriptions resulted, to a certain extent, in less readable but surely more interpretable texts from the point of view of a prospective corpus user, and they were also quicker (as well as easier) to perform from the point of view of the transcriber.

To provide a rough idea of how time-consuming transcribing audio-visual texts actually is, for 1 minute of *Rai* newscasts, approximately 7 minutes are necessary. This time is needed for an unrefined transcription without thematic tagging, which in turn requires from 4 to 5 minutes for 1 minute of audio-visual text. Transcribing *BBC* texts took more or less the same time, as automatically generated subtitles were available (although not for download). *Euronews* texts were the easiest and the quickest to transcribe (approx. 5 minutes for 1 minute of video) because each news video is accompanied by a partial transcription in the form of a news article which was used as a starting point for its time-stamped transcription (Chapter 4.3.1). All transcriptions were revised; those from *Euronews* required less revision not only because of the availability of partial transcribed texts, but also because of their simpler setup with usually just one speaker and no transition between one news report to the other.

The transcription phase was aided by the use of software which allowed simultaneous verbatim transcription and time-stamping. The choice of software was guided by the principle of simplicity: it was essential for the software to be easy to use and to allow the transcriber to transcribe videos and add time-stamps at the same time. After a trial phase with different pieces of software, *EasyTranscript*[60] was found to be the most apt to the task. The latter is a free software application that presents the users with a double window (Figure 6), half of which contains a text editor for the transcription and the other half allows for the reproduction of the video. The speed of the video can be adjusted to the needs of the transcriber, and time-stamps can be added by pressing the enter-key on the keyboard when the utterance is over. *EasyTranscript* saves the output files in double format, a proprietary format (.etp) and a Microsoft Word format (.docx). After the texts were transcribed and time-stamped, they were

[60] Easy Transcript. Retrieved December 07, 2017, from http://e-werkzeug.eu/index.php/en/products/easytranscript

converted from .docx to .txt with UTF8 encoding for further processing in a text editor like

Notepad++.[61]
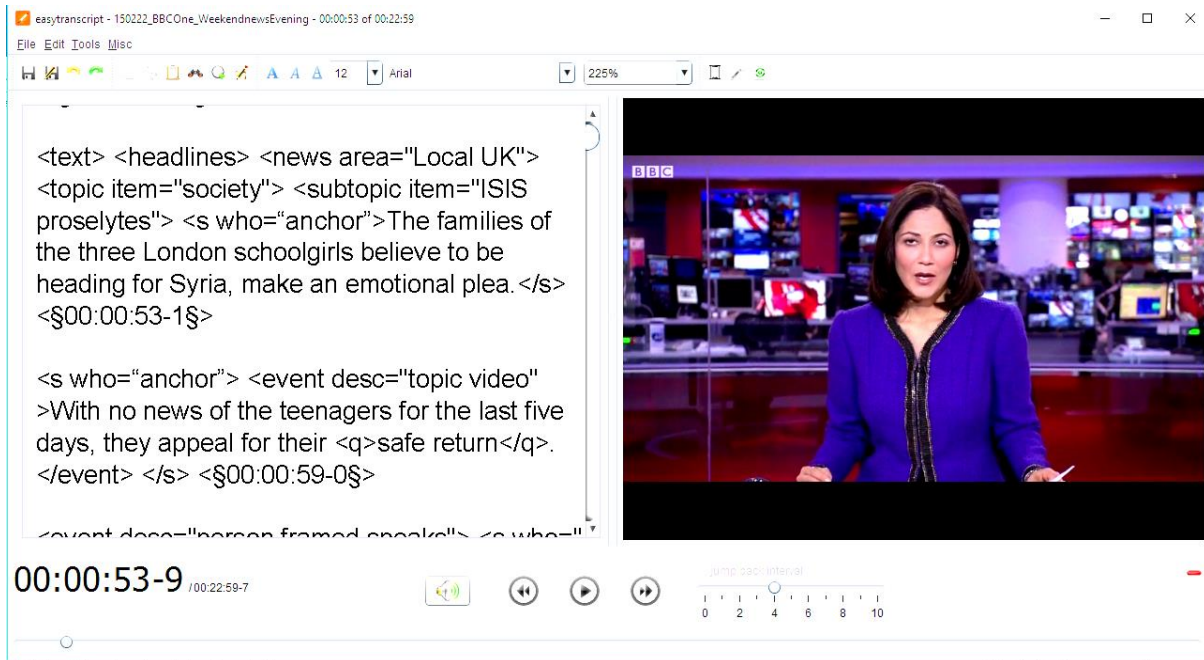
Figure 6. EasyTranscript transcription window

Time-stamping the texts was necessary in order to be able to link the transcribed texts with their corresponding videos within the corpus query software. Each transcribed text contains time-stamps that were initially encoded in the corpus with the tag <§/> (see Figure 6). Time-stamps were then added as attributes to the <s/> (speaker) tag, thus signalling the beginning and the end of the utterance, as the following example shows:

```
<s who= "anchor" video=
http://id=150209_BBCOne_NewsAt6&start=00:01:59.1&end
=00:02:05.5> The BBC's <name>Panorama</name>
programme has seen details of thousands of accounts
from <anym>HSBC</anym>'s private bank in
Switzerland. </s>
<s who= "anchor" video=
http://id=150209_BBCOne_NewsAt6&start=00:02:05.5&end
=00:02:08.7"> <anym>HSBC</anym> says <q>the bank has
now fundamentally changed</q>.</s>
```

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[61] Notepad++. Retrieved December 10, 2017, from https://notepad-plus-plus.org/

The "video" attribute of the <s/> tag contains a link to its corresponding video stored in the servers of the Department of Interpreting and Translation in Forlì, where this audio-visual corpus can be accessed remotely upon request through the Deparment NoSketchEngine platform. [62] Once having gained access to the corpus, users can easily perform any kind of inquiry. In particular, when they look at concordance lines, by clicking on the link on the right-hand side of the concordance line, a window will pop up and the corresponding video will be played at time indicated by the time-stamp of the concordance line (see Figure 7 below).
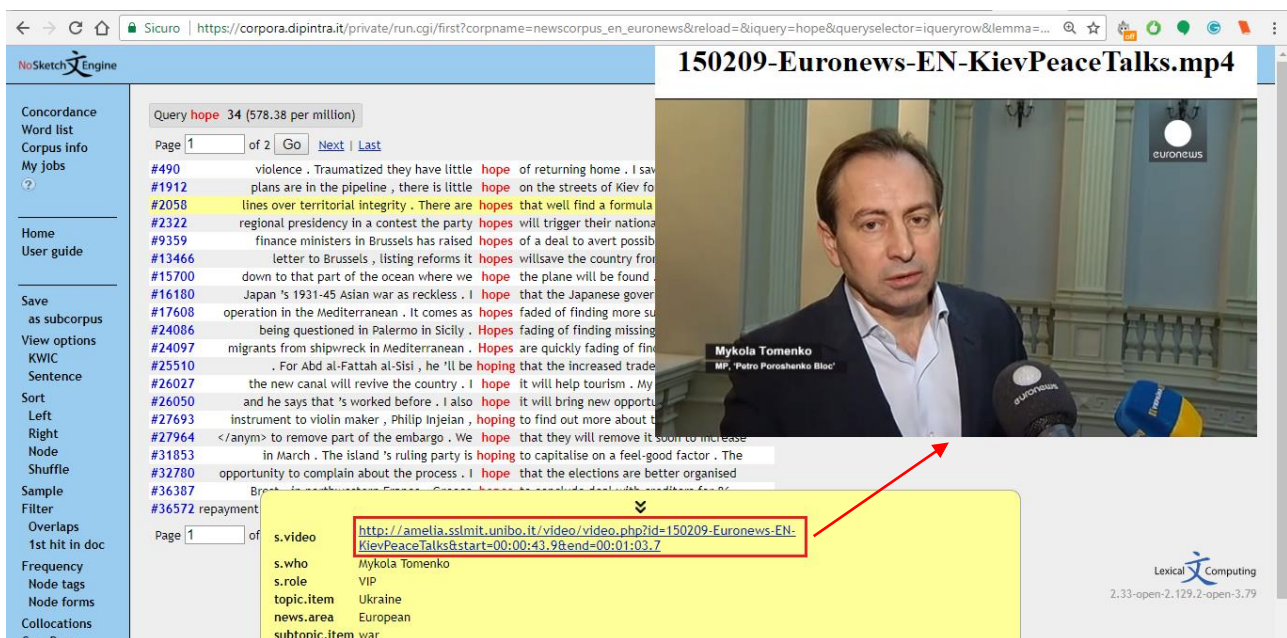
Figure 7. Access to the AVNews corpus on NoSketchEnghine

By means of this linking system, it is then possible for the user to access audio-visual information contained in the videos, thus making up for the loss of meaning and multimodal elements during the encoding and transcription phases.

In 5.4, I will show how this thematic annotation allows the researcher to investigate which areas are prioritized by each newscaster, and how observing these results can provide a useful starting point for more linguistic-oriented searches on the sub-corpora.

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[62] Corpora and tools. Retrieved December 07, 2017, from https://corpora.dipintra.it/

5.4 Indexing and using the corpus: what information can be retrieved?

This last section will show how this audio-visual corpus can be employed, focusing in particular on the ways the corpus mark-up gives access to different kinds of information. This indexed and POS tagged corpus[63] is held on the servers of the Department of Interpreting and Translation (DIT) at Forlì, and available from their NoSketch Engine Platform.

Using the NoSketch Engine for accessing the AVNews corpus has several advantages. First of all, the NoSketch Engine is open-source and has a user-friendly interface which allows one to perform various types of searches on the selected corpus, such as collocations according to a variety of statistical calculations, besides generating word and keyword lists. Moreover, using the Department's NoSketch Engine platform means that the AVNews Corpus can be accessed remotely and upon request by users. The latter can request username and password from the IT Department of DIT[64], and then access the AVNews Corpus in the "Private" section of https://corpora.dipintra.it/. The AVNews Corpus is not freely available for the reasons explained in 5.2.2.

Given that the two case studies in Chapter 6 will focus in detail on how the corpus can be used to shed light on multilingual journalistic discourse from a linguistic and translational point of view, here I would like to add some descriptive information about the corpus used in this study, which can help us to appreciate the advantages of the thematic and multimodal mark-up scheme described in 5.3.1.

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[63] The AVNews Corpus was indexed and POS tagged by Adriano Ferraresi, whereas its upload was carried out by Eros Zanchetta.

[64] Access can be requested at: Servizi informatici @ UniBo. Retrieved December 10, 2017, from http://www.dit.unibo.it/it/dipartimento/amministrazione-e-servizi-informatici/servizi-informatici

N.As [65] N.Cs	IT		UK		EU		N.AM.		S.AM.		M.E.		ASIA		AFR.		OCE.		WW.	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
BBC One	14	2.9	293	60.3	83	17.1	25	5.1	0	0	23	4.7	18	3.7	2	0.4	2	0.4	26	5.3
E.news IT	21	6.3	13	3.9	117	35.3	30	9.1	24	7.2	42	12.7	32	9.7	25	7.5	7	2.1	20	6
E.news EN	21	6.3	13	3.9	116	34.9	30	9	24	7.2	43	12.9	32	9.6	26	7.8	7	2.1	20	6
Rai Uno	330	75	3	0.7	43	9.8	18	4.1	2	0.4	5	1.4	11	2.5	10	2.3	0	0	18	4.1
Rain. 24	323	63.8	4	0.8	66	13	19	3.7	1	0.2	32	6.3	17	3.3	17	3.3	1	0.2	26	5.1

Table 12. Geographical distribution of the news in the AVNews corpus

The abovementioned thematic annotation allows the researcher to investigate which geographical or thematic areas are prioritized by the newscasters under consideration, thus providing an overview on similarities and differences among the sub-corpora beyond the linguistic level. In practice, the analyst may perform queries based on the thematic tags, e.g. <news area= ""/>, and then group the results for each newscaster and each news area (Table 12) displaying the obtained information in a graph or chart, as Figure 8 shows.

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[65] N.As (News Areas), N.Cs (Newscasters)
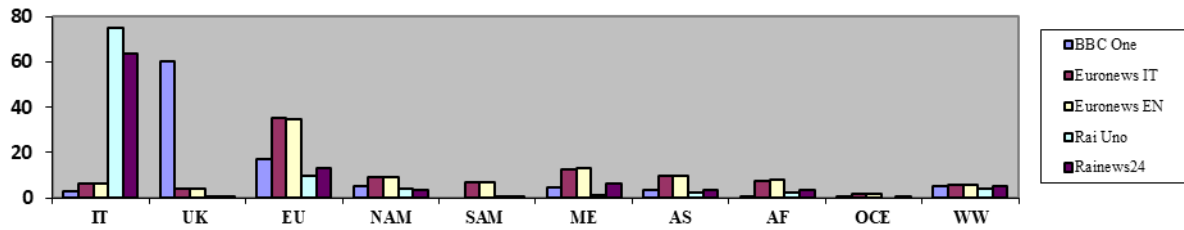
Figure 8. News geographical distribution chart

By looking at the chart in Figure 8, we can observe how the three national newscasters significantly prioritize domestic news coverage. This is quite understandable, as these channels are addressing national audiences, however, by observing other news areas it is possible to observe which geographical areas are more interesting or relevant within the national broadcasters. Attention to the European agenda seems higher on the *BBC* (17%) than on the Italian channels (9.8% *Rai* and 13% *Rainews24*). There are some areas which are scarcely considered by the national broadcasters, such as Oceania; whereas news items with a worldwide resonance are homogeneously reported on by all newscasters (from 4% to 6%). Understandably, *Euronews* data set focuses predominantly on European issues. Indeed, more or less 45% of *Euronews*' reports are about European matters, including Italian and UK news. Compared to the other channels, at *Euronews* more prominence is given to areas such as South America and Africa which are given little to no consideration by the national newscasters.

The information in Figure 8 can be broken down for each news area, for example we could set out to study which news items were broadcast at the European level during the time frame of the audio-visual corpus and compare the results between the sub-corpora; or we could compare issues at the "local" (UK and IT) level, in order to observe which kind of news events are given prominence at this level. These searches on thematic tags can provide a starting point for predominantly linguistic inquiries on the sub-corpora, as the two case studies in Chapter 6 will show.

173

As concerns the multimodal mark-up presented in 5.3, searches based on "event" and "pic" tags have proven to be useful as well. One way to employ the <event desc= ""/> tags is to compare in which occasions the newscasters resort to close-ups of interviewees, by searching for <event desc= "person framed speaks"> in combination with the attribute "interviewee" of the <s/> tag. In this way, it is possible to observe the situations in which newscasters employ a more emotional and sensationalizing way of reporting.

Another useful tag within the "event" category is <event desc= "live reporting"/> which signals the live interaction between anchor and reporter, or simply a journalist reporting live. This tag allows the analyst to quantify live reports in each newscaster, and then to draw conclusions on which types of news events are mostly reported live in each sub-corpus, and successively investigate how live reporting linguistically affects the development of the report itself (e.g. hesitations, use of deixis, length of live reports and their type/token ratio).

"Pic" tags can be employed in investigating how often newscasters resort to the use of informative slides to explain a potentially complex concept, or to display figures about a particular news item (e.g. budget cuts, funding, etc.). To perform such inquiries, the analyst should isolate news items (<reports/>) containing the tag <pic desc= "info slide"/>. This type of inquiry is particularly suitable for investigating translational interventions in the *Euronews* sub-corpora, as informative slides in *Euronews* are usually in English and the visual elements projected on screen are rendered in Italian by means of the voice-track only, while the slide remains in the original language.

A further use of "pic" tags is that of investigating the use of still images by looking for <pic desc= "photograph"/> and <pic desc= "map"/> tags. Such an investigation provides hints about the availability of correspondents *in situ* by each newscaster, and, as a consequence, it can shed light on the availability of *first-hand* journalistic information. In the case of a high number of pictures, it could be argued that the information originated within a news agency or

174

another news broadcaster, signalling possible (translational) manipulations on the part of the newscaster.

Lastly, the <vo/> (voiceover) and the <pic desc= "subtitles"/> tags are also very effective in observing translational manipulations in audio-visual journalistic texts, especially if the analyst is able to retrieve the ST of the re-voiced speeches, as it is the case with some *Euronews* videos.

The types of investigations mentioned in this section can provide starting points for more detailed analyses about specific issues within the corpus, as the case studies in Chapter 6 will show. Whatever information the analysts set out to gather from the AVNews Corpus, and from any corpus, there are two important issues that they should remember. Firstly, investigating an audio-visual corpus of the news without considering the socio-cultural contexts and the time-frame in which those news items originated, is pointless. As we shall see, searching the corpus for linguistic evidence should be accompanied by a thorough qualitative analysis of the contexts of production and distribution of the news. If, on the one hand, it is surely true that discourses are built and strengthened by means of repetition and cumulation (P. Baker, 2006), on the other hand, discursive strategies are scattered at different linguistic levels and are often implicit (Riesigl & Wodak, 2009). Therefore, careful contextual analyses help researchers to identify those strategies and to consider them in conjunction with the data extracted from the corpus.

Second, the size of the AVNews Corpus does not allow for generalizations of any kind. Being aware of the limitations of the data set at all times is very important. Despite its limits, this data set still provides a valuable snapshot of audio-visual journalism, which can lead to partial conclusions and insights about multilingual news discourse and translation based on authentic data, to be further explored from a bottom-up approach.

6. Methodological *convergence* in practice: case studies

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will showcase the actual functioning of theoretical and methodological *convergence*. I will present four case studies that employ different aspects of this methodological and theoretical framework, showing how cross-linguistic news discourse analysis, carried out according to an array of methods, may actually help in pinpointing the main sites of linguistic transfer (i.e. translation) without being indebted to or constrained by the binary ST-TT rationale, which is what this study endeavours to do, as stated in the Introduction. As pointed out in Chapter 2, within news translation STs and TTs are difficult if not impossible to retrieve, and this hinders research within this field. However, by enlarging the scope of the study and re-focusing our attention on multilingual journalism and how to investigate it, we are released from the ST-TT constraint and able to employ *convergence* as a methodological metaphor and apply it to journalism as a whole. As it will be shown in the following subsections, the use of different CL methodologies (e.g. collocations, keywords and concordance analyses) fits in the framework of *convergence*. Indeed, in line with McEnery and Hardie (2012, p. 6), I "reject the binary distinction between corpus-based and corpus-driven" approaches, in that I use this corpus not as an object of study in itself, but rather as a resource to exploit in order to address a variety of research questions that can be answered through multiple methods of investigation. Thus, the data from the corpus-based investigations in this study are collected according to the method that seemed more appropriate.

The first part of this chapter (6.2) will focus on how to exploit the AVNews Corpus[66] for gathering a better understanding of two news items that were topical and newsworthy in the European area as well as at the international level at a specific point in time. Case Study 1 (6.2.1) considers how migrants are represented in the audio-visual corpus, whereas Case Study 2 (6.2.2) investigates the representation of national identities and the reporting of the Ukrainian conflict over the timespan covered by the audio-visual corpus.

The second part of this chapter (6.3) will instead focus on issues regarding news translation in alternative media, showing how *converging* methods can be also applied to more qualitative investigations. More specifically, in Case Study 3 (6.3.1) about the community newspaper *Il Globo* (4.2) *convergence* occurs between an ethnographic study and a comparative one, as this study entails a good deal of linguistic analysis but also consider the peculiar context in which the texts are produced. Finally, Case Study 4 (6.3.2) merges corpus-based translation studies with ethnography, considering translational products, processes and actors within the citizen media website *Global Voices* (4.3.2).

6.2 Understanding multilingual journalism and news translation through the audio-visual corpus.

As anticipated, this section will show how the audio-visual corpus described in Chapter 5 can be employed in the investigation of multilingual journalism. Case Study 1 analyses the newscasts' language and the images of migrants in the AVNews Corpus, starting from a comparison between data about migrants reported by the United Nations Refugee Agency

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[66] The reader is referred back to footnote 21, p. 111 for the reasons why the Australian channels ABC and SBS are not included in the AVNews Corpus or, as it is, in any of the case studies.

(UNHCR) of the 2015 migration crisis and the prominence of this topic in the corpus in terms of frequency. First, I will describe the context and the laws regulating migration in the European Union; second, I will show the recurrence of the same images of migrants in the corpus, demonstrating how an audio-visual corpus can actually be of great help when comparing news discourses in different languages. Finally, manipulating corpus data, I will try to illustrate the "serendipitous process" (Laviosa, 2002) by which translational intervention can be pinpointed and understood in multilingual news discourse.

Case Study 2 employs the AVNews Corpus, but focuses on one of the most dramatic moments of the war in Eastern Ukraine, that is the ceasefire deal reached in February 2015. Case Study 2 considers the Ukrainian conflict and the identities involved in it, showing how the four newscasters built polarized discourses exploiting specific narratives when reporting about Ukraine. This corpus-based analysis tries to triangulate the results, alternating quantitative and qualitative fine-grained analysis, in order to identify who are the actors of this conflict and how broadcasters reveal their stance on the conflict by simply giving names to it. [67]

6.2.1 Case Study 1 – A corpus-based approach to the representation of migrants by four broadcasting channels

a) Context: Europe and migrants in 2015

Compared to previous years, 2015 was particularly dramatic and intense both in terms of the number of people transiting from Middle Eastern and African countries to Europe, and also in

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[67] As the reader will rightly note, the following analyses based on the AVNews Corpus do not employ any complex statistical operations such as calculating standard deviation or significance tests. Indeed, with particular reference to this corpus, we might talk about a micro-corpus (s. Calzada Pérez, 2010) in which a qualitative analysis is supported and substantiated by empirical data. Therefore, I mostly use descriptive statistics (s. McEnery & Hardie, 2012), exception made for keywords and collocations, which are nevertheless analysed and considered in strict connection with their respective concordance lines.

terms of deaths of migrants at sea (3,735 people according to the UNHCR and IOM; Holland, 2015; IOM, 2016), generating deep reverberations among international media outlets.

A study taking into account the coverage of six Italian newspapers and seven broadcasting channels reveals that the discourse on migration was particularly visible in Italian media in 2015 (Berretta, 2015). With reference to the television channels, Berretta reports that news coverage concerning migrants almost quadrupled in 2015 when compared to 2014 (3,437 news reports in 2015 and 901 in 2014).

Within the UK, a study by the Reuters Observatory on Migration (Allen, 2016, pp. 2–4) took into consideration the frequency of migration-related words (MRWs) in a corpus of 11 British newspapers from 2006 to 2015. The presence of the migrants' discourse increased gradually from 2012, spiking between 2014 and 2015. Moreover, this study reports a decisive increase in the frequency of MRWs within the discourse on EU migration to the UK from 2012, and a progressively frequent focus on Syrian refugees.

Given the large number of people who, according to the UNHCR (UNHCR, 2017), migrated to Europe during 2015, it is not surprising that news items focusing on migrants were so prevalent in the media across Europe (Table 13). From this data, it emerges that Greece and Italy are the two countries generally most affected by migration flows towards Europe. Table 14 shows a displacement of the epicentre of migratory flows from Italy to Greece (mainly to the islands of Kos, Lesvos and Chios), where the number of migrants arriving from the nearby Turkish coast increased dramatically during the summer of 2015.

	2014	2015	2016
Italy	170,100	153,842	181,436
Greece	41,038	856,723	173,450
Other (Spain, Malta, etc.)	4,916	4,513	7,490
Total	216,054	1,015,078	362,376

Table 13. Refugee arrivals in Europe in 2014, 2015, and 2016 based on UNHCR annual reports

	Feb. 2015	Aug. 2015
Italy	4,354	22,609
Greece	2,873	107,843
Other (Spain, Malta, etc.)	44	387
Total	7,271	130,839

Table 14. Refugee arrivals in Europe in February and
August 2015, based on UNHCR monthly reports

The UNHCR reports that in 2015 Italy was the preferred destination for migrants from African countries (Eritrea 25%, Nigeria 22%), departing from Libya, Egypt and Tunisia and undertaking the journey across the Mediterranean on unsafe vessels. The journey from Turkey to the Greek islands is shorter and therefore presents fewer risks, even though migrants usually travel on overloaded rubber dinghies at night time. Greece became in fact the main European outpost in 2015 for migrants coming from Syria (55.98%), Afghanistan (24.43%) and Iraq (10.24%) via Turkey.

As the political situation in Middle Eastern countries (cf. the Syrian civil war in particular), as well as in northern and central African countries in 2015, became progressively unstable, migratory flows towards the EU increased, and the European countries bordering the Mediterranean Sea were the closest destinations for people seeking refuge, fleeing life-threatening environments. This increase in migratory flows to the EU brought the issue of migrants to the centre of the political and media agendas, often resulting in harsh political debates over migration in the UK (Allen, 2016) as well as in Italy (Berretta, 2015). With reference to Italy, an increase was observed in hate- and race-related crimes (Lunaria, 2015) concurrently with the spread of a rhetoric towards migrants that one could characterize as hateful and xenophobic (Berretta, 2015), thus indicating how these discourses actually have repercussions within society.

Further on in this case study, I will show some images of sea rescues and reception centres both in Italy and in Greece. These rescues and reception centres abide to European

regulations; thus, it is valuable to briefly review how migration emergencies are handled in EU countries. My focus will be primarily on Italy, whose rules apply, albeit with some differences, to other EU countries, since migratory emergencies are regulated by the Dublin III Regulation (EU 604/2016, 2016).

A joint operation between EU member states and Frontex, *Triton*[68], enforces the protocols to follow in case of migrants at sea. During the sea journey, human traffickers often leave migrants adrift and launch SOS calls to the local Coast Guard (see Figures 15-17), which activates the *Triton* protocols. *Triton* was agreed upon on 31 October 2014 and was designed to replace the Italy-coordinated operation *Mare Nostrum*, which was suspended for lack of funds. As we shall see in section b) of the current case study, *Triton*'s budget was, at its launch, 2.9 million Euro, whereas *Mare Nostrum* envisaged a monthly budget of 9.5 million Euro (Senato Della Repubblica Italiana, 2015). This budget mismatch resulted in serious consequences on the effectiveness of the search and rescue missions carried out by the institutions involved in the operations.

After being rescued from the sea and secured by the authorities involved in *Triton*, migrants are transported to the nearest harbour (in Italy: in Sicily, or Calabria). Once landed in these locations, migrants are assisted by NGOs and local health services, who organize their temporary accommodation in tents and/or allocate them to the nearest centre for first assistance and reception (CSPA, e.g. Figures. 18-20 and 24-25 in Greece), where they receive medical assistance, are registered in the system and can apply for international protection (which includes the refugee status and subsidiary protection). Then their cases are assessed by the competent authorities, who will allocate them to facilities operating within SPRAR (*Refugees*

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[68] News - Frontex launches Joint Operation Triton. Retrieved December 12, 2017, from http://frontex.europa.eu/news/frontex-launches-joint-operation-triton-JSYpL7; Frontex Joint Operation 'Triton' – Concerted Efforts for managing migrator flows in the Central Mediterranean. (2014, October 31). Retrieved December 12, 2017, from http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-14-609_en.htm

and Asylum Seekers Protection System), which is a reception system including different types of facilities for refugees on Italian territory. SPRAR is promoted by the Ministry of the Interior, sustained by public funding, but developed and managed by local authorities. The latter are in charge of setting up Asylum Seekers Reception Centres (CARA) which are often run by private enterprises on public contracts. If migrants are eligible for international protection, they can apply and wait for a government response in CARA facilities. If not, they are transferred to detention and repatriation centres (CIE), waiting to be repatriated.[69]

Eligibility for international protection does not guarantee that the application will be successful, but if it is, migrants obtain permission to stay in the European Union; if the application is unsuccessful, they are sent to CIE and thereafter repatriated. Following the guidelines of the Dublin Convention, once migrants apply for international protection, they can only stay in the European country which first gave them assistance or which is appointed for taking them in, but they cannot, at least not legally, circulate within Europe, unless they apply for a specific permit.

As a consequence, the European countries facing the Mediterranean are under substantial pressure, and the arrival of migrants is often seen as causing social unrest among citizens, fomented by harsh political debates focusing particular on the costs, allegedly sustained by the taxpayers, of providing aid to migrants.[70]

In the next section we will consider images and informative slides about migrants in the AVNews Corpus, focusing in particular on budgetary information of search and rescue missions and on the visual representation of migrants in reception facilities.

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[69] Italian Interior Ministry, http://www.interno.gov.it/it – Italian legislative references: DPR 12/01/2015, n. 21; DL 09/11/2007, n. 251; European legislative reference: Dublin II and Dublin III convention.
[70] The daily cost of a migrant in CARA is estimated to be around 35 euro per day, from this sum between one and 2.5 euro are allocated to migrants for their daily necessities, which include paying for the fees required for their applications (associazionecartadiroma, 2015).

b) Corpus-based analysis

The audio-visual corpus is split into Italian and English sub-corpora in order to be able to perform language-specific comparisons. Using NoSketch Engine, the *Rai* and *Euronews* Italian sub-corpora were searched for migrant related words (MRWs[71], see Table 15), then their frequencies were normalized per thousand words. The two Italian sub-corpora show similar frequencies of MRWs, while *Euronews* shows a higher overall frequency.

Search terms		RAI		EURONEWS IT (tokens 60,918)
		RaiNews24 (tokens 125,879)	Rai Uno (tokens 104,215)	
migr		1.02	1.03	1.14
rifug*		0.05	0.09	0.32
asil*	-	0.05	0.05	0.06
	richie*	0.03	0.03	0.05
	permess* politic* dinieg* ricev*	0.001	0.001	0.01
profug*		0.10	0.18	0.14
clandestin*		0.04	0.05	0.03
Tot. MRWs per 1000 words		1.21	1.41	1.70

Table 15. MRWs per 1000 words in the Italian sub-corpora

Search terms		BBC (tokens 128,322)	EURONEWS EN (tokens 58,785)
migr		0.6	1.34
refug*		0.08	0.48
Asylum	-	0.02	0.11

	seek*	0.02	0.01
	appl*, claim*, search*, gain*, political	0	0.1
Tot. MRW f p1000w		0.71	1.66

Table 16. MRWs p1000w f in English sub-corpora

Table 16 shows normalized frequencies for MRWs in English sub-corpora. Given that it is not possible to be sure to have searched for a comparable number of words in Italian and English or to not have overseen some central words in one language or the other, a proper comparison between the two languages is not feasible. However, looking at normalized MRWs frequencies across the sub-corpora, we note how the *Euronews* English sub-corpus shows slightly higher frequencies than its Italian counterpart. It is nevertheless consistent with the latter, whereas frequencies in the *BBC* sub-corpus are considerably lower than the other sub-corpora.

From the analysis of the results in Tables 15 and 16 three broad categories of MRWs surfaced: "People", "Abstract Words", "Procedures" (Table 17). "People" comprises nouns, adjectives and verbs referring to MRWs embedded in contexts portraying migrants collectively (describing what they do, where they live, where they come from, etc.). "Abstract Words" refer to migration as a social and political issue, involving national and international institutions and NGOs. Lastly, "Procedures" refer to the bureaucratic steps migrants have to undertake when they arrive to the European Union (e.g. registration papers) and also to the procedures that might cause them to be denied asylum and subsequently repatriated.

Category	Search words	
	IT	**EN**
PEOPLE	Migrant*, immigrat*, clandestin*, rifugiat*, richiedent* (asilo), profug*	Migrant*, immigrant*, refugee*, (asylum) seeker*/ applicant*
ABSTRACT WORDS	immigrazion*, migrazion*, clandestinit*, UNHCR and other NGOs	immigration*, migration*, UNHCR and other NGOs
PROCEDURES	richiest* (asilo, aiuto), permess* (asilo, soggiorno, transito, umanitario), rimpatr*, asilo	asylum, paper* (transit), refug* (seeking, claiming), repatriation*

Table 17. Subdivision of MRWs in three categories

Table 18 (below) reports the top five collocates in each category (calculated on the basis of the MI association score) in a +/- 5 words span around their respective node word.[72]

			People	Abstract Words	Procedures
IT	*RAI*	*Rai Uno*	Migrant* sudanese, affollano, registrazione, freddo, 29 Immigrat* anti, sugli, linea, chiede, agli Profug* afghani, siriani, coste, settimane, vi Richiedent* agitate, acque, rifugiato, immigrato, asilo Clandestin* varcato, Serbia, Balcani, attraversato, sconfessò	Migrazion* / Immigrazion* commissario, tema, annunciato, sull', controlli Clandestinità sconfessò, sorpresa, reato, quello, sul	Richiest* di asilo, opposizioni, arresto, procura, India Permess* di soggiorno, drastico, concede, curarsi, autorizzazioni Rimpatr* occuparsi, permessi, dossier, soggiorno, dura Document* ciascun, insopportabile, eventuali, accertare, guardate Registrazion* dichiarazione, attivato, centri, affollano, toccato

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[72] Numbers were taken into account during the analysis even if occurring just once, while names of people were excluded; minimum frequency of occurrence in the corpus and in the word span was set to one or two occurrences depending on the frequency of the node word. This being this a micro-corpus, frequencies are never high, moreover sets of words occurring just once in the corpus are relevant when looking at semantic preferences or prosodies.

	Rainews24	Migrant* stiva, 49, specula, barconi, sudanese Immigrat* scoppiati, guadagna, provocazioni, ospitati, tafferugli Profug* moltissimi, imbarco, siriani, centinaia, andiamo Richiedent* carta, asilo, finiscono, regola, sbarco Clandestin* molti, respingere, vedete, crimine, altri	Migrazion* stilato, classifica, organizzazione, ultima, internazionale Immigrazion* specula, ricetta, assente, risolvere, proposta Clandestinità /	Richiest* di elettrico, conseguente, ufficializzato, accolto, consumo Permess* di forzati, rimpatri, soggiorno, umanitari, meno Rimpatr* forzati, permessi, ricetta, umanitari meno Document* cita, 55, UNHCR, speciali, registrazioni Registrazion* mostrati, acellerazione, procedure, documenti, recitato
	Euronews	Migrant* affluiti, Melilla, prefabbricate, sbarcano, 800 Immigrat* dimenticare, accoglienza, poche, impossibile, identità Profug* 800.000, 450.000, stuprate, 110.000, distribuzione Richiedent* serbo, adattato, abitative, afghani, asilo Clandestin* plurimo, favoreggiamento, aggravato, accusati, immigrazione	Migrazion* cambiamenti, principali, commissione, di, problemi Immigrazion* preparando, barche, favoreggiamento, plurimo, straordinaria Clandestinità /	Richiest* di stimolare, occupazione, avanzata estradizione, straordinario Permess* quarantacinquesima, potenziali, energetico, ammonisce, fattore Rimpatr* / Document* rivelano, metodo, fasulli, approvazione, culturale Registrazion* galleggiante, accoglienza, questo, l', è, per
EN	*Euronews*	Migrant* ashore, refugees, Mediterranean, 2,000, arrivals Immigrant* fuels, would-be, 3,500, represented, desperate Refugee* frontline, relocate, 450,000, eyes, registering Applicant* processed, Berlin, asylum, wait, heat	Migration* alternatives, trying, affairs, initiative, commissioner Immigration* multiculturalism, absorption, tighten, cabinet, deliberately	Asylum obtaining, seekers, processed, Balkans, Ecuadorian Repatr* / Paper* furniture, trampling, ballot, floor, nearer Registration* procedure, fights, drives, voter, anti-segregation
	BBC	Migrant* uninvited, drowned, 124,000, clash, gates Immigrant* flow,	Migration* distant, net, tens, prospects, getting Immigration* stance,	Asylum homeless, seekers, makeshift, teenagers, camp Repatr* /

		beyond, minister, country, says Refugee* 124,000, staging, agency, nations, post Seeker* delight, asylum, homeless, unlikely, Cardiff	trafficking, nights, uncontrolled, causes	Paper* ballot, registration, obtained, daily, pieces Registration* obtain, papers, daily, basis, demanding

Table 18. Top five collocates and their node words in the four sub-corpora

The collocates contained in Table 18 were analysed qualitatively by resorting to concordance lines. Thus, a concordance analysis was carried out for MRWs in each category. Within the "People" category in the *Rai* sub-corpus, "migrant*" is the most frequent MRW. MRWs describing the legal status of migrants ("rifugiat*", "richiedent* asilo") are used as near synonyms, except for "profug*" which shows a preference for a specific nationality (i.e. Syrian); there are also some loaded words which are often found in the debating area around migrants. The *Euronews* sub-corpus results are richer in numbers, favouring thus a factual exposition of the events. In both Italian sub-corpora, we find emotionally loaded words describing the tragic circumstances surrounding migrants ("emergenza migranti", "tragedia", "strage", "ecatombe" + "dei migranti" or "del mare") occurring with verbs and nouns which refer to their means of transportation and housing situations ("carretta del mare", "sbarcare", "barconi", "gommoni", "tendopoli", "baracca"), as the following examples show:

Rai sub-corpus
Lampedusa dove verranno sbarcati tutti i < migranti >. È drammatico, drammatico il
sull' isola da giorni per assistere ehm < migranti >, eventuali barconi di migranti
Prodi. Intanto, non si ferma l'esodo di < migranti > dalla Libia. Sono 12 i barconi
non erano previsti arrivi di barconi di < migranti >, viste le cattive condizioni del mare
le nostre coste. 12 barconi, carichi di < migranti >, sono stati segnalati a sud di

Euronews IT sub-corpus
Tragedia sul canale di Sicilia. < Migranti > morti di freddo sulle motovedette.
raggiungere il peschereccio mettendo in salvo 362 < migranti >. Due algerini e tre
luglio, infatti, sono sbarcati circa 50.000 < migranti >, più che in tutto il 2014.
e la provincia di Damasco. Dramma dei < migranti >, nuovi sbarchi in Sicilia scorse
settimane di fronte all' emergenza dei < migranti >, ammassati in migliaia
per lo smistamento e identificazione dei < migranti >. Nell' imbarcazione potranno

irlandese, aveva sbarcato a Palermo altri 373 < migranti >. Afghanistan, tre attentati in
Nuovi sbarchi sulle coste siciliane, 381 < migranti > sono arrivati con la nave Fiorillo
arrivati al porto di Augusta, in Sicilia, 420 < migranti >. Sono solo una parte
luglio, infatti, sono sbarcati circa 50.000 < migranti >, più che in tutto il 2014.

Within "People", there is a strong tendency in the *BBC* sub-corpus to surround MRWs with collocates bearing a negative value, either accompanying them with other underprivileged social categories (e.g. "homeless"), or describing them as unwanted (e.g. "uninvited"). In this regard, the *BBC* states that the word "migrant" "is used as a neutral term by many media organizations – including the BBC" (Ruz, 2015); however, the collocation with pre-modifiers carrying a negative value causes "migrant" to lose its (much debated) neutrality.[73] The *Euronews* English sub-corpus lacks the steady reference to numbers of its Italian counterpart, but still preserves its focus on the journey of migrants to the EU, as the following examples show:

BBC sub-corpus
Kos used tear gas to push back desperate < migrants >, who have arrived by sea
Groups of < migrants > gather here every day, because
worlds in the same island. Hundreds of < migrants > sleep in the abandoned
warned of bloodshed unless the influx of < migrants > is brought under control
This narrow channel has become a kind of < migrant > highway. Every night families
struggling to deal with an increasing number of < migrants > arriving on boats and rubber
built for visitors, but its uninvited < migrants > struggle to find a home. At four in

Euronews EN sub-corpus
running in the Mediterranean. On Sunday 29 < migrants > died after suffering from hypothermia
as many days. These are some of the 700 < migrants > rescued on Friday near the Libyan
one of the frontlines in Europe 's wider < migrant > crisis alongside the Italian and
relocate the refugees. However, with 50,000 < migrants > arriving in Greece in July alone
Kos, Greece brings in a ferry to process < migrants >. Refugees from Syria have begun

Interestingly, "asylum seeker*" is found only once in the *Euronews* sub-corpus alongside "asylum applicant*", another hapax in this sub-corpus. Though a legitimate

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[73] Zygkostiotis , Z. (2015). Sign the Petition. Retrieved December 07, 2017, from
https://www.change.org/p/request-bbc-use-the-correct-term-refugee-crisis-instead-of-migrant-crisis; World Have Your Say, North Korea 'Ready for War', Why the BBC uses the word 'migrant'. Retrieved December 06, 2017, from http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p030bn5m

expression, "asylum applicant*" is not commonly used. It is therefore worthwhile considering the frequency of its use as compared with "asylum seeker*" in other larger corpora, in this case in a general corpus of English (*EnTenTen2013*), and a specialized corpus of British and American newspapers (*SiBol/Port 1993-2013*).[74]

As shown in Table 19, in both cases "asylum seeker*" is considerably more frequent than "asylum applicant*", with "applicant*" being used frequently in job-related contexts. We could hypothesize that "applicant" in *Euronews* English sub-corpus is a calque, resulting from translation from another language (e.g. Italian "richiedente asilo", German "Asylbewerber" - both literally *asylum applicant*). Another possibility is that the noun-phrase "asylum applicant*" is characterized by a less negative semantic prosody than "asylum seeker*" (McEnery et al., 2006, p. 250; Partington, 2004). Being that of "asylum applicant" a rather unusual combination, it does not carry the socio-cultural negative connotation of "asylum seeker*", providing a more neutral form of reference. However, further investigation into other journalistic outlets would be needed in order to confirm or reject these hypotheses and determine whether this is a conscious choice made by the (language) journalist or rather a fortuitous event.

Search words	EN TenTen2013 - f pmw	SiBol/Port - f pmw
"Asylum"	4.5	14.90
"Asylum applicant*"	0.03	0.07
"Asylum seeker*"	1.3	4.10

Table 19. Occurrences of "asylum (applicant*/seeker*)" f pmw
in *EnTenTen2013* and *SiBol/Port*, accessed via SketchEngine

A closer look at the "Abstract Words" in the *Rai* sub-corpus reveals "immigrazione" to be a buzz word used to introduce a debated topic among political groups, whereas "migrazione" is found in contexts expressing official views or information about immigration; the noun "clandestinità", the adverb "clandestinamente" and the noun and adjective "clandestin*" refer mainly to the legal status of migrants. In the *Euronews* Italian sub-corpus "migrazione" and "immigrazione" refer to official organizations, whereas "clandestin*" comes up within the "People" category referring once more to the legal sphere of discourse.

Rai sub-corpus
organizzazione internazionale delle   \<migrazioni\>   ha stilato l'ultima classifica
600 persone, sono stati accusati di \< immigrazione \> clandestina e omicidio
è la ricetta per risolvere l'emergenza \< immigrazione \>, proposta da Vittorio Bertola
in un post le sue quattro proposte sull' \< immigrazione \>. Un giro di vite sui permessi
scontro tra vescovi e Lega sul tema dell'\< immigrazione \>, c' è chi specula sui migranti

Euronews IT sub- corpus
una riunione straordinaria sull' \< immigrazione \>, la politica, come avviene dopo ogni
Ci stiamo preparando ad assorbire una \< immigrazione \> di massa dall'Europa. Con le
libici sono accusati di favoreggiamento dell'\< immigrazione \> clandestina e di
di euro Di fronte all' emergenza \< migrazione \>, la Commissione europea, questo
credibili sui principali problemi, come \< migrazioni \>, politica internazionale,

There are no occurrences of "clandestine" in the English sub-corpora, however the *BBC News* website mentions this adjective as one of the possible, although contentious, attributes of undocumented migrants. In *EnTenTen2013* this adjective rarely collocates with MRWs, but in *SiBol/Port* "clandestine" collocates slightly more frequently with MRWs. Expanding the concordance lines of "clandestine" in *Sibol/Port,* we can observe that "MRWs + clandestine" occurs in reported speeches about Italian and French migratory flows, hence it may be a calque (Italian "immigrazione clandestina", French "immigration clandestine").

The collocates in the *Euronews* English sub-corpus under "Abstract Words" are consistent with those in the Italian one, whereas the *BBC* sub-corpus shows some collocates

referring to the prospects of an "uncontrolled" immigration with "surging" numbers of refugees, showing anxiety towards an "invasion" of migrants.

BBC sub-corpus

that distant prospect of getting net   <migration>   down to the tens of thousands
continue trying to tackle the causes of illegal < immigration > and the trafficking gangs
voters who feel worried about uncontrolled < immigration > and ignored by mainstream politics.

Euronews EN sub-corpus

solution from the European Union. Europe's < Migration > and Home Affairs
well-resourced European rescue initiative, creating < migration > alternatives and more
and Germany. Germany gets tough on Balkan < migration >. Trying to stand the tide of
preparing and calling for the absorption of mass < immigration > from Europe
Norway over what he saw as their embrace of < immigration > and multiculturalism.
government has promised a new law to tighten < immigration > rules. Landlords will be
required to check   on those rogue landlords that exploit the < immigration > system by

In "Procedures", "permesso" and "rimpatrio" are the most frequent procedural MRWs in *Rai* sub-corpus, whereas in *Euronews* Italian sub-corpus, "registrazione" refers to migrants more than other procedural words. The two English sub-corpora seem to agree with each other with reference to procedural words, as "registration" and "papers" both strongly collocate with MRWs.

The concordance analysis based on the collocates of MRWs according to abovementioned categorization brought out several recurrent themes in the discourse on migrants across the sub-corpora. These themes were systematized into five partially overlapping categories (Table 20):

1.   **Quantity** – numbers, quantity expressions and metaphors;
        e.g. "influx of migrants" (*BBC*), "29 migranti morti di freddo" (*Rai* Uno), "around 500 refugees", "massive influx of migrants", "a surge in the number of migrants", "7.000 migranti" (*Euronews*);

2.   **Journey** – immigration routes/journey, provenience, death expressions;
        e.g. "carretta del mare", "migranti strappati al mare", "gommone carico di migranti" (*Rai Uno*), the fishing boat was crammed with mostly Syrian refugees", "the dangerous journey across the Mediterranean", "a large rubber dinghy", "migrants move north through the Balkans", "un nuovo naufragio di migranti" (*Euronews*);

3.   **Difficulty** – international and national hurdles to hosting and providing humanitarian and administrative help to migrants by institutions and NGOs;

e.g. "unwanted guests" (*BBC*), "la strage dei migranti", "i migranti affollano i centri di registrazione" (*Rai Uno*), "Greek infrastructure is buckling under the pressure of dealing with the thousands of people arriving on its shores", "si attrezzano con delle tendopoli", "tensioni tra i migranti", "l'isola è al collasso" (*Euronews*);

4. **Security** – law enforcement, crime and security issues;
        e.g. "migranti irregolari" (*Rai Uno*), "Police have detained five men suspected of having piloted the capsized boat and of playing a role in the trafficking of the migrants", "Many try to enter Britain illegally", "Fights broke out during a registration procedure", "polizie locali, impegnate nella caccia agli scafisti" (*Euronews*);

5. **Debate** – politics/media buzz around migrants.
        e.g. "migranti che rompono le scatole", "sui migranti ancora polemica" (*Rai Uno*), "each disaster involving desperate immigrants fuels the debate…" , "anti-immigrant sentiments are on the rise" (*Euronews*)

The most overlapping themes were predictably "quantity" and "journey", as headlines frequently summarize events by stating the number of the people involved in them, thus clarifying the relevance of the event to the audience and making it more newsworthy.

	RAI	Euronews		BBC
		IT	EN	
People	Journey 44%	Journey 37.5%	Journey 39.9%	Journey 26.2%
	Difficulty 18%	Difficulty 22.9%	Difficulty 27.7%	Difficulty. 40.2%
	Debate 26%	Security 16.4%	Quantity 16.9%	Security 18.2%
Procedures	Difficulty 69.2%	Difficulty 50%	Journey. 33.2%	Difficulty 100%
			Difficulty 16.7%	
	Security 7.4%	Security 50%	Debate 16.7%	
	Debate 18.5%		Security 16.7%	
Abstract Words	Journey 7.7%	Security 21.3%	Security 26.3%	Journey 16.6%
	Difficulty 15.7%	Difficulty 21.4%	Difficulty 15.8%	Quantity 16.6%
	Debate 71.9%	Debate 50%	Debate 47.4%	Debate 50%

Table 20. Most popular themes per MRWs category

In the *Rai* sub-corpus, the debate around migrants is a constant feature. The political focus is evident in the reporting of aggressive (or hate) speech (e.g. "spariamo ai migranti", "(migranti che) rompono le scatole" etc.) usually enunciated by some populist parties (mainly Lega Nord). *Euronews* sub-corpora seem well balanced with few differences in the treatment of the categories of "People" and "Procedures", mainly due to the fact that security seems more of an issue in the Italian component.

In "People", both *Rai* and *Euronews* focus on the journey of migrants, whereas the *BBC* focuses on the disruption migrants cause to everyday life with special reference to the island of Kos. This focus on difficulties is to be found also within "Procedures" in the *BBC* sub-corpus, in particular, *BBC One* reported about migrants in Kos referring to them as the "unwanted guests" of the island opposed to its welcomed ones, i.e. tourists (*BBC One*, 11-12/08/2015). This fact is quite relevant in terms of the consequences of the message being passed on to viewers, especially considering that Greece is one of the preferred holiday destinations by British tourists.[75]

Finally, it is worth mentioning that part of the political debate around migration in the *BBC* sub-corpus concerns European citizens working in the UK and the actions taken by Cameron's government to tackle this issue. Understandably, this kind of debate about Europe's internal mobility is absent in the other three sub-corpora, in which there is no reference to European migrants or to European workers in the UK. As the following examples show, when talking about European internal mobility, there is the tendency within the *BBC* sub-corpus to distinguish between workers and European workers.

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[75] UK Government travel advice about Greece. Retrieved December 07, 2017, from https://www.gov.uk/foreign-travel-advice/greece ; Greek Tourism - Basic Figures 2012. (2012). Retrieved December 07, 2017, from http://old.sete.gr/EN/TOURISM/Greek%20Tourism%20Basic%20Figures/Basic%20Figures%202012/.

```
<s
video=http://amelia.sslmit.unibo.it/video/video.php?
id=150812_BBCOne_NewsAt6&start=00:02:11.2&end=00:02:
16.4  who="Gerwyn   Davies"   role="VIP">So    it's
unsurprising   to  see  more  <anym>EU</anym> migrants
come to the <anym>UK</anym> to seek work.</s>
<s
video=http://amelia.sslmit.unibo.it/video/video.php?
id=150812_BBCOne_NewsAt6&start=00:15:58.4&end=00:16:
04.8  who="Jane  Hill"  role="anchor">New  job  figures
show  that  nearly  two  million  European  nationals  are
now working in the <anym>UK</anym>.</s>
```

These examples demonstrate how, within the *BBC* sub-corpus, the issue of migration does not exclusively concern non-European citizens, but also European people moving to another (back then) European country. Even though these *BBC* newscasts were recorded before the Brexit referendum, we can appreciate how the dividing and isolationist attitudes promoted by British media towards the EU were operative, and had been operative, long before the much-debated vote.

c) Audio-visual aspects and analysis

This section aims at considering some audio-visual aspects of the newscasts included in the corpus. The analysis is by no mean exhaustive, but it is meant to complement the corpus analysis and to show the advantages of using an audio-visual corpus which allows access to both transcriptions and videos.

First, I will look at translational aspects in the presentation of information by means of slides (especially in *Euronews*), then I will focus on the videos that all four broadcasters present to their viewers and the kind of representation of migrants and migration these images deliver. In order to investigate translational interventions within the presentation of information by means of slides, I set out to analyse informative slides containing budgetary information about

Triton and *Mare Nostrum*, which are reported by all the channels on the same date and are retrievable in the audio-visual corpus by searching for the tag <pic desc="info slide"></pic>.

Starting by considering *Euronews*, we notice that the original language of production remains visible even once removed from the original context of broadcasting. Indeed, the written text that appears on the screen and videos cannot be modified, therefore the SL remains visible in all other versions of that video, and its translation has to be included in the voice-over. This is the case with the slides shown in Figures 9, 10 and 11, taken from *Euronews* video "Migrants' deaths in the Mediterranean show Triton inadequate" (11/02/2015). The Italian title is "Il cimitero Mediterraneo e il fallimento dell'operazione Triton". The transcriptions of the texts accompanying these slides are shown next to the figures.

Figure 9. Euronews, 11/02/2015 [00:00:69-00:01:15]

English	Italian
Critics said it encouraged more people to attempt the Mediterranean crossing. In the end, Italy couldn't afford it. It had spent around nine million euros per month, or a total of 114 million euros by the time it abandoned Mare Nostrum last October.	Mare Nostrum è costata al governo di Roma nove milioni di euro al mese, pari a circa 114 milioni in un anno. L'operazione è stata sospesa dopo 12 mesi, nell'ottobre del 2014, con il passaggio di consegne all'Unione europea.
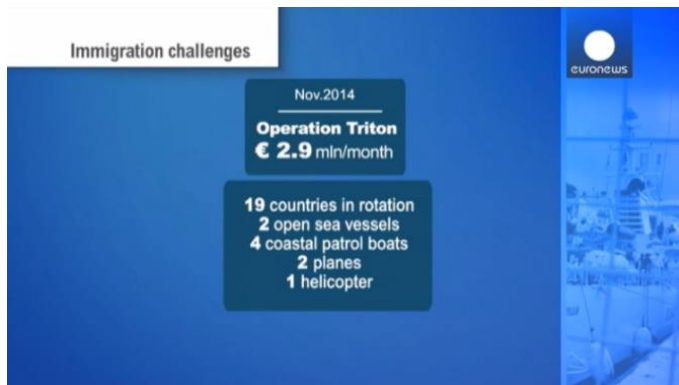
Figure 10. Euronews, 11/02/2015, [00:01:48-00:02:08]

Then the plan with only a third of the budget of the Italian operation was re-dubbed operation Triton. Its 2.9-million-euro monthly budget since last November has gone towards two open sea vessels, four patrol boats, two planes and a helicopter, used in rotation by personnel from 19 participating EU countries.

Da allora la missione ha cambiato solo nome, quando è stata ribattezzata Triton. Costa 2,9 milioni di euro al mese e i suoi limiti sono evidenti. I 19 Paesi coinvolti operano a rotazione, due al mese con a disposizione due navi d'altura, quattro motovedette, due aerei e un elicottero.

Figure 11. Euronews, 11/02/2015 [00:00:17-00:00:29]

Last year broke records with 170,000 arrivals on Italy's shores. 2015 is forecasted to exceed that. There were 3,200 deaths at sea. The Italian Interior Minister reports that more than 3,500 immigrants who arrived last month represented a 40% year on year increase.

Il 2014 è stato un anno record con 170.000 arrivi sulle coste italiane e 3.200 morti. Nel 2015 l'emergenza peggiora, secondo il ministero degli Interni italiano, sono 3.528 i migranti sbarcati a gennaio, il 40% in più rispetto allo stesso mese del 2014.

The English text of Figure 9 mentions criticism towards *Mare Nostrum*, and this negative focus is maintained throughout the text with the negative sentence "Italy couldn't afford it". The Italian text, however, leaves out this criticism, instead highlighting the costs of *Mare Nostrum* for the Italian government (represented through the metonymy "il governo di Roma"). Both texts provide specific information about the end date of *Mare Nostrum*, but the Italian text also specifies the number of months it lasted. The latter is a redundant piece of information, and it probably functions as a means to avoid misunderstandings coming from the slide, which is kept in English even if it is meant for an Italophone audience.

In Figure 10, the Italian text presents broken syntax, as there are two temporal expressions "da allora" (*since then*) and "quando" (*when*) clashing with one another. In this

case, a simple conjunction would be the right choice, since the two temporal conjunctions are indicating the same time span, however from two different time perspectives: "da allora ed è stata ribattezzata …". Moreover, the content of the first sentence is not consistent with the following one: the first one implies that *Triton* is like *Mare Nostrum* but with a different name, and the second one introduces the budgetary limitations of *Triton*, thus contradicting the previous sentence and implicitly criticizing European migration policies.

Finally, the Italian text of Figure 11 reports dates instead of resorting to time expressions (e.g. "last year" or "year on year") like the English text. It also removes the "forecast"-perspective on 2015 migration situation and gives exact figures of migrants' landings (also reported on the slide), thus insisting on the inadequacies of *Triton*. Overall, the texts accompanying Figures 9, 10, 11 in English and Italian are similar in length and content, confirming what Baisnée and Marchetti noted about *Euronews*' "language journalists" and their news making process (Baisnée & Marchetti, 2006), however the angles from which these contents are reported seem divergent. Although not formally expressed, one can find a possible explanation for this divergence in Baisnée and Marchetti's report of editorial processes at *Euronews*. Indeed, they describe how, on the one hand, the network "has had to ensure that no matter which journalist is commenting on the story, the news broadcast is roughly the same" (Baisnée and Marchetti, 2006, p. 110); and how, on the other hand, "language journalists" produce a (target) text taking into account their audience's sensitivities and interests, as well as the "television habits of their country" (ibid. p. 110) . These two attitudes appear contradictory. If it is true that "Euronews journalists […] have to learn not to use national references that are too explicit, nor to use very idiomatic expressions" (Baisnée and Marchetti, p. 109) and that *Euronews* contents should be the same in every broadcasted language, an expression like "il governo di Roma" does not seem to be appropriate.

Looking at the Italian texts referring to the slides in Figures 9, 10, 11, we note how the visual information (slides) and their corresponding Italian texts seem to fit in the Italian media attitude towards migrations and (European) funds. Valdeòn reports that *Euronews* is "one of those networks […] that attempts to bridge gaps in a multicultural multilinguistic politically-driven society and to promote the concept of a supranational identity (Valdeon, 2009 p. 3). However, in this case, the reporting of information about migration resorts to the public narrative (see Baker, M., 2006, 2007, 2013) promoted by Italian news providers. Indeed, by replicating the tone and attitude of criticism and complaint towards the European Union, the Italian TT fails to contribute to the building of a supranational European identity because of the target culture influence on the translation performed by the "language journalist".

Figures 12, 13 and 14 show how the other broadcasters present budgetary information about *Triton* and *Mare Nostrum*. Both *Rai Uno* (Figure 12) and *Euronews* inform their viewers about the difference between the two operations by resorting to exact figures. *Rai Uno* condenses figures about budget and fleet in a comparison slide with the aid of icons representing money and fleet members; *Euronews* provides more detailed information about *Triton* than about *Mare Nostrum*, specifying the end date of *Mare Nostrum*. *BBC One* (Figures 13, 14) chooses a more visual and stylized strategy, as the two slides do not provide the audience with a precise idea of the budget needed to run the two operations or of the areas patrolled.

Figure 12. Rai Uno, TG 1, 11/02/2015

Figure 13. BBC One, News at 10, 11/02/2015
[00:20:03]

Figure 14. BBC One, News at 10, 11/02/2015
[00:20:08]

Observing the following images (Figures 15-20), we can note how the broadcasters considered in this study employ the same videos or footages. This signals that the same audio-visual news items are "recycled" and re-packaged in different contexts for different audiences (see the process of *recontextualization* in 1.3.1). Moreover, the images below help us to garner a better understanding of what the broadcasters foreground or put emphasis on when reporting about migrants.

Figures 15, 16, and 17 show that *Euronews*, *Rainews24* and *BBC One* use the same footage taken by the Italian coast guard during search and rescue operations (see logo on the top of the screen). Figures 18, 19, and 20 show how *Euronews*, *Rai Uno* and *BBC One* respectively broadcast the same footages about migrants turmoil in Kos; in this case the source remains unknown (it is possible that they were purchased from the same news agency). By listening to the audio-visual text accompanying these images and at the frequent use (often

within the same newscast) of the same footages by *Rai* and the *BBC*, it seems that they put emphasis on a kind of representation which gives viewers a sense of extreme reality and emergency with images showing migrants agitated and in distress, frequently making use of close-ups and screenshots during the headlines and employing these footages as still images when launching the reports.

Figure 15. *Euronews*, 11/02/2015, "Hundreds of migrants feared dead in Mediterranean" [00:00:35]

Figure 16. *Rainews24* h. 15, 11/02/2015, [00:06:04]

Figure 17. BBC One, News at 10, 11/02/2015 [00:19:05]

Figure 18. Euronews, 11/08/2015, "Migrant crisis pushing Greek island of Kos to the limit" [00:00:10]

Figure 19. Rai Uno, TG 1, 11/08/2015 [00:00:18]

Figure 20. BBC One, News at 10 [00:14:27]

Figures 21, 22, and 23 represent migrants as groups of people with long de-personalizing shots, where migrants seem either grateful, exhausted and needy, or potentially dangerous and agitated. In both cases, it is clear that they are not represented in a positive light. The only reports in the corpus representing migrants in a less negative way are those about the set-up of a floating migrant reception centre in Kos (Figures 24, 25), which relieved the island from some pressure. This event is not covered by any of *BBC One* newscasts in the corpus.

Figure 21. Euronews, 11/02/2015, "Migrants' deaths in the Mediterranean show Triton inadequate" [00:00:52]

Figure 22. Rainews24, h. 15,16/08/2015 [00:04:18]

Figure 23. BBC One, News at 10, 11/08/2016, [00:15:49]

Figure 24. Euronews,16/08/2015, "Kos Greece brings in a ferry to process migrants" [00:00:01]

Figure 25. Rainews24, h. 15, 16/08/2015 [00:08:28]

d) Conclusions

As shown by the results of the analysis, the *BBC* sub-corpus reflects the UK's international attitude and position towards the issue of migrants (Allen & Blinder, 2016; Grice, 2015). According to a poll carried out by the *BBC* in January 2016, 41% of the interviewees thought that "Britain should accept fewer refugees from Syria and Libya", confirming the anxiety

towards an invasion of migrants found in Table 16. [76] The insistence by the *BBC* on EU migration to the UK found in the corpus is consistent with Allen's claims that "the significant increase in the profile of EU migration within recent UK media coverage […] predates the EU referendum debate […] and shows that the media was already playing an important role in discussions of the EU and migration in the years leading up to 2016", and in "the decision of many people to vote for the UK to leave the EU" (Allen, 2016, p. 2).

The debate about migrants in the *Rai* sub-corpus points to a disjunction between politics and the reality faced by both migrants and Italian citizens. This debate seems to become a political competition for media attention, involving a screaming opposition (Lega Nord and M5S) and an apparently benevolent government led by the democratic party, whose stance is replicated in *Rai* sub-corpus. Moreover, the use by *Rai* of "migrant*", "rifugiat*" and "richiedent* asilo" as near synonyms together with a tendency to use emergency tones in reports on migrants is confirmed by Berretta (2015, pp. 35–36), who also signals alarmism and terminological imprecision as examples of journalistic malpractice, which in turn leads to misinformed audiences especially in consideration of the high penetration of television among Italian households (Newman, Fletcher, Levy, & Nielsen, 2016, p. 41).

As could be expected, *Euronews* focus on migration seems supra-national, as the findings for the *Euronews* sub-corpora rarely showed reports on migration involving stances from a single country. The international stance promoted by *Euronews* seems to enable a less biased way of reporting about migrants. Yet, this supra-nationality does not necessarily prevents choosing sides. This notwithstanding, I would cautiously define *Euronews* as the least biased voice in the corpus, bearing in mind that objectivity in journalism, as well as in translation, is arguably unachievable, as it is not possible to assume "a privileged position from

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[76] Attitudes harden towards refugees from Syria and Libya, BBC poll suggests. (2016, February 04). Retrieved December 07, 2017, from http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-35470723

which we can claim 'objectivity' or 'neutrality' in relation to the narratives we are involved in translating, interpreting or indeed analysing" (M. Baker, 2007, p. 154).

I am aware of the fact that the audio-visual analysis in c) is partial and does not take into account relevant theories of multimodal communication, such as multimodal analysis (Baldry & Thibault, 2006). However, the analysis in c) pointed out some interesting aspects that might be worth investigating in further studies. Indeed, a more detailed analysis of the visual part of the news presented in this study would shed light on the interplay between images of migrants, tone of the reports and the selection of the original videos audio-files which remain audible. The main focus of Case Study 1, however, is not to investigate in depth the visual representation of migrants. Its goal is instead to use the audio and visual components of the newscast in order to support the hypothesis that the same information and videos are replicated across different lingua-cultural contexts.

A final remark concerns the multilingual rendering of the same news items in different lingua-cultural contexts. In section c) of this case study I showed how the four news channels use the same footage, thus hinting at a transfer of audio-visual material from newsroom to newsroom. If on the one hand it is quite laborious to trace back the origin of every image that appears in all newscasters, on the other hand there are some footages, whose source is unmistakeable, such as the ones by the Italian Coast Guard.

In this context of extreme fluidity of news items travelling across newsrooms, a channel like *Euronews* is an interesting example of multilingual rendering which might be seen as including both translation and localization. As shown above, *Euronews* provides the same videos to all its audiences, and the texts accompanying these videos are very similar in length and content. If we compare MRWs' frequencies within the two *Euronews* sub-corpora, we find very similar frequencies in different languages, especially concerning potential translation couples (e.g. *migrant** and *migrant** or *refugee** and *rifugiat*/profug**). These similarities make it hard to

believe that interlingual translation is not part of *Euronews* journalistic routine. Moreover, results like "asylum applicant" and the slide analysis in b) show that translation is indeed part and parcel of the job of *Euronews* "language journalists" (Baisnée & Marchetti, 2006). Valdeòn points out that, at *Euronews*,

> […] news is not presented through anchors, but through the voice-over technique. This allows greater flexibility for the audience to choose their preferred language or even change languages, but it also entails that the news items remain the same, no matter which language is selected. Therefore, translation is at the base of its programming. (Valdeón, 2009, p. 27)

In his study about *Euronews* and the construction of a European perspective, Valdeón reported that writers seems to be influenced by their TL and national narratives, and, quoting Cronin (2006), he explains this "in terms of a micro-cosmopolitan view of translation […], which includes localization practice as one of its features" (Valdeón, 2009, p. 27). Reluctance, on the part of the channel, to acknowledge language transfer activities as translation, might be then explained through reference to localization.

6.2.2 Case Study 2 – Separatists, rebels and Ukrainians, who's who in the Eastern Ukrainian conflict

a) <u>The Ukrainian conflict: "a war about identity and sovereignty"</u>

Audio-visual news is one of the most powerful tools for disseminating and propagating stances over a news item. The eastern Ukrainian conflict was surely a widely discussed topic not only in Europe, but also at a global level, since peace in Europe was actually at stake. Therefore, I decided to focus on this topic because of its prominence in the media agenda in general, and in my dataset and in particular.

I will focus on the labelling and framing of the Ukrainian conflict, which is a focal point for understanding Russia's alleged involvement in the war. Indeed, Russian involvement in

Crimea and Eastern Ukraine was justified by Russian media in terms of a shared Russian-Ukrainian identity undermined by pro-European movements and pressures from the West (Makarychev, 2014). The Ukrainian conflict has been defined as a civil war, "a war about identity and sovereignty" (Ian Pannell, BBC Weekend News Afternoon, 15/02/2015, 00:08:10). Observing the way it has been reported by Western media is key in letting us (audiences) understand, visualize, and feel what has been going on at Europe's doorstep. Moreover, the topic of the Ukrainian conflict did not directly involve Italy nor the UK (or the European Union), allowing thus for a comparison of linguistic and journalistic contents starting from a similarly distant position.

Following is a brief summary of what happened before and after the ceasefire negotiations of February 2015, as I believe that considering the causes which led to the conflict can assist in the interpretation of how news events are reported.

There are two main events that led to this conflict: the Euromaidan revolution and the annexation of Crimea by the Russian federation. Both have strong cultural and geopolitical implications, which are important when considering the overall evolution of the conflict in eastern Ukraine.

The Euromaidan revolution was run by the namesake movement, which was born in November 2013 and advocated for Ukrainian integration into the European Union. This movement arouse civil unrest in Ukraine especially towards the then President Viktor Yanukovych. His election was tarnished with criticism and suspicions of rigging and corruption; moreover, Yanukovych was against the Europeanization of Ukraine, being very close to Putin and the Russian Federation.

The "democratic" movement of Euromaidan organised protests against the government, causing social and political unrest to grow, and eventually it resulted in the Euromaidan or Ukrainian revolution around mid-February 2014. The core of the protests took place in Kiev,

where protesters and riot police clashed heavily and blood was shed under the receptive eye of international media which reported repeated infringements of human rights at the damage of the pro-Europe protesters.

Under the pressure of European leaders' mediating effort, President Yanukovych made concessions to protesters in order to end the crisis (and the violence) and, on 21 February 2014, signed together with the opposition the "Agreement on settlement of the political crisis in Ukraine"[77] at the presence of Russian, Polish, German and French Foreign Ministers. On that occasion, Vladimir Lukin, the Russian special envoy, refused to sign the agreement. Shortly after, Yanukovych fled the country and sought asylum in Russia. Protesters took over and established a pro-European government, removing Yanukovych from office and announcing a forthcoming presidential election. On 25 May 2014, Petro Poroshenko was elected as President of Ukraine.

The ousting of Viktor Yanukovich ignited reactions in Crimea, an independent republic under Ukrainian aegis. Crimea has a complex ethnic situation with more than 70% of Crimeans identifying themselves as Russian, the rest of the population as Ukrainian and Tatar. After Yanukovich fled to Russia, the Russian Federation was ready to pull strings and reaffirm its presence in former Soviet countries. The Russian Federation's first move was then to gain back its influence over Crimea, and, a few weeks after the Euromaidan revolution, unidentified militaries took over the Crimean parliament. After this, first Crimea declared its independence from Ukraine, and then on 16 of March 2014 it requested to be annexed to the Russian Federation through a referendum. The latter bore the stunning result of 96.7% "yes", raising concerns among the international community. Nevertheless, the referendum result was ratified by the Duma a few days later.

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[77] The Ukraine Crisis Timeline. Retrieved December 07, 2017, from http://ukraine.csis.org/kyiv.htm#9

Internationally, this was seen as an extension of Russia's imperialistic aims. Ukraine did not recognize the vote as rightful, the United Nations and major international interlocutors, such as the European Union and the United States, also deemed it unlawful, and Russia was sanctioned for its annexation of Crimea.

The situation within Ukrainian borders became fragile and unstable. On the one hand, a pro-western government was requesting support from the international community, on the other hand the Russian Federation was ruling in Crimea, within Ukraine's internationally recognised borders.

Allegedly, it was the Crimean vote that inspired revolts and uprisings by separatists in the Donbass region. The tension eventually erupted and the fighting started in April 2014. Russia was proved to be actively supporting the far-right separatists in the fighting, although they never publicly admitted to that (Kovalov, 2014). NATO did not intervene in Poroshenko's favour, for two main reasons: firstly, because Ukraine is not part of NATO[78], secondly because this conflict was labelled as an internal or civil war by (western) international agenda setters.

In the vain effort of discouraging Russia, the UN repeatedly sanctioned the Russian Federation and the EU sent emissaries and mediators; however, no military action was taken by the west. Western politics and media monitored the conflict, occasionally intervening and mediating to invite and promote a ceasefire between separatists and Ukrainian government forces.

The violence escalated in the Donbass until a first ceasefire was reached in September 2014. This agreement was not effective, violence escalated again to the point that on 22 January 2015 the separatists gained control over the strategic outpost of Debaltseve and its precious airport. A second ceasefire deal was agreed upon between President Poroshenko and

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[78] NATO member countries. Retrieved December 07, 2017, from
http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/nato_countries.htm

President Putin, who was vouching for the separatists, although continuing to deny Russia's involvement in the conflict. This second ceasefire was watched closely by European foreign ministers, who were also witnessing its signing. Furthermore, the then President of the United States, Barak Obama, threatened to "[consider] giving weapons to the Ukrainian government forces", should diplomacy fail.

As pointed out above, this conflict was labelled and framed as civil war from its outset, especially to justify and explain NATO and EU's non-interventionist attitude. However, this labelling has a reason to be. This is a conflict that involves the definition of a national pro-Western Ukrainian identity opposed to an Eastern Ukrainian identity or, as it has been defined by the media, pro-Russian identity of the separatists from the Donbass region. It is indeed a war about identities and sovereignty.

Concluding this contextualisation of the Ukrainian war, I would like to reflect upon labels and their importance in defining this conflict. As I mentioned above, the labels given to the Ukrainian conflict played, and in a way still play, an important role in the definition of the Ukrainian identity and of the war itself on both sides, the West and Russia (Makarychev, 2014). Furthermore, during a public lecture entitled "The Geopolitics of Europe Today – The Case of Ukraine"[79] organised by the Monash European Centre at Monash Caufield Campus in Melbourne, Australia, Phedor and Pavlyshyn focused precisely on the labels given to the Ukrainian conflict, reporting on how western media disregarded and silenced the Ukrainian perspective on "Russian hybrid warfare", which led to ignore Ukraine's claims in this conflict and eventually strengthened Russia-backed separatists' ones.

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[79] Monash European and EU Centre, LLCL – The Geopolitics of Eastern Europe Today: The Case of Ukraine. (2016, October 23). Retrieved December 07, 2017, from http://artsonline.monash.edu.au/events/events/monash-european-and-eu-centre-llcl-the-geopolitics-of-eastern-europe-today-the-case-of-ukraine/

According to Pavlyshyn and Phedor, the label of "new cold war" was given to this conflict by the Russian media in order to manipulate Russian audiences and reinforce the idea that Russia is at war with the west, while distracting Russian viewers and readers from internal issues that are affecting their daily lives, such as embargos and international sanctions.

Kovalov's work on the three competing narratives underlying the eastern Ukrainian conflict (2014) show how Russian media employed the "domestic causes", "Russia-centric" and "Western fault" narratives according to which the Euromaidan revolution was supported by far-right groups and backed up by the US, and that the European and US interference in these matters brought both to Euromaidan and to the annexation of Crimea. In line with Pavlyshyn and Phedor, Kovalov claims that "the Russia-centric narrative suggests that Russia engaged in a modern type of warfare through limited military action, strong domestic media support and political muscle" (Kovalov, 2014, p. 147).

Finally, Pavlyshyn and Phedor argued that pro-Russian separatists' claims were met and supported by a world class leader such as Vladimir Putin, who had international leverage to use against or in favour of a resolution of the conflict, while Ukraine was not supported officially by any international power and felt in this way doubly neglected with reference to its European and nationalistic claims.

These points are pivotal to frame the analysis that follows, as they hint at how translation can be used to support or dismiss views and claims on either side of the conflict. In fact, translation is a form of "relayed communication" (M. Baker, 2006), but it also "appears as the arena par excellence to reconfigure and 'reframe' existing discourse through more or less subtle shifts" (Spiessens & Van Poucke, 2016, p. 322).

b) Sub-corpora and keywords, a starting point

Thanks to the thematic tagging of the corpus (Chapter 5.3), I was able to build three separate comparable sub-corpora[80] comprising news reports about Ukraine, and compare them against the main audio-visual sub-corpora, i.e. the AVNews Corpus. Table 21 (below) contains information about the frequency of the tag <topic item="Ukraine">, which was used to build the sub-corpora.

Rainews 24	Rai Uno	Euronews IT	Euronews EN	BBC One
4.4%	2%	6%	6%	4%

Table 21. <topic item="Ukraine"> frequency in % in the audio-visual corpus

The Ukraine sub-corpora (UKR_) are composed as follows (Table 22).

Rai		Euronews IT	Euronews EN	BBC One
Rainews 24	**Rai Uno**			
13 reports, 10 headlines	5 reports, 3 headlines	20 reports	20 reports	12 reports, 7 headlines
Tokens 6,907	Tokens 1,855	Tokens 4,225	Tokens 4,097	Tokens 5,119

Table 22. UKR_sub-corpora information

The three UKR sub-corpora were compared against the main audio-visual corpora in order to extract keywords: Tables 23 and 24 show the top 20 keywords found in each sub-corpus. Because the size of the sub-corpora is quite small, minimum frequency of occurrence was set at five occurrences and the keywords were calculated using AntConc.[81]

UKR_Rai				UKR_EuronewsIT		
Raw f.	Keyness	Keyword	Rank	Raw f.	Keyness	Keyword
64	233.186	Ucraina	1.	31	67.831	Ucraina
53	196.532	Filo	2.	20	52.661	Kiev
44	170.452	Russi	3.	20	52.661	Separatisti
38	147.950	Minsk	4.	16	41.891	Donetsk
33	129.421	Kiev	5.	17	39.252	Ribelli
27	103.170	Ucraino	6.	14	37.715	Minsk

25	95.260	Prigionieri	7.	12	29.998	Ucraino
25	92.918	Putin	8.	11	29.633	Poroshenko
21	76.057	Cessate	9.	10	26.939	Osce
19	75.263	Donetsk	10.	11	26.270	Cessate
23	74.269	Est	11.	11	25.285	Tregua
21	72.961	Soldati	12.	12	23.640	Russi
19	71.542	Poroshenko	13.	8	21.551	Debaltseve
23	70.996	Merkel	14.	7	18.857	Starkov
20	70.056	Tregua	15.	8	17.391	Filo
22	68.012	Russia	16.	6	16.163	Accordi
17	67.340	Ucraini	17.	6	16.163	Filorussi
15	58.137	Debaltseve	18.	6	16.163	Maeiupol
18	56.887	Esercito	19.	10	16.064	Armi
24	56.149	Fuoco	20.	12	15.981	Fuoco

Table 23. Italian UKR Sub-Corpora, Keyword lists

UKR_BBC				UKR_EuronewsEN		
Raw f.	Keyness	Keyword	Rank	Raw f.	Keyness	Keyword
39	140.38	Ukraine	1.	40	95.462	Ukraine
26	98.787	Ukrainian	2.	21	52.502	Ceasefire
21	80.831	Ceasefire	3.	20	50.886	Ukrainian
19	73.133	Debaltseve	4.	17	46.246	Kiev
22	65.630	Town	5.	23	38.613	Russian
21	62.754	Russian	6.	14	38.085	Donetsk
23	62.080	Eastern	7.	12	32.645	Osce
15	56.460	Rebels	8.	14	29.930	Rebels
15	55.244	Sides	9.	14	26.819	Conflict
15	51.909	Rebel	10.	14	25.433	Eastern
18	50.408	Russia	11.	9	24.483	Debaltseve
13	50.038	Donetsk	12.	9	24.483	Minsk
16	45.356	Peace	13.	16	24.308	Peace
21	41.548	War	14.	7	19.043	Shelling
10	38.491	Shells	15.	9	18.538	Rebel
16	35.950	Both	16.	7	16.806	Separatists
9	33.386	Merkel	17.	6	16.322	Luhansk
12	33.145	Fighting	18.	6	16.322	Poroshenko
12	29.443	Army	19.	6	16.322	Separatist
9	29.193	Obama	20.	6	16.322	Starkov

Table 24. English UKR Sub-Corpora, keyword lists

As we can see from the tables above, there are many shared keywords across the sub-corpora. In order to investigate how the conflict was framed and "translated" by the news channels for their respective audiences, it is worth looking closely at words expressing nationalities or qualifying actors in the news reports (e.g. Ukrainian, separatists, etc.).

c) <u>Corpus-based analysis of actors in the conflict: "rebels", "separatists" and "Ukrainians"</u>

Focusing on the keywords describing and qualifying actors in the reports, we can note how "rebel*"/"ribell*" features in UKR_BBC, UKR_Euronews_EN and UKR_Euronews_IT while it is not prominent in UKR_RAI, where "separatist*" does not come up as salient either. This difference across the four UKR comparable sub-corpora, is surely worth examining. Therefore, looking at the frequencies of "ribell*" and "separatist*" across the different corpora can therefore be instructive, and give us a more detailed picture of the situation, as Table 25 shows.

	Separatist*/Separatist*		Rebel*/Ribell*	
	Raw	Norm.	Raw	Norm.
UKR_RAI	11	1.59	21	2.8
UKR_EuronewsIT	24	6.37	17	4.51
UKR_EuronewsEN	13	3.52	23	6.23
UKR_BBC	3	0.74	30	6.67

Table 25. Raw and normalised (p1000w) frequencies of "separatist*"/"separatist*" and "rebel*"/"ribell*" in the UKR sub-corpora

Although the UKR_RAI keyword list does not show "ribell*" and "separatist*" as particularly salient words, they are quite frequent in this sub-corpus. "Ribell*" seems the preferred option within the UKR_RAI sub-corpus, while the UKR_EuronewsIT sub-corpus seems to favour "separatist*" over "ribell*". In the English sub-corpora, we observe instead a preference for "rebel*" over "separatist*" that is more evident, in terms of frequency, in the UKR_BBC sub-corpus than in the UKR_EuronewsEN one.

The use of "rebel*" and "separatist*" (as nouns and adjectives) appears to shift from one *Euronews* sub-corpus to the other, hence it is worth looking at the concordance lines of both lemmas in both sub-corpora, as well as in the other sub-corpora, in order to have a clearer picture. Given the size of the UKR_Euronews sub-corpora, I decided to manually analyse their concordance lines in order to highlight patterns in the immediate co-texts of the node.

1	fighting escalates between government troops and	**rebels** in eastern Ukraine, despite the February
2	across Ukraine with both government and	**rebels** launching offensives to gain ground ahead
3	Of July. Kiev says shelling by	**rebels** over the last 24 hours is the
4	months as well as fresh fighting.	**Rebels** have accused government troops of increased
5	Kiev's military reported the heaviest	**rebel** artillery attack in six months as
6	fragile truce appears to be holding.	**Rebels** are now in control here and
7	shell hit a bus station in	**rebel**-held Donetsk. The body of a
8	to the village of Yasne, in	**rebel**-held territory, but lost his way
9	separatist eastern regions as alarming. one	**rebel** official is warning of the threat
10	a ceasefire deal being in place. 400	**rebel** fighters, backed by tanks, attacked government
11	Representatives of Russia, Ukraine, pro Russian	**rebels** and the OSCE security watchdog holding
12	in the week, the pro Russian	**rebels** captured the town of Debaltseve from
13	deads. Ukraine has accused pro Russian	**rebels** in the east of the country
14	Donetsk, controlled by the pro Russian	**rebels**, the guns couldn't fall silent
15	last? In ominous remarks, a senior	**rebel** commander has said that despite the
16	ose who lost their lives. Separatist	**rebels** have said they would begin to
17	a significant strategic gain for the	**rebels** because it straddles the railway that
18	thread, the Ukrainian military said the	**rebels** continued attacks on their forces near
19	in the rocket fire. Though the	**Rebels** denied firing on the city, the
20	. In Donetsk, the leader of the	**rebel**-held region has repeated his call
21	work impossible for the OSCE. The	**rebel** side ehm would not ehm guarantee
22	caused by a government missile. The	**rebel** stronghold lies in the middle of
23	he pessimism felt in Kiev. Ukrainian	**rebels** in Donetsk claim an overnight explosion

Table 26. UKR_EuronewsEN sub-corpus, "rebel*" concordance lines

1	, di quelli che combatteranno nelle truppe	**ribelli**, in tutto questo, la Russia ha
2	vuole aggredire la pacifica Ucraina. I	**Ribelli** filo-russi hanno negato di aver lanciato
3	pare reggere. Tacciono le armi dei	**ribelli** filo-russi, come stabilito negli accordi
4	Russia, non riesce ad arrivare. I	**ribelli** non ci garantiscono un passaggio sicuro
5	e si rifugiò in Russia. I	**ribelli** filorussi nell'Ucraina orientale confermano
6	di Mariupol, dove Kiev denuncia 44 attacchi	**ribelli** nelle ultime 24 ore. Lo scambio di
7	, con la cattura da parte dei	**ribelli** della città di Debaltseve. Qu
8	Di accuse tra Kiev e i	**ribelli**. Kiev ha parlato di un attacco
9	con carri armati da parte di 400	**ribelli** filo-russi nella città di Starohnativka,
10	, ultimo bastione dei governativi. Smentiscono i	**ribelli** che puntano il dito contro le
11	e di accuse tra ucraini e	**ribelli** filo-russi, in un crescendo che
12	strada tra Donetsk, la roccaforte dei	**ribelli**, e la città portuale di Mariupol.
13	. L'esercito ucraino ha accusato i	**ribelli** di aver attaccato le truppe regolari
14	immediatamente da contraltare il negoziatore dei	**ribelli**, che ha ribaltato l'accusa. Sfortun
15	situazione creatasi con gli attacchi ai	**ribelli** filo-russi e alla popolazione dell'

| 16 | il villaggio di Yasne, controllato dai | **ribelli**. Non conoscendo la zona, è però |
| 17 | russo, e di munizioni destinate ai | **ribelli**. Queste armi non sono prodotte in |

Table 27. UKR_EuronewsIT sub-corpus, "ribel*" concordance lines

Tables 26 and 27 contain the concordance lines of "rebel*"/ "ribell*" from the two *Euronews* sub-corpora. In both sub-corpora, the noun "rebel*"/ "ribell*" is often preceded or followed by the adjective "pro-Russian" or "filo-russ*", frequently in opposition to the internationally recognized Ukrainian government led by Petro Poroshenko. In the UKR_EuronewsEN sub-corpus "rebel*" is also found in the participial compound "rebel-held" followed by a noun indicating a place (e.g. Table 24 lines 7, 8, and 20). In both UKR_Euronews sub-corpora "rebel*"/ "ribell*", in object position, are objects of accusations, whereas "rebel*"/ "ribell*" in subject position are often denying or confirming something, such as attacks or adherence to ceasefire deals.

In lines 16 and 23 of Table 26, "rebel*" is preceded by "separatist" and "Ukrainian" respectively. This rather contradictory choice of adjectives feeds into the terminological imprecision with which separatists are addressed by the media; however, it is worth mentioning that the UKR_EuronewsEN is the only sub-corpus in which the national label of "Ukraine" is associated with the insurgents. Despite this, those flagged as rebels or separatists are frequently attached the label of pro-Russian, as the following concordance lines of "separatist*" from UKR_Euronews sub-corpora suggest (Table 28, lines 8, 9, 10; Table 29 lines 1, 2, 9, 13, 15, 16, 22 and 23).

1	deal was signed seven months ago.	**Separatist** commanders, however, have denied attack
2	been killed though says Kiev, blaming	**separatists** for isolated incidents. In Luhansk r
3	mission. The OSCE has accused both	**separatists** and Ukrainian troops of failing to
4	have described the recent escalation in	**separatist** eastern regions as alarming. one rebe
5	to those who lost their lives.	**Separatist** rebels have said they would begin
6	a pocket between the two main	**separatist** controlled regions. Nine Ukrainian tro
7	coastal town of Mariupol, to relieve	**separatist** pressure on Debaltseve. It's been
8	ive bombardment. Ukraine and pro-Russian	**separatists** are accusing each other of attempting

9	it is our territory.　　　Pro-Russian	**separatist** soldiers have been celebrating in the
10	Crossing from Russia to reinforce the	**separatists** in clear breach of the truce
11	he was recruited to assist the	**separatists** on Ukrainian territory. Vladimir Star
12	he was supposed to deliver to	**separatists**. These kinds of weapons aren't
13	of peace talks in Minsk tomorrow.	**Separatists** have pushed to cut off a

Table 28. UKR_EuronewsEN sub-corpus "separatist*" concordance lines

1	di tagliare i rifornimenti russi ai	**separatisti** che Mosca ha mostrato di non
2	Dalla Russia per portare rinforzi ai	**separatisti**. Per completare questa fase, sono st
3	delle sponde perfino in alcuni ambiti	**separatisti**. Dobbiamo introdurre dei contingen
4	per una maggiore autonomia delle aree	**separatiste** sudorientali.　　　Un'esplos
5	pace e prosperità. I conflitti coi	**separatisti** nell'est hanno relegato in secondo
6	cambiato.　　　Debaltseve, i combattenti	**separatisti** pattugliano le strade della città orie
7	è quello di Debaltseve, circondato dai	**separatisti**. Gli abitanti continuano ad abbandona
8	potrebbero restare soltanto loro, circondati dai	**separatisti**. La diplomazia non fa passi avanti
9	inviare a combattere a fianco dei	**separatisti** filo-russi. Vladimir Starkov è stat
10	una centrale chimica nelle mani dei	**separatisti**. Il risultato è stato una gigantesca
11	Donetsk e Luhansk. L'obiettivo dei	**separatisti** ora è lo strategico porto marittimo
12	smentite di Mosca. L'avanzata dei	**separatisti** è stata accelerata dalla conquista di
13	fronte dei combattimenti tra esercito e	**separatisti** filo-russi, Kharkiv è controllata dal g
14	cessate il fuoco di febbraio fra	**separatisti** e lealisti continuano gli scambi di
15	due, le forze ucraine e i	**separatisti** filo-russi si accusano a vicenda.
16	ha lanciato un'offensiva contro i	**separatisti** filo-russi vicino a Mariupol, nel sudes
17	Donetsk. Unendo Lugansk e Donetsk, i	**separatisti** hanno realizzato la continuità territo
18	che l'esercito regolare e i	**separatisti** intendano rispettare i patti. Ma il
19	'onda degli ultimi successi militari, i	**separatisti** ora cercano di dettare il calendario
20	dozzina di zone calde nelle regioni	**separatiste** di Donetsk e Luhansk. L'obiettivo
21	l'Ucraina e le autoproclamate repubbliche	**separatiste**, ma anche le frontiere fra queste
22	nella guerra che oppone da tempo	**separatisti** filo-russi e governo di Kiev. Lo
23	ria pesante. Rappresentanti di Russia, Ucraina,	**separatisti** filo-russi e dell'OSCE, hanno reso
24	li abbiamo completamente circondati. Dice un	**separatista**. Questa sconfitta, tenuta segreta fin

Table 29. UKR_EuronewsIT sub-corpus "separatist*" concordance lines

Among the concordance lines in Tables 28 and 29 we can observe again how words referring to the internationally-recognised Ukrainian government occur in the immediate co-text of "separatist*", reinforcing the polarity (Ukrainian vs. non-Ukrainian/pro-Russian, East vs. West) of the conflict. Interestingly, this polarization takes up yet another nuance in the UKR_EuronewsIT sub-corpus, where "separatisti" are met by "lealisti" (*loyalists*) on the other end of the conflict, this time contrasting loyal and lawful vs. disloyal and unlawful.

Shifting the focus to the other sub-corpora, UKR_BBC and UKR_RAI present the same pattern linking the noun "rebel*"/ "ribell*" to the adjective "pro-Russian"/ "filoruss*" or to the participial compound "Russian-backed" in pre- and post-attributive position witnessed to in *Euronews* sub-corpora. Here, "rebel*" as well as "separatist*" appear, so to speak, in "Russian company" and often in opposition to Ukrainian institutions, such as the government, Kiev, or the army.

1	a western leaning government against a	**rebel** army that turns to its Russian
2	a western leaning government against a	**rebel** army that turns to its Russian
3	may be held here at a	**rebel** building in Donetsk. The fate of
4	thanks God they're still alive.	**Rebel** leaders say they'll stick to
5	thanks God they're still alive.	**Rebel** leaders say they'll stick to
6	. Both Ukrainian forces and Russian backed	**rebels** say they will honour the ceasefire
7	in the hands of Russian backed	**rebels**. The key railway hub has endured
8	town which fell to Russian backed	**rebels** this week, our correspondent is there.
9	battles of the entire war. Here	**rebels** corralled the defeated government soldiers.
10	week. She will stay here in	**rebel** held territory until that happens. James
11	, has made the journey alone into	**rebel** held territory to get her husband
12	husband. On the 21st of January,	**rebel** fighters took Donetsk Airport in one
13	been heavy shelling around the mail	**rebel** held city of Donietsk, with no
14	In the fighting between pro-Russian	**rebels** and Ukrainian government forces. Prisoners
15	Kiev should try to re-take	**rebel** held areas. If Ukrainian troops will
16	, the Ukrainian army fought off the	**rebel** advance for weeks. Three days ago
17	, the Ukrainian army fought off the	**rebel** advance for weeks. Three days ago
18	troops and armour to help the	**rebels**, an allegation Moscow denies. But th
19	troops and armour to help the	**rebels**, an allegation Moscow denies. But the
20	shelling have taken their toll. The	**rebels** are everywhere, but the town is
21	shelling have taken their toll. The	**rebels** are everywhere, but the town is
22	are the young men of the	**rebel** army. This crisis is escalating at
23	are the young men of the	**rebel** army. This crisis is escalating at
24	correspondent Ian Pannell reports from the	**rebel** held town of Donetsk. Ukraine's
25	between the Ukrainian government and the	**rebels** here, it will have to include
26	a half uprooted. These are the	**rebels**, pro-Russian and battling government's
27	a hald uprooted. These are the	**rebels**, pro-Russian and battling government's
28	swap. Both the government and the	**rebels** promised a quick release of the
29	In eastern Ukraine,	**rebels** parade and humiliate captured army soldiers
30	the road out of Debaltseve, victorious	**rebels** are leaving their job done. They'

Table 30. UKR_BBC sub-corpus, "rebel*" concordance lines

1	e Luhansk, le due città	**ribelli**, è caduta. Ciao Poroshenko , dice
2	prigionieri. Ma questi, esibiti dai	**ribelli** a Donetsk come i 90 di
3	collegamento le due aree dai	**ribelli** controllate, cioè Donetsk e Luhansk,
4	mare, le città capoluogo della	**ribellione**, Luhansk e Donetsk. Come potete
5	città con Donetsk capoluogo della	**ribellione**. Una fragile tregua sulla cui
6	scambiati con una cinquantina di	**ribelli** filo-russi. Nella fredda notte
7	ritirato e, secondo Kiev, i	**ribelli** attaccano alle porte di Mariupol,
8	ucraino Poroshenko, anche se i	**ribelli** filo-russi negano qualsiasi attribuzione,
9	morti e feriti. Ma i	**ribelli** filo-russi chiamati in causa
10	forze di Kiev e i	**ribelli** filo-russi nell'est dell'
11	l'esercito ucraino che i	**ribelli** filo-russi accusano il ehm
12	'esercito ucraino sostiene che i	**ribelli** filo-russi l'abbiano fatto
13	forze di Kiev e i	**ribelli** filo-russi nell'est dell'
14	nelle ultime 24 ore con i	**ribelli** filo-russi e i militari
15	di Minsk. Marco Clementi. I	**ribelli** filo-russi festeggiano tra le
16	Donetsk e Luhansk, mentre i	**ribelli** non specificano dove l'esercito
17	almeno un morto, ma i	**ribelli** smentiscono. Intanto proseguono i prep
18	i prigionieri dell'altra repubblica	**ribelle**. Per raggiungere un totale di
19	i prigionieri dell'altra repubblica	**ribelle**. Per raggiungere un totale di
20	nella terra di nessuno tra	**ribellione** filo-russa e ucraina. Tra
21	nella terra di nessuno tra	**ribellione** filo-russa e ucraina. Tra

Table 31. UKR_RAI sub-corpus, "ribel*" concordance lines

The concordance lines in tables 32 and 33 provide further examples of the frequent association between Russia and separatists in contrast with the Ukrainian government. What appears relevant here, is that the overall dominance of "rebel*"/ "ribell*" over "separatist*" across the *BBC* and *Rai* sub-corpora suggests that these broadcasters are framing the separatists' claims to their autonomy as illegal, and that they are also actively encouraging a polar West vs. East framing of the eastern Ukrainian conflict. Indeed, according to the OED, a rebel is "a person who rises in opposition or armed resistance against an established government or leader". [82] In this context, "separatist*", although far from being unproblematic, seems a politically fairer term of address for Ukrainian anti-government forces. Moreover, among the collocates of both "rebel*" and "separatist*" in all sub-corpora we find a variety of epithets referring to the

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[82] Rebel | Definition of rebel in English by Oxford Dictionaries. Retrieved December 10, 2017, from
https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/rebel

Russian Federation ("pro-Russian"/ "filo-russ*", "Russia", "Moscow", "Putin"). This suggests that these broadcasters implicitly deny the Ukrainian identity of the so-called rebels.

1	over its border with Russia. The	**separatists**, backed by Russia, want to remain
2	between government forces and Russian backed	**separatist** is largely holding in the east
3	between government forces and Russian backed	**separatists** is largely holding in the east

Table 32. UKR_BBC sub-corpus "separatist*" concordance lines

1	si abbracciano, sventolano le bandiere	**separatiste**, calpestata quella ucraina. Anche
2	fa un nuovo attacco dei	**separatisti** filo-russi nell'est del
3	del paese. I razzi dei	**separatisti** filo-russi provocano almeno 15 morti
4	un'autonomia spinta, allargata dei	**separatisti** guardano con ovvio, evidente e
5	di prigionieri tra esercito e	**separatisti** filo-russi, ma una bomba
6	sporadiche manifestazioni nelle vicende ehm	**separatiste**, che sono ehm praticamente ehm
7	i filo-sep e i	**separatisti** filo-russi hanno completato lo
8	conflitto tra Kiev e i	**separatisti** filo-russi. Tutti i fronti
9	questa città in quel movimento	**separatista** filo-russo, che vede protagoniste
10	dell'OSCE e i rappresentanti	**separatisti** per arrivare al vertice di
11	continuità territoriale fra le repubbliche	**separatiste** di Luhansk e Donetsk e

Table 33. UKR_RAI sub-corpus "separatist*" concordance lines

In line 23 of Table 26 I found the adjective "Ukrainian" occurring with "rebel". This finding posits one further issue, that is to understand who is depicted as "Ukrainian" by the four broadcasters. The concordance lines in the Tables above suggest that insurgents are not Ukrainians, despite being of Ukrainian descent. From this evidence, one could argue that Ukrainians are those who support Poroshenkos's Western-leaning and pro-Europe government. This argument is backed up by evidence from the text, indeed a search for "Ukrain*"/ "ucrain*" in the four sub-corpora shows a division between Ukraine and its government, with "Ukrainian*"/ "ucrain*" (adjectives) frequently occurring with internationally recognised institutions or institutional figures, and Eastern Ukraine and the separatists (and Russia).

"Ukraine" in the UKR_BBC sub-corpus with a frequency of 14.6 p1000w, around 30% of the times occurring with the adjective "Eastern", signalling that the *BBC* is indeed constructing the image of (Western) Ukraine in opposition to that of Eastern Ukraine. In the

UKR_RAI sub-corpus, "Ucraina" has a normalised frequency of 6.6, and around 14% of the times it occurs with the adjectives "est" or "orientale". According to these results, *Rai* seems to be less consistent in building an image of two divided "Ukraines". However, a closer look at the text and concordance lines of "est" in the UKR_RAI sub-corpus reveals that reporters and anchors, in order to avoid repeating "Ucraina", use the term "paese" or simply "est". The frequency of "est" in the UKR_RAI sub-corpus is of 3 p1000w. Furthermore, within the UKR_RAI sub-corpus we also find the wording "repubbliche separatiste". By addressing the rebel-held territories as (self-proclaimed) Republics, *RAI* appears to give legitimacy to or, anyway, fostering a representation of these areas as officially recognized political entities, which is something that none of the other channels under study does.

"Ukraine" in the UKR_EuronewsEN sub-corpus has a normalised frequency of 10.8 p1000w and occurs with "East" or "Eastern" 25% of the times. However, references to Eastern Ukraine are more frequent, as a search for "East*" in the sub-corpus gives back 27 results, 26 of which referring specifically to Ukraine (thus a normalised frequency of 7 p1000w).

The other *Euronews* sub-corpus shows a very similar frequency of occurrence of the noun "Ucraina" (10.6 p1000w), 17% of the concordance lines of "Ucraina" contain either "est" or "orientale". Similar to *Rai*, it would seem that the UKR_EuronewsIT sub-corpus is less concerned with building two sides of this conflict. However, we find that, in order to avoid repetitions, "est" accompanies the noun "paese" or "regione" or it is used by itself referring to Ukraine with a frequency of 2.3 p1000w, whereas "orientale" (1.8 p1000w) occurs with "Ucraina", but also with "frontiere" and "città".

The four UKR sub-corpora tend to promote a polar vision of the parties involved in the conflict, often removing the national label of "Ukrainian" from those who are rebelling against the western-leaning government. However, the corpus analysis also showed that this polarization of the parties involved in the conflict is not always consistent. We observed how

the UKR_BBC sub-corpus tends to represent the Ukrainian identity in unity with the Ukrainian official government, denying "Ukrainianness" to insurgents and thus feeding this bipolar, almost "cold war"-like, view of the conflict and stigmatizing as illegal and unlawful the insurgents' claims. This attitude can be found also in the UKR_RAI and UKR_Euronews (both) sub-corpora, albeit with some differences. Indeed, I pointed out how *Euronews*, in particular, is the only broadcaster recognizing "Ukrainness" to insurgents, whereas *RAI* tries to legitimize insurgents' territories by addressing them as Republics. Despite these differences, the bipolar display of identities within the Ukrainian conflict can be found with varying degrees in all UKR sub-corpora, thus promoting a "West vs. East" and/or a "Legal vs. Illegal" representation of its actors.

d) Verbalising the conflict: war, crisis, conflict, situation?

When introducing the context of the Ukrainian conflict, I mentioned the importance of labels and their function in the process of framing and presenting the news to the viewer. Thus, in the previous section, we mentioned that the adjective "Ukrainian" often referred to western-leaning Ukrainian institutions and forces. However, these adjective and genitive prepositions (of/di + Ukraine/Ucraina or the Saxon genitive) are also used to describe and qualify as Ukrainian other entities in the corpus.

Table 34 (below) shows the words that are occurring with the adjective "Ukrainian" and "ucrain*" and those occurring with "Ukraine" and "Ucraina" in the four sub-corpora divided according to five categories (Politics, Military, Places, Conflict and Miscellaneous).

Ukr/Ucr	UKR_RAI	UKR_EuronewsIT	UKR_EuronewsIT	UKR_BBC
Politics	President, governo, stato	Cittadini, ministro degli esteri, governo, stato maggiore, presidente, parlamento	People, president, authorities, leader, foreign minister	Government, president
Military	Forze armate, esercito, forze, milizie, prigionieri, soldati, truppe	Esercito, forze, esercito regolare, Servizi segreti, soldati, truppe	Border patrol, troops, rebels, government troops army, defeat, military, secutity service	Army, armour, military, troops, soldiers, national guard
Places	capitale	frontiera	City, territory, border, industrial heartland	Capital, city
Conflict	Guerra civile, rivoluzione, ribellione, crisi, situazione, conflitto	Conflitto, crisi, guerra	(Ukraine's) conflict, crisis, war	War, conflict (in Ukraine)
Misc.	Notte, bandiera			

Table 34. "Ukrainian"/ "ucrain*" (adj.) and words in their co-text

While the collocates in the "Politics" and "Military" category are quite predictable, those in "Conflict" and "Places" offer a somewhat unexpected starting point for a reflection about how the Ukrainian situation was labelled by the four broadcasters and how its geography is conveyed to the viewers.

Although the striking majority of the occurrences of the adjective "Ukrainian" is followed by nouns representing official and internationally recognised institutions, on two occasions the *BBC* addresses the situation as "Ukrainian war", extending the conflict to the whole country. This appearance of a conflict taking place on the entire Ukrainian soil is confirmed in the sentence "Ukraine's at war with itself" (Ian Pannel, 150211_BBCOne_NewsAt10, 10:43), which also strengthens the hypothesis that the Eastern Ukrainian situation was framed as a civil war by western media. In UKR_BBC "war" (4.6 fp1000w) and "conflict" (2.0 fp1000w) are the most frequent nouns defining the Ukrainian

situation, however "crisis" is also found in the sub-corpus (0.8 fp1000w), but not in the immediate +/-5 word-span of the concordance lines.

When it comes to defining the Ukrainian situation, the UKR_RAI sub-corpus is the most creative and not always coherent broadcaster, providing five different options: "Guerra civile" (0.26 fp1000w) or simply "Guerra" (2.26 fp1000w), "crisi" (1.73 fp1000w), and "conflitto" (1.3 fp1000w), "situazione" (0.13 fp1000w), "rivoluzione" (0.13 fp1000w), and "ribellione" (0.53 fp1000w). A closer look at the concordance lines shows that "rivoluzione" actually refers to the Maidan revolution, whereas the noun "ribellione" occurs both with the noun "Ucraina" and the adjective "filorussa".

The two most frequent nouns identifiying the Ukrainian situation in the UKR_RAI sub-corpus are "guerra" and "crisi". While "guerra" seems an appropriate definition of what happened in Ukraine, "crisi" is somehow misleading, as it usually defines a temporarily difficult situation (e.g. "crisi dei migranti"), which does not necessarily include violence. Thus "crisi" seems to remove the violent and long-standing characteristics of the conflict in Ukraine, promoting a less serious picture of the situation.

Both the UKR_Euronews sub-corpora use the noun "crisis" to define the conflict, although not as frequently as UKR_RAI sub-corpus. However, if the Italian noun "crisi" was not the ideal word for describing the armed conflict in Ukraine, neither is "crisis" in English. The OED defines "crisis" (second entry) as follows:

> A vitally important or decisive stage in the progress of anything; a turning-point; also, a state of affairs in which a decisive change for better or worse is imminent; now applied esp. to times of difficulty, insecurity, and suspense in politics or commerce. [83]

Once again, this does not provide a clear picture of what this "Ukrainian situation" entails and has entailed for those involved in it. In the UKR_EuronewsEN sub-corpus "crisis" and "war"

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[83] "crisis, n.". OED Online. (June 2017). Oxford University Press. Retrieved December 12, 201 from http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.unibo.it/view/Entry/44539?redirectedFrom=crisis&

are equally frequent (1.08 fp1000w), whereas "conflict" (3.79 fp1000w) is the preferred noun to define the Ukrainian situation. We find an almost identical situation in the UKR_EuronewsIT sub-corpus. "Crisi" and "guerra" have both very low and similar frequencies (0.53 fp1000w), leaving "conflitto" (1.59 fp1000w) as the preferred word indicating the Ukrainian war.

e) Conclusion

The results of this case study suggest that all the broadcasters tended to frame the conflict along polarized axes. Actors and places of the conflict are posited either on one side or the other: continuums, nuances or scales seem not to find any place in the discourse on the Ukrainian situation.

The corpus-based analysis of actors of the conflict showed that there is a tendency to depict two neatly distinct factions: separatists, often addressed as "rebels", and Ukrainians. These factions, in turn, are part of a wider polarisation, one between East and West and more specifically between Russia and the West. Thus, the label of "new cold war" that Pavlyshin and Fedor[84] found among Russian media, is not, according to the results of this study, a Russian prerogative. On the contrary, the four Western TV broadcasters seem to replicate the Russia vs. USA polarisation, albeit without mentioning it explicitly and, more importantly, by involving the European Union and its leaders as well as the USA.

Contrary to the homogeneity found among the broadcasters in the polarized discourse on actors within the Ukrainian situation, when it comes to naming the conflict itself, I observed different and often incoherent strategies. The two *RAI* broadcasters present contrasting

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[84] Monash European and EU Centre, LLCL – The Geopolitics of Eastern Europe Today: The Case of Ukraine. (2016, October 23). Retrieved December 07, 2017, from http://artsonline.monash.edu.au/events/events/monash-european-and-eu-centre-llcl-the-geopolitics-of-eastern-europe-today-the-case-of-ukraine/

strategies in naming the situation, calling it at times "crisi", at times "guerra" to name just the most frequent options. Arguably, the label of "crisi" is a problematic one in Italian and English as it diverts attention from the on-going and violent features that, instead, "war" or "conflict" involve. Conversely, the *BBC* employs the two synonyms "war" and "conflict", thus giving a more realistic picture of what this conflict entailed and entails for those involved.

Both *RAI* and *BBC* on two occasions suggest that what is happening in Ukraine is defined as a civil war, confirming Pavlyshyn and Fedor's (23 October 2016) argument. However, the data at my disposal were too scarce to dismiss or confirm their argument. The instances that were labelling the conflict as a civil war were too few to draw any firm conclusion, especially if compared to other labels.

As concerns the *Euronews* sub-corpora, we find that the labelling of the conflict is consistent across the two languages, presenting similar frequencies and discursive strategies. Both *Euronews* sub-corpora display the label of "conflict"/ "conflitto", showing little variance on a couple of occasions with "war"/ "guerra" and "crisis"/ "crisi". Once again, the similarities between the two *Euronews* sub-corpora seem to hint at language transfer activities, which are partly confirmed by the brief analysis offered while discussing "rebel"/ "ribelli" and "separatists"/ "separatisti".

Finally, it is worth reflecting upon the translational implications of the results surfaced through the corpus analysis, again by looking at *Euronews*. Indeed, it would be interesting to find out the SL in which news events originated, in order to understand if it is plausible to assume that the "original"/source audio-visual texts might be draft in English, and then translated or reworded (Lefevere, 1992) by "language journalists" within *Euronews* newsroom. This, in turn, might explain some similarities found between *Euronews* (Italian and English) and the *BBC*. Even though those I am drawing are just tentative conclusions, the similarities and greater homogeneity observed within this channel could lead to suggest that maybe they

are an effect of translational activities or, more broadly, multilingual news production. As I mentioned in Case Study 1 (6.2.1), the similarities among the *Euronews* sub-corpora are striking, even more so when analysing an issue formally external to the European Union, such as the conflict in Ukraine.

6.3 Case studies on alternative news media

As pointed out in Chapter 4, community or ethnic and citizen media could be considered as different forms of alternative media, in that they proceed from a bottom-up approach to news gathering and reporting. The following case studies focus both on translation in these contexts, raising the issue of professionalism both in journalism and translation, and of agency, a notion that is particularly relevant in both these expressions of alternative news making.

Case Study 3 takes into consideration the entangled relationship that binds language, ethnicity and identity in globalized and multilingual spaces affected by massive movements of people (e.g. Australia). Starting from the assumption that in this context, globalisation encourages specificity at the micro-community level (Massey, 1994; Spinner, 1996), I consider the role of translation in identity negotiation processes and its contribution to the empowerment of the ethnic community with reference both to the host and to the heritage countries. By focusing on the Italo-Australian community newspaper *Il Globo*, Case Study 3 explores translational aspects in the articles published under the section dealing with national issues in Australia ("Stati & Territori"). Thanks to a senior journalist at *Il Globo*, it was possible to retrieve English STs and published Italian TTs, providing thus a privileged look into news translation practices and outcomes in this peculiar setting.

Case Study 4 turns to a different kind of alternative media, focusing on translation in *Global Voices*, specifically in a parallel corpus of English STs and Italian TTs collected between June and July 2016. Here, the focus is on how *Global Voices* reported about "hot topics" (e.g. Brexit and the European refugee crisis) during this one-month snapshot. This case study also includes a survey carried out between June and November 2016 among a limited number of Italian translators volunteering at *Global Voices*. Collecting evidence from the parallel corpus, from qualitative analysis, and including insights from the survey, my aim is to analyse translation processes and products of citizen journalism, paying attention to the roles of those involved (journalists, volunteer translators, bloggers).

6.3.1 Case Study 3: Empowering the Italo-Australian community through news translation, a case study on Il Globo community newspaper.

a) *Il Globo* in Melbourne: multiple audiences, multiple constraints

Chapter 4.2.3 pointed out that, as any other ethnic or community newspaper conceived by migrants in a new country, *Il Globo* was established with the aim of filling the information gap about the homeland left by mainstream media (Mascitelli & Battiston, 2009, p. 21). However, this is not the only function performed by *Il Globo* within the Italo-Australian community. It also has an educational function that has been evolving greatly in recent years.

As I pointed out in Chapter 4.2.3, many Italian migrants arriving in Australia in the 1950s were semi-literate and spoke (different) dialects as their first language, and (possibly) standard Italian as their second language (Rubino, 2002; Rubino & Cruickshank, 2016). *Il Globo* fostered literacy among the Italian community (Carli, 2009, p. 100), and promoted their acculturation and integration into Australian society, also encouraging the community's

progressive Italianisation (De Mauro, 1970). For further information about *Il Globo* and its history the reader is referred back to the abovementioned Chapter 4.2.3.

Here, I would like to consider two aspects that are relevant for the purposes of case study 3, *Il Globo*'s readership and the journalist that helped me to collect the data for the present study.

As concerns its readership, *Il Globo* appeals to an extremely varied audience in terms of education, interests, and age (Cafarella & Pascoe, 2009; Carli, 2009, pp. 131–132): Italian retired men and women who are long-term loyal readers, younger Italians who migrated to Australia from the early 2000s, first- and second-generation Italian migrants, and Italian learners buying *Il Globo* to improve their reading skills. This understandably has an impact on journalists, who are therefore under multiple constrains: the language transfer, space and time limitations, and (their idea of) *Il Globo* readership with diverse levels of competence in Italian.

The journalist (IGJ[85] henceforth) who provided the STs and TTs for Case Study 3 and met with me twice between July and November 2016, is in charge of *Il Globo* "Stati & Territori" section focusing on events and happenings concerning Australian states. Back in Italy, where she grew up and studied, IGJ was not a journalist, only finding her feet in the industry in Australia when she started working for *Il Globo*. She is not a translator either, but her English is obviously extremely proficient and she is perfectly capable to draft Italian news reports from Australian ones. The fact that she is precise and zealous in keeping her news archive led her colleagues to recommend her for the purposes of this study. Indeed, she later revealed that "out of sheer paranoia" she keeps record and hard copies of all her news articles and sources. This "paranoia" made her the perfect candidate for studying news translation and, as a lucky side effect, also community newspapers.

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[85] As in Part Two I., in referring to IGJ I use the feminine as inclusive of the masculine.

b) <u>Data, methodology and analysis</u>

The sources for Case Study 3 are the reports (and TTs) drafted by IGJ and published in "Stati & Territori". The STs collected by IGJ and from which she drafted her reports in Italian are taken predominantly from Australian news websites. My aim with this case study is to identify translational trends, focusing in particular on the attribution of sources and Cultural Specific Items (or CSIs; House, 2006). This case study, therefore, combines comparative analysis with ethnography and contextual analysis of the time and place of publication, for both STs and TTs, to allow us to better understand the issues involved in producing news stories in a multilingual environment.

The Table in Appendix 1 provides an overview of the Australian STs and their respective TTs. It includes STs and TTs' headlines and word count. Looking at the Table in Appendix 1, we note that, in the majority of cases, there is more than one ST informing the TT, and that TTs are considerably shorter than STs. Cutting, contracting and/or selecting of information, and modifying the title and lead, etc. are considered distinctive features of news translation (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009, pp. 63–64; Valdeón, 2014).

The target publication layout also has an impact on the resulting TT. For example, TT1 and TT12 are the main reports of "Stati & Territori", making them more prominent than other reports on the same page, and they are therefore afforded more space. TT5, TT7, and TT9 are positioned in the middle, after the main report, still occupying a significant portion of the page like TT10 and TT11, displayed at the bottom of the page in its central section. The remaining reports appear in the right column in decreasing order of importance: TT4 at the top of the right column and TT2, TT3 and TT8 at the bottom of the right column under the section labelled "in breve". The most prominent reports present the tripartite headlining structure of pre-headline, headline and sub-headline, a standard feature of Italian newspapers (Taylor, 2009, pp. 138–

139). Hence, *Il Globo* seeks to continue the tradition of Italian printed press by preserving its structures and conventions (Cafarella, Pascoe, 2009: 130-131).

c) <u>Attributing sources and reporting voices</u>

The first part of this analysis concerns the attribution of sources and reported voices in the TTs. Table 35 contains examples of how IGJ references her sources in the TTs.

TT	Report section	Text
1	Lead	"Secondo un giornale […]"
	Body	"Il quotidiano Herald Sun ha rivelato"
	Body	"Secondo l'Herald Sun"
6	Body	"Lo dimostra un'analisi condotta dal quotidiano The Australian […]"
	Body	"I documenti di bilancio […] mostrano […]"
9	Body	*Table 35:* "Souincpeattorie diu Woi orksthacel [T...]"
	Body	"Fonti interne alla prigione […]"

This data suggests that IGJ differentiates between two kinds of sources when quoting them in her reports. If the source is another (Australian) newspaper, she quotes it if this newspaper holds exclusivity over the reported event and/or uses it to garner substantial pieces of information (e.g. TT1, TT6 first line). If the STs quote another source (e.g. official report or document, speech delivered by a public figure), IGJ quotes the primary source directly (e.g. TT6 second line, TT9).

ST	ST quote/reported speech	TT	TT quote/reported speech
E	"we've got not only the plan for a feasibility, but the pathway to help finance it, if it stacks up" he [Mr Shorten] said. "it means that after July the 2nd whoever you vote for is committed to this project and investigating the feasibility of it. We've proposed a $10 billion concrete bank, it's a loan facility which the Commonwealth underwrites to infrastructure projects which stack up"	2	"Abbiamo pronto non solo un piano di fattibilità, ma anche un percorso per il finanziamento dell'opera, con la nostra proposta di stabilire facilitazioni creditizie per i dieci miliardi di dollari per opere infrastrutturali di questo genere", ha sottolineato Shorten.
J	Deputy Premier Troy Grant said the investment would "give Broken Hill the opportunity not just to continue	5	"Questo investimento darà a Broken Hill l'opportunità di rifiorire, non solo di continuare a

	to exist but to thrive"		sopravvivere. Il problema dell'approvvigionamento delle risorse idriche per questa città è di lunga data, e meritava una soluzione definiva" ha detto il vice premier statale Troy Grant.
	"The struggle and the challenge and the agitation around the future of water security for the city has been a complex one, but a very important one that needed resolution"		
N	Chief Minister Adam Giles […] conceded it [his government] had made mistakes, saying it was most often criticised for disunity in its ranks and for selling the Territory Insurance Office and leasing Darwin Port for 99 years without mandate.	7	"è vero, abbiamo ricevuto molte critiche giustificate per la disunità mostrata nelle nostre file, per avere venduto il Territory Insurance Office, e per avere concesso in leasing per 99 anni il porto di Darwin"
	"Where we could have done better was to have listened to the people, engaged in a conversation with the electorate before making these decisions" he said. He told a crowd of 150 party faithful that a re-elected CLP government would be "a government that will listen to and consult with Territorians, and fight with tenacity for the Territorians' best interests". "We will listen, we will consult, we will decide and then we will act. We're already getting better at this", Mr Giles said.		"Avremmo potuto fare di meglio se avessimo ascoltato di più la gente, se avessimo consultato di più l'elettorato prima di prendere quelle decisioni. Ma se saremo rieletti il nostro nuovo governo ascolterà di più la gente e agirà solo dopo aver consultato gli elettori", ha detto Giles [...].

Table 36. Reported speech and quotes

Table 36 collects examples of reported speech found in the TTs under study. Generally, the TTs tend to use a single quote to summarise the information found in several ST's quotes.

In ST-N's first example, the ST features reported speech documenting Adam Giles' words, whereas TT7 displays a direct quote intended to report Giles' words verbatim. ST-N's second example alternates between direct quotes and reported speech with contextual information about who was addressed and in what circumstances. TT7 appears considerably shorter and therefore more concise. This use of contraction in TT7 turns the ST-N's reported and direct speech into a single direct quote. IGJ also omits contextual information, perhaps considering it irrelevant to her readership.

According to Bassnett and Bielsa (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009, pp. 7–8) and to Valdeòn (Valdeón, 2005, 2014) the deletion or omission of contextual information and the manipulation (e.g. appropriation, permutation, etc.) of direct/reported speech are frequent in news translation. Bassnett, Bielsa (2009) and Valdeón (2005) argue that there could be a number of reasons why the journalist/translator decides to switch from direct to reported speech and vice versa. Such a strategy allows journalists/translators to sound more authentic (direct quotes), to meet the needs of their prospective audience, to accommodate for specific time and space constraints, to not interrupt the reading flow, or to distance themselves from what was said. In the case at hand, IGJ's most pressing concern was probably meeting the space requirements imposed by the editor, as the general tightening of TT7 seems to suggest. Moreover, the Northern Territory's electoral campaign does not seem to be an issue of particular interest to Victoria's Italian community, which makes an ideological reading of the cuts and manipulations encountered in TT7 far-fetched.

d) CSIs: acronyms and institutions

This section analyses a selection of CSIs (House, 2006) by considering the strategies employed by IGJ in the translation of the acronyms in Table 37.

TT	TT Acronyms
1	Dai volontari del CFA. Alcune decine di persone appartenenti alla Country Fire Authority […]
	[I]l sindacato dei vigili del fuoco United Firefigthers Union concede all'UFU […]
2	L'ALP federale promette […] HOBART – Il leader federale laburista Bill Shorten ha promesso […]
6	Qld, assunti in un anno seimila dipendenti in più nel settore pubblico"
7	NT, la campagna entra nella fase decisiva DARWIN – Il Chief Minister del Northern Territory Adam Giles […]

7	[A]mmettendo che il CLP […]
11	Accantonate per il momento le leggi anti protesta in WA PERTH – Il ministro della polizia del Western Australia […]

Table 37. Acronyms in TT

There are two acronyms in TT1: "CFA" (4 occurrences) and "UFU" (5 occurrences); whereas the corresponding STs present three acronyms ("CFA", "UFU" and "VFBV"). During the interview, IGJ stated that, acting as a gatekeeper for her readership, she selected the acronyms she deemed important for the purposes of the story and omitted those which were irrelevant.

"CFA" (Country Fire Authority) and "UFU" (United Firefighters Union) are repeatedly included in TT1, accompanied by their extended English form either before or after the acronym itself. Occasionally, there is a periphrasis in Italian containing an explanation, essentially a translation of the extended English form of the acronym. As Table 37 shows, similar strategies can be found in other TTs. IGJ tends to transfer the acronym by means of borrowing, often accompanying it with its extended English form (e.g. TT1: "CFA"; TT7: "NT"; TT11: "WA"). We observe a different strategy for TT1 where "UFU" is preceded by a periphrasis in Italian and followed by the extended English form and the acronym itself. Following Malone's classification of translational strategies (1988, in Taylor, 2009), we could argue that there are two main strategies implemented: equation in the form of borrowing, and amplification through the translation of the English form into Italian (with a periphrasis) or another borrowing.

In TT2 the acronym "ALP" (Australian Labor Party) is translated in the following sentence as an attribute characterising Bill Shorten. In two cases, there is no addition or translation of the acronym or short form, as in TT6 ("Qld") and TT7 ("CLP"). Whereas "Qld" stands for the state of Queensland, and the capital city (Brisbane) is given in the report's lead, "CLP" (Country Liberal Party) appears only in its acronym form. It is assumed that IGJ's

readership would be familiar with both acronyms, especially with "CLP", which is nevertheless defined through its opposite, the Labor party (in the lead and last paragraph of TT7).

Amplifications in TTs are rarely explicit, as they run in the text without interrupting the reading flow through relative clauses or brackets. What could appear as an inconsistent method of translating acronyms and short forms could actually be a means of fulfilling two functions in the TTs. This variance makes TTs unambiguous and clear, and is necessary for stylistic reasons since repetitions are to be avoided in Italian journalistic prose, as they are deemed inappropriate and cumbersome. Finally, while in an Italian newspaper such acronyms would probably have been omitted entirely, or included in brackets, in the context of *Il Globo* they are kept presumably for didactic reasons, i.e. because her readership will no doubt encounter them in their daily lives. This difference between the Italian and the Italo-Australian context could point to identify an example of localization, in that the journalist bent the conventions of the Italian journalism to meet the needs and expectations of the Italo-Australian counterpart.

Table 38 contains examples of names of institutions and institutional figures/processes found in the TTs.

ST	ST Institutions/Institutional figures/processes	TT	TT Institutions/Institutional figures/processes
A	The real politik premier Daniel Andrews	1	Il premier del Victoria Daniel Andrews
B	Daniel Andrews		
C	The premier		
E	Opposition leader Bill Shorten	2	Il leader federale laburista Bill Shorten
H	Lower House	4	La Camera Bassa della Tasmania
G-H	No-confidence motion		Mozione di sfiducia
	Mining minister		Ministro delle risorse minerarie
I	Deputy premier Troy Grant	5	Il vice premier Troy Grant
M	NT Chief Minister	7	Chief Minister del Northern Territory
	Opposition whip		Capogruppo laburista
R	$2 levy	8	Soprattassa di due dollari
	General manager		Amministratore delegato
Q-R	Malmsbury Youth Justice Centre	9	Centro detentivo giovanile di Malmsbury
S	Regional and rural councils	10	Enti locali
	Local government authorities		Entità comunali

	Council amalgamations		Fusioni comunali
	Local government minister		Ministro degli enti locali
	Council amalgamations		Incorporazioni comunali
T	Anti-protest legislation	11	Disegno di legge anti proteste
	Police Minister		Ministro della polizia
V	Australia Bureau of Statistics	12	Ufficio nazionale di statistica
W	ABS		

Table 38. Institutions and institutional figures/processes in the STs and TTs

From Table 38 it emerges that institutional processes and figures are usually translated either by choosing an Italian equivalent or related item (e.g. line two in TT4, TT9, TT10, TT11, and TT12), or by translating the constituents of the phrase (e.g. "camera bassa" TT4, "ministro delle risorse minerarie" in TT4, TT2), or a blend of the two (e.g. "capogruppo laburista" in TT7). TT7 "chief minister" is the only case of borrowing in the CSI category. The CSIs in TT10 refer to institutions representing a specific entity in the Italian political landscape ("comuni"), which do not perfectly match the Australian system. Hence, there is inconsistency in the translation of "local government" and "councils", with TT10 presenting more variety and terminological inaccuracy.

An interesting case of mistranslation of a CSI can be found in TT9, which reports the difficulties faced by staff working at a youth justice centre. The article reminds readers of a recent event during which an underage detainee from a youth centre kidnapped a five-year-old girl in her father's car. TT9 summarizes more than one newsworthy event, it is therefore very concise, and describes events that are socio-culturally close to IGJ and to her readership.

In the closing paragraph, we find an expression that might provoke misunderstandings for Italian-speaking readers. The sentence in Table 39 seems to imply that "ice" is a disease, as the past participle in attributive position "affetto" is generally used to imply that someone is suffering from a disease.

236

ST-R	ST-R section	TT9	TT9 section
Ice-addicted teenager accused of kidnapping […]	Title	[…] a seguito della vicenda dell'adolescente affetto da ice […]	Body
A teenager […] was high on ice […]	Body		

Table 39. CSI and mistranslation

Based on this translation, Italian readers unfamiliar with drug slang (i.e. "ice"-methamphetamine) would understand "ice" as an illness, and picture an ill teenager kidnapping a five-year old girl and stealing a car. They may therefore attribute the teenager's behaviour to illness rather than drug abuse, undoubtedly making their judgement more lenient.

However, the reason behind this mistranslation does not seem ideological, because later in TT9, IGJ describes Malmsbury Youth Centre in Melbourne, detailing how the situation is becoming increasingly unsustainable both for employees and for local residents. There is no evidence that IGJ intended to conceal the information about drug abuse which means that we can classify this mistranslation as a mere oversight, perhaps due to a calque of the noun-phrase structure of ST-R ("ice-addicted"). This structure is highly informative and economic in terms of space, and IGJ may understandably have wished to replicate something similar in TT9, and was potentially misled in the translation of the past participle "addicted" (in Italian "dipendente" or "drogato"). Another explanation could be that the calque derives from a long exposure of IGJ to the SL which, as a consequence, influences her translation in her native language. If we accept this second interpretation, this calque could become evidence in support of the emergence of a new Italo-Australian variety, but, of course, more data is needed in order to verify the existence of such a variety.

e) <u>Conclusion</u>

The results of this case study can shed some light on the role of *Il Globo* within the Italian community in Melbourne. In the first part of the analysis, I focused on reported speech and its manipulations, whereas in the second part the focus was on CSIs and the potential comprehension difficulties they arise in translation, showing how acronyms and names of institutions and institutional figures/processes are translated. I tried to make sense of the only case of mistranslation found in the 12 TTs corpus, eventually suggesting that L2 interference in written language could point at the emergence of a new Italo-Australian variety.

With reference to the results brought about by this case study, it could be possible to identify some general trends that might be common to other journalistic outputs (that involve translation). First of all, the tendency to localize both the information and the cultural references within a particular news item (e.g. "comuni" in TT10). This localising attitude is peculiar of the news discourse and, as a consequence, of news translation (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009; Valdeón, 2015). It is indeed understandable that, when translating a piece of news, this has to be framed and constructed in order to be relevant to the target audience.

However, within the context of ethnic media this localising argument can be of arduous definition as questions about which is the source and the target locale in a diaspora context are surely bound to come up. Indeed, is it possible to identify one single locale of reference within such a context? Or would it be better to think of community newspapers as spaces of shifting locales? If we consider the constant movement back and forth from the heritage to the host country that ethnic media display, it is understandable that localization can assume different forms and directions according to the target locale envisaged by the news item. In the case of *Il Globo*, the target locale is surely the Italian community in Melbourne but the latter could be addressed in a number of facets: as Italians, as Italo-Australians, and as Australians. This shifts of course determine inconsistencies in the localising attitude we observed in d).

While analysing CSIs within the corpus of texts collected for case study 3, I would have expected to find some instances of explicitation in line with the general trend of translated texts to be more explicit than originally produced texts (see Blum-Kulka, 2001 "explicitation hypothesis", 1986 here quoted from Venuti, 2001). Although there are some instances in which the TTs under study are more explicit than their (multiple) STs, I would be cautious in defying it a trend within the context of ethnic news translation. From the data and the results of this case study, we can observe a general tightening of the TTs compared to the corresponding ST. Moreover, pinpointing the exact location of additions and explicitations is not always feasible.

Nevertheless, there are some instances in which explicitations are present (e.g. ST-H "Lower House" and TT4 "La Camera Bassa della Tasmania", ST-R "$2 levy" and TT8 "Soprattassa di due dollari", or ST-E "ALP" and TT2 "ALP" + "Il leader federale laburista"), but their number is too small to draw any conclusion in one sense or the other. Therefore, it might be interesting to investigate these issues further with a larger number of texts, ideally with two separate corpora of STs and of TTs that can be cross-analysed and investigated. Those corpora should be separate corpora but nevertheless comparable and, so to speak, "cognate", in that it would be ideal to trace back multiple STs from single TTs, basically something similar to what (McGlashan & Baker, 2017) did with their corpora of news articles and readers' comments.

In relation to Italo-Australian as a contact variety as described by (Rubino, 2002) or (Caruso, 2010), the case at hand could represent a shift in the definition and perception of Italo-Australian. Cafarella and Pascoe dismiss the language of *Il Globo* as archaic (Cafarella & Pascoe, 2009, p. 126), but I did not find any evidence of archaisms within the body of TTs analysed in case study 3. What I observed is that sometimes the journalist can be influenced by the host language (i.e. English). As mentioned in d), this fact could represent a written variety developing among the newer Italo-Australian generation and the so-called Italian "working-

holiday generation" (Armillei & Mascitelli, 2016) comprising individuals who have completed the compulsory school cycle in Italy (60%) and have a decent level of English before leaving Italy (60%). This being a recent phenomenon, it needs to be analysed and studied in detail, however we could predict that the language would come to resemble standard Italian more closely with a reduction in interferences from Italian regional varieties and dialects. Additionally, it would have a different status, transitioning from a language that emerged because of the speakers' lack of competence in standard Italian, to one that creates a new linguistic code for its community.

Within this fluid linguistic shift of the contact variety, IGJ and other journalists at *Il Globo* have to ask themselves which (Italian/English) terms could represent a comprehension obstacle for readers and therefore necessitate an explanation, what information is relevant to the varied community of readers being addressed, and what can instead be omitted. The meetings with IGJ revealed that the community plays an active role in directing editorial choices, because, as IGJ put it, the community is constituted by pro-active readers who "are not shy in expressing their opinions" about the newspaper's content.

While being faced with a readership constantly scrutinizing the journalistic output can have its downsides, it is also the very reason why newspapers aimed at long-established ethnic communities still exist in countries like Australia. The Italian community justifies the existence of *Il Globo* and defines its goal in and outside the community itself. From this perspective, *Il Globo* still has a mission and plays a role within the Italian community. It keeps the heritage language alive and offers a sense of unity and belonging, continuing "to furnish a type of news which mainstream media is unable or unwilling to provide" (Cafarella & Pascoe, 2009, p. 121), ultimately building a unique Italo-Australian multilingual identity through translation (Sidiropoulou, 2004), both cultural and linguistic (Conway, 2011).

6.3.2 Case Study 4: New trends of representation, Translation and Citizen Journalism

    a) <u>Research questions and methodology</u>

In this case study, I will analyse news translation in the context of citizen or participatory journalism, focusing on both translation products and actors.

    With regards to the journalistic as well as translational activities within citizen media, there are some issues that are usually taken for granted, such as the non-professionalism of those involved in these activities. However, as news consumers we cannot be certain that activism in the media equals "not professional". In TS, this is a long-established debate, especially when dealing with translational activities performed on the Internet, e.g. fun-subbing (O'Hagan, 2009; Pérez-González & Susam-Saraeva, 2012).

    In 4.3.2, I described *Global Voices* and its aim of promoting alternative representations and interpretations of news items through the voice of so-called "bridge bloggers" (Zuckerman, 2007). My question, as far as translation within *Global Voices* is concerned, is how this activism promoted by *Global Voices* is accounted for by volunteer translators, namely whether they feel freer to intervene and add their perspective or whether they perform as "non-aligned" middlepersons or mouthpiece.

    Employing the theoretical and methodological framework of *convergence* described in Chapter 2, I will combine different methodological approaches to TS and JS in order to analyse texts and contexts of the phenomenon of translation and its actors within citizen or participatory journalism. In particular, I will consider parallel news texts and analyse them by ways of corpus linguistics methods. Finally, I will contextualize these results through a very small survey I conducted among the Italian translators volunteering for *Global Voices*.

b) Data: the website, the corpus, the survey

In 4.3.2 I described *Global Voices*' *Lingua* project and briefly introduced the Italian *Global Voices* group, whose members took part in the survey. Within the Italian *Global Voices* group (henceforth IT-GV group), the workflow is managed via Google Groups and a "translation journal", and the TTs are translated directly on the Wordpress platform. Usually, proofreading of the TTs is carried out by the two editors of the IT-GV group, who also translate the titles of the posts.

IT-GV translators, as translators of other languages, are provided with basic translation guidelines available on a dedicated webpage.[86] I summarized the content of these guidelines in 4.3.2; however, here I would like to consider in greater detail the section which provides suggestions and instructions (provided in Italian for the *Global Voices* Italian team) with reference to "specific journalistic, as well as translational, skills".[87]

First of all, the guidelines specify that the choice of the texts to translate is interest-based with a keen eye on what is topical and newsworthy in the world at that moment. Second, it is strongly emphasized how the translation process should start from a close and critical reading of the text, paying particular attention to register variation. Third, the guidelines also try to raise awareness among translators about the fact that often authors are not native speakers, inviting translators to make an effort to understand the authors' language and to render it more appealing in Italian thus encouraging them to intervene on the text in an active manner. As a fourth point, the guidelines prescribe the desired approach to the translation of Anglicisms, allowing for loanwords of web-related items, but stressing how "translators should avoid certain *neologisms* in the Italian language that are frequently used by mainstream media,

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[86] Global Voices in Italiano · Istruzioni Base Per Traduzioni. Retrieved December 10, 2017, from https://it.globalvoices.org/istruzioni-base-per-traduzioni/
[87] S. footnote 86.

like *twittare* (to twitt) or *hackerare* (to hack)"[88], which is a conservative attitude towards language that one may find odd in an alternative media output. Finally, emphasis is placed upon the importance of critically re-reading the text once its translation is completed, before submitting it for publication.

Corpus name	GV Corpus
Corpus type	Parallel mono-directional corpus
Time window	09/06/2016-10/07/2017
Languages	English > Italian
No. of texts	24 STs, 24 TTs
No. of tokens	Source Corpus 19,219 Target Corpus 20,001
No. of types	Source Corpus 3,933 Target Corpus 4,613

Table 40. Information about GV corpus

Table 40 summarizes the main facts about the GV parallel corpus, which is a very small and specialized translational corpus and contains also indirect translations. The texts were aligned semi-automatically at the sentence level using InterText editor (Vondřička, 2014), then few trials were made on different software for parallel concordancing (ParaConc, AntPConc and SketchEngine), eventually settling on the SketchEngine for the analysis of parallel concordance lines, and for wordlist and keyword list extraction, whereas AntConc was used for accessing each monolingual corpus separately. The corpus data focuses on a specific time period that features, among others, two prominent news events, i.e. Brexit and the 2016 European Refugee crisis.

c) <u>Corpus analysis: translation, mistranslation or manipulation?</u>

As a first sub-corpus comparison, two keyword lists were extracted via SketchEngine, thus treating the two sub-corpora as they were two independent corpora. As stated throughout this

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[88] S. footnote 86.

study, keywords in a corpus highlight the "aboutness" of the corpus (P. Baker & McEnery, 2015) and, this being a news corpus gathered during a selected time window, I was interested in verifying how much *Global Voices* focused on newsworthy (possibly mainstream) news items, as opposed to alternative and marginal ones. Tables 41 and 42 contain the top 20 keywords for each sub-corpus; the keyword lists were cleaned up as to eliminate names (of bloggers, politicians, translators, etc.).

Keyword (ref. corpus *ENTenTen2013*)	Raw Freq.	Keyness score
Brexit	26	1211.8
Timor-Leste	10	388.5
Yulin	8	351.7
Timorese	8	330.2
Ataturk	6	234.6
Douma	5	224.0
LGBTQ	8	217.1
Assailant	8	162.7
Refugee	38	130.2
Dhaka	5	122.1
Hostage	13	119.0
Rican	6	112.8
Georgian	9	112.2
Syrian	22	102.2
LGBT	12	101.3
Vigil	5	92.9
Referendum	10	82.5
Orlando	19	81.0
Tsunami	8	78.3
Provincial	6,	280.3

Table 41. Top-20 Keywords, GV English

Keyword (ref. corpus *ITTenTen2012*)	Raw Freq.	Keyness score
Yulin	9	385.4
Brexit	25	302.4
LGBTQ	7	290.0
Timor	9	288.2

Nightclub	7	275.8
LGBT	14	268.6
Sopravvissute	10	250.9
Portoricani	6	248.6
Douma	5	218.6
Ustioni	13	213.4
Konya	5	201.6
Kamakura	5	194.6
Siriani	13	173.2
Ataturk	5	167.7
Africane	14	162.0
Ostaggi	8	129.4
Rifugiati	28	127.1
Tsunami	8	110.9
Aggressori	5	102.1
massacro,	14	101.0

Table 42. Top-20 Kewords, GV Italian

A close reading of the concordance lines of each keyword allows to group the keywords of each sub-corpus into the following main areas according to the context in which they are found.

1. Migration:
   EN: Refugee, Syrian, Douma
   IT: Rifugiati, siriani
2. Brexit:
   EN: Brexit, Referendum, Timor-Leste, Timorese
   IT: Brexit
3. Activism (e.g. protests, support to minorities):
   EN: LGBT, LGBTQ, Orlando, (Puerto) Rican, Vigil, Yulin
   IT: LGBT, LGBTQ, nightclub, Sopravvissute, Africane, Ustioni, Konya, massacro
4. Threats to safety (e.g. terrorism, environmental disasters)
   EN: Dhaka, Assailant, Hostage, Ataturk, Georgian, Tsunami
   IT: Ataturk, Ostaggi, Aggressori, Tsunami, Kamakura

The first three themes in the above list are the most important in terms of frequency of the items they contain. This being a parallel corpus, I would have expected more similarities between the two keyword lists. There are some shared keywords, among which we can observe similar absolute frequencies. This may be due to the choice of the reference corpora for the keyword's extraction, which are two general language corpora, something that is not unusual in the field of CL (McEnery & Hardie, 2012). However, as Bernardini and Ferraresi point out,

"depending on the reference corpus used, different words will be filtered out and different keywords will be selected for the researcher's perusal" (Bernardini & Ferraresi, 2011, p. 233).

With reference to my question, that is whether *Global Voices* focuses more on alternative or mainstream news items, the results from the list of keywords are inconclusive. For this reason, a closer look at frequencies and parallel concordance lines was necessary in order to have a more complete picture.

Table 43 contains the most frequent lexical items in the two sub-corpora (first 50 lemmas), ignoring functional words and capping the minimum frequency for each word at 5 occurrences.

Lemma EN	Raw Freq.	Fp1000w	Rank	Lemma IT	Raw Freq.	Fp1000w
be-v	705	36.6	1.	essere-v	340	16.9
have-v	242	12.6	2.	avere-v	95	4.7
do-v	100	5.2	3.	potere-v	82	4.1
people-n	80	4.2	4.	fare-v	78	3.7
say-v	55	2.9	5.	dire-v	68	3.4
take-v	45	2.3	6.	persona-n	59	2.9
see-v	42	2.2	7.	donna-n	45	2.2
country-n	41	2.1	8.	anno-n	41	2.0
get-v	40	2.0	9.	volere-v	40	1.9
refugee-n	38	1.9	10.	stare-v	39	1.9
know-v	38	1.9	11.	paese-n	39	1.9
UK-n	35	1.8	12.	andare-v	38	1.9
come-v	34	1.8	13.	parte-n	38	1.9
day-n	34	1.8	14.	africano-a	34	1.7
year-n	33	1.7	15.	due-d	34	1.7
woman-n	32	1.7	16.	dovere-v	34	1.7
time-n	32	1.7	17.	europeo-a	33	1.6
leave-v	31	1.6	18.	giorno-n	33	1.6
can-x	31	1.6	19.	Essere (stare-v)	32	1.6
make-v	30	1.5	20.	vittima-n	31	1.5
Britain-n	29	1.5	21.	Regno-n Unito-n	30	1.5
write-v	29	1.5	22.	scrivere-v	30	1.5
child-n	29	1.5	23.	bambino-n	30	1.5
world-n	29	1.5	24.	storia-n	30	1.5
go-v	28	1.4	25.	vedere-v	29	1.4
tell-v	28	1.4	26.	pensare-v	29	1.4
think-v	27	1.4	27.	mondo-n	29	1.4

Brexit-n	26	1.3	28.	rifugiato-n	28	1.4
want-v	26	1.3	29.	prendere-v	28	1.4
African-j	25	1.3	30.	sapere-v	27	1.3
EU-n	24	1.2	31.	ancora-a	27	1.3
medium-n	24	1.2	32.	primo-a	27	1.3
life-n	23	1.2	33.	riuscire-v	26	1.3
survivor-n	21	1.1	34.	Brexit-n	25	1.2
Africa-n	21	1.1	35.	dare-v	25	1.2
government-n	21	1.1	36.	carne-n	24	1.2
friend-n	20	1	37.	modo-n	24	1.2
Facebook-n	20	1	38.	cercare-v	24	1.2
feel-v	20	1	39.	vita-n	24	1.2
even-a	20	1	40.	unione-n	23	1.1
new-j	20	1	41.	attacco-n	23	1.1
find-v	20	1	42.	casa-n	23	1.1
kill-v	20	1	43.	nuovo-a	23	1.1
use-v	20	1	44.	tempo-n	23	1.1
live-v	20	1	45.	venire-v	22	1.1
dog-n	19	0.9	46.	chiedere-v	22	1.1
Germany-n	19	0.9	47.	sentire-v	22	1.1
long-j	19	0.9	48.	diventare-v	22	1.1
call-v	19	0.9	49.	città-n	22	1.1
June-n	19	0.9	50.	cane-n	21	1

Table 43. Word lists: top 50 words per sub-corpus

As expected, there are many similarly frequent words, especially among nouns (-n), but there are also notable differences. Going through the wordlists and focusing mostly on nouns, it can be noticed that *vittim** in the target corpus ranks quite high (1.5 fp1000w), but we cannot find a possible equivalent of *vittim** among the 50 most frequent words of the source corpus. Resorting to parallel concordance lines including occurrences of *vittim** in the target corpus, I was able to establish that the most frequent equivalent for *vittim** in the source corpus is indeed *victim**.

As we shall see below in Table 44, the frequency of *victim** is of 0.9 fp1000w in the Source corpus wordlist, and it occurred 18 times in the whole corpus, while *casualt**, a synonym of *victim**, is a hapax in the source corpus. *Casualt** shows up only once in the Source corpus in a Tweet reported in ST about a terrorist attack at Ataturk's hospital, the TT, in this case, translates it as *vittim**.

Judging this difference in frequency between the two sub-corpora as interesting, I looked at the distribution of the two nouns (*victim** and *vittim**) in the GV corpus in order to determine whether there was an imbalance in the distribution of these nouns across the texts, namely whether they occurred in the same texts or not, and what would be alternative ST stimuli for *vittim** apart from *victim**. Table 44 shows the sites of occurrence of *victim** and *vittim** in the two sub-corpora and the main topic of the report in which it occurs.

Text ID_ST	*Victim** (18)	Main Topic	Text ID_TT	*Vittim** (31)
GV_160617_ST1	7	LGBTQ	GV_160617_TT1	12
GV_160618_ST1	7	LGBTQ	GV_160618_TT1	8
GV_160619_ST1	1	MIGRATION	GV_160619_TT1	1
GV_160623_ST2	1	MIGRATION	GV_160623_TT2	1
GV_160628_ST1	2	ACTIVISM	GV_160628_TT1	2
		LGBTQ	GV_160620_TT	1
		SAFETY	GV_160701_TT2	2
		ACTIVISM	GV_160702_TT1	1
		SAFETY	GV_160705_TT1	3

Table 44. Distribution of victim*and vittim* in the GV Corpus

Analysing the occurrences of *victim**/*vittim** in parallel concordance lines, I was able to establish three strategies resulting in the presence of *vittim** in the TT:

1. Equivalence
   One to one correspondence, *Victim*=Vittim**
   58% of the occurrences of *vittim**;
2. Contraction
   Many-to-one correspondence, *a+b+c+d…=Vittim**
   32.3% of the occurrences of *vittim**
   Typically, a periphrasis in the ST and *victim** in the TT:
       i. Life/death periphrasis (*lost lives*, *dead*, *people have died*, *the deceased*)
       ii. Kill in the passive voice (*those killed*, *people were killed, who were killed*);
3. Addition (Table 32)
   Zero-to-one correspondence, - =*Vittim**
   9.7% of the occurrences of *vittim**.

ST	TT
Mass shootings	Sparatorie con molte **vittime**
[…] the bodies of 20 hostages – mainly foreigners […]	[…] la morte di 20 ostaggi. La maggior parte delle **vittime** erano stranieri

[…] adding to the tally of dozens of brutal attacks […]	[…] incrementando il numero delle **vittime** di queste terribili aggressioni […]

Table 45. Cases of addition

There are a number of possible reasons why translators decided to use *vittim** with such a frequency in their TTs. One of these reasons could be that death is a taboo for the TL.[89] Perhaps the lack of in-depth proof-reading and experience on the part of the translators brought them to choose for the easiest, quickest and most understandable option, which is indeed *vittim**. Moreover, this choice could also be interpreted in terms of convergence to one single word in the TT, which also enhances clarity, thus making the role played by those involved in the action unambiguous. Even though more data is needed to dismiss or accept these hypotheses, the additions found in the Target corpus seem to point to the "explicitation hypothesis" (Blum-Kulka, 2001). In actual fact, according to Klaudy and Károly (Klaudy & Károly, 2003) there are various types of explicitation, and among these the addition of "meaningful elements" in the TT or the distribution of a complex meaning in the SL over a larger number of words in the TL seem to fit well with the findings shown in Table 45.

Along these lines of qualitative analysis of parallel concordance lines, I carried out a study of loans and calques in the target corpus. My starting point was the reference to the translation of Anglicisms in *Global Voices* translational guidelines (see section b) – 6.3.2). Here, I adopt Gottlieb's definition of Anglicism, explained as "any individual or systemic language feature adapted or adopted from English, or inspired or boosted by English models, used in intralingual communication in a language other than English" (Gottlieb, 2004, p. 44). This definition allows Gottlieb to operationalize the concept of Anglicism into a complex taxonomy, which Bernardini and Ferraresi (2011) adapted to their corpus-based study about

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[89] "Tabu linguistico" in *Enciclopedia dell'Italiano*. Retrieved December 07, 2017, from
http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/tabu-linguistico_%28Enciclopedia-dell%27Italiano%29/

Anglicisms in technical translations. In particular, they focus on "overt lexical borrowings", "adapted borrowings and semantic loans" and "morphosyntactic calques" (Bernardini & Ferraresi, 2011, p. 231). For the purposes of case study 4, I will primarily focus on *overt lexical borrowings* and *adapted borrowings and semantic loans*. In the target corpus borrowings or loans are not very frequent and sometimes they are accompanied by glosses:

i.   **ST -** Boricuas [Puerto Rican]
       TT - Boricuas [portoricani]
ii.   **ST** - A <u>minor</u> in African Film Studies
       TT - Un <u>minor</u> in studi sui film africani
iii.   **ST -** <u>Positionality</u>
       TT - <u>Positionality</u> (condizione e posizione sociale)
iv.   **ST -** Frequented by <u>expats</u>
       TT - Frequentato da <u>expat</u>

Paying attention to example i., it is clear that a gloss was present in the ST in the first place, thus the translator reported the overt lexical borrowing "Boricuas" and translated the gloss into the TL. Conversely, in iii., the translator adds a gloss to the overt lexical borrowing "Positionalilty". Finally, in ii. and iv. the borrowings are not translated. If, on the one hand, the absence of a gloss is unlikely to cause any comprehension issue in iv., as the concept of "expat" is becoming increasingly frequent in the Italian press, especially online[90]; on the other hand, in ii. the noun "minor" in the TT could hinder the comprehension of the text itself. *Minor* in Italian has the meaning of *less* – adjective, and is rarely used as a noun, and anyway not in the field of university degrees.[91]

The observation and analysis of calques in the target corpus shows that they are more frequent than borrowings and are to be found both at the syntactic ("morphosyntactic calques")

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[90] The lemma *expat** has a frequency of 0.12 per million words in itTenTen2016 corpus (accessed via SketchEngine)

[91] The lemma *minor-n* has a frequency of 0.54 per million words in 5 billion words corpus itTenTen2016 (accessed via the SketchEngine). A right-sort of the concordance lines of *minor-n* shows that the usage *minor-n + in-p + university-related words* is quite rare (just once in the whole corpus - http://ske.li/enh}).

and the lexical ("adapted borrowings and semantic loans") levels. Moreover, calques are often cause and/or consequence of mistranslations, as the following examples illustrate:

    i.   **ST -** I had to <u>wait in lines</u> for food and <u>papers</u>
        TT - Ho dovuto <u>aspettare in fila</u> per del cibo e della <u>carta</u>
    ii.   **ST -** A <u>weaker</u> and <u>smaller</u> UK economy would scale back its investment in development projects in Nigeria, even if temporarily
        TT - Un'economia inglese <u>indebolita</u> e <u>in calo</u> ridurrebbe i suoi investimenti di sviluppo in Nigeria, anche solo temporaneamente
    iii.   **ST -** The UK <u>took part in</u> a historic referendum
        TT - I cittadini del regno unito <u>hanno preso parte</u> ad un referendum storico

Example i. contains two instances of calques, lexical and syntactical. ST's *papers* is translated as *carta*, but a closer look to the context of *papers* lets us infer quite safely that *papers* are not sheets of papers, but rather documents, since this text is about a Syrian refugee and his experience in a refugee camp in Germany. Whereas the syntax of the sentence especially around the verb "have to+ wait in lines + for" which in the TT is "dovere + aspettare in fila + per" seems to be modelled on the English one. The phrase "aspettare in fila + per" in *ItTenTen2016* is not very frequent[92] and is never followed by a noun, but by an infinitive verb.

Example iii. is another case of syntactic calque, as the verb "take part to" is translated as "prendere parte a". Through a quick search for "referendum" in the ITTenTen2016 corpus, I was able to confirm that "partecipare" or "prendere parte a" do not figure among the collocates of "referendum" (or "votazione"). Indeed, the verb "votare" figures as the preferred choice when the meaning is "take part to a referendum" within the Italian political discourse.

Finally, I was unsure about the classification of example ii. as a calque. The syntax of the TT sentence seems to replicate the ST's, however what catches the analyst's eye is the translation of the adjective "smaller" as "in calo", which means "decreasing". Something "smaller" is not necessarily "decreasing", although in ii. it is possible to assume that what is

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[92] The phrase "aspettare in fila" occurs just 54 times in the whole *ItTenTen* (Jakubíček et al., 2013), followed by a preposition of place, a dependent clause introduced by the relative *che* or an infinitive clause introduced by the preposition *per*.

described as "weaker and smaller" can also be decreasing. The translator here probably made the same assumption, and opted for the abovementioned translation. Nevertheless, I flagged this instance as mistranslation, or rather as an over-interpretation of the ST on the part of the translator.

Looking at other examples of calques and mistranslations, I found that sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between a sheer mistranslation and the deliberate intervention of the translator, actively and ideologically manipulating the ST in his/her TT. Let us consider the following two instances:

i. **ST -** EU treaties recognizing the free movement of EU workers <u>are still enforced</u> today, but what will happen after Brexit?
TT - I trattati europei riconoscono che la libertà di movimento dei lavoratori europei <u>è sempre più necessaria al giorno d'oggi</u>, ma cosa succederà dopo la Brexit?

ii. **ST -** The EU still has Germany, France, Italy, Poland and Spain <u>whose combined GDP dwarf</u> that of little UK.
TT - Germania, Francia, Italia, Polonia e Spagna fanno ancora parte dell'Unione Europea e <u>i loro PIL uniti equivalgono</u> a quello del piccolo Regno Unito.

i. and ii. are both instances of mistranslations. On the one hand, in i. the TT lacks the main verb, moreover it seems to imply that the European Union does not provide its citizens with free movement across European countries, suggesting that Brexit could worsen the status of the negotiations for these treaties. On the other hand, in ii. the TT suggests that the combined gross domestic product of a series of European countries equals that of the United Kingdom, whereas the ST states the opposite. These instances are to be found in the same text, therefore it is not possible to generalise about the translators' attitude towards the ST. However, as concerns this translator, it seems that s/he consciously or unconsciously tried to depict a terrible post-Brexit scenario, not for the UK but rather for Europe.

Since what I observed for the above examples seemed to point at a convergence of mistranslation and manipulating attitudes, I looked into the possibility of pinpointing the TTs' sites where translators were actively advocating for a cause by manipulating, and at times

mistranslating, the text (M. Baker, 2013). Thus, in line with the methodological convergence that has walked us throughout this study, starting from the GV parallel corpus, I qualitatively and contrastively analysed all STs and TTs and tried to classify these types of advocating or manipulating interventions. This time-expensive investigation brought to the fore three main trends by which translators add this "advocating perspective into their TTs,

1. Adding negative/positive emphasis to the TT by changing ST's adjectives into more/less loaded TT adjectives:
   e.g. **ST** - a <u>long and noisy</u> trip
      TT - quel viaggio <u>lungo e pericoloso</u>;
2. Modifying the perspective of the sentence by changing the subject and/or verb form:
   e.g. **ST** - <u>they</u> transferred <u>me</u>
      TT - "<u>[io] ottenni</u> il trasferimento";
3. Adding (biased or loaded) information to the TT.
   e.g. **ST** - inverstors <u>have been pulling</u> their money out of Britain
      TT - gli investitori <u>sono stati costretti</u> a investire il proprio denaro
   fuori dal paese".

The example shown in 1. demonstrates how, by changing an adjective form the ST to the TT, the translator adds a (personal) evaluation of a trip which a Syrian migrant undertook; while the TT in example 2. (from the same article) shows the migrant in question as having more agency than he admitted to have had. Finally, the example in 3. is taken from an article about Brexit and its immediate consequences on the stock market: the translator adds information to ST in a way that leads the reader to think that investors were forced by Brexit referendum outcome to take their money and take it out of Britain, which is not what the ST suggests. Despite the fact that the author of the ST seems to be in line with the translator's interpretation of the sentence, this manipulation still represents a strong ideological stance that the translator added to the TT.

The trends described above are believed to be symbolic of the non-professional working environment at *Global Voices* as far as translational practices are concerned. As we shall see in the following section d), often translators are not completely conscious about the ideological/textual manipulations and/or readings they are imposing while they translate. What

also came out of this analysis is that generally the core of this "advocating attitude" concentrates in TTs of articles about Brexit and refugees.

d) IT-GV Group Survey

This section deals with the ethnographic side of this case study, which entails the discussion of the results of an online survey submitted to GV Italian Group members between July and November 2016. Back then the Italian GV community was managed via Google Groups by two Italian editors, though recently the management of the Italian GV Google Group has been reviewed[93], however I will refer to information and data gathered before this substantial change.

The Italian GV community on Google Groups had 282 enlisted members, very few of whom are active, as the performance statistics given by Google Groups shows that, averagely, between 8 and 10 members are active. Unfortunately, I could not access performance data by month, so I was not able to verify how many members were active while I submitted the survey. As concerns the number of respondents to the survey, there were only five.

The main aim of the survey was to obtain a general profile of Italian GV translators, unfortunately with such a low number of respondents, profiling them would not have made much sense. This notwithstanding, some interesting and worth-investigating facts can be observed among the responses that I collected.

The questions of the survey can be broadly divided into three sections:

1. Demographic information about the translator (name, age, gender, mother tongue, working languages)
2. Information about the translator's education and training (degrees, current and previous jobs linked to their volunteering activity at *Global Voices*)
3. Information about their own translation process at *Global Voices* (constraints, priorities, tools, reasons for "citizen" translation)

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[93] On August, 6th 2017, I received an email by Mohamed ElGohary (*Global Voices Lingua* manager) signalling the creation of a new Italian Lingua group.

Out of five respondents, four are female and one male, all of them have English as their main working language. Other languages from which they translate are Spanish (2), French (1) and Arabic (1).

As far as their education and training are concerned, Table 47 (below) sums up the information they provided.

Degree	Number		Job	Number
MA – Community interpreting (or alike)	1/5		(Freelance) translator	3/5
MA – Translation Studies	3/5		ESL Teacher	1/5
BA – Translation and Interpreting	1/5		TV Newsroom	1/5
			Student	1/5

Table 46. Education and Job profiles of Italian GV group respondents

From Table 46, we can observe how all the respondents have a background in translation or interpreting, whereas regarding their current occupation, three of them work as translators, one at a news channel and one is still studying.

Let us now focus on the third part of the survey, in which respondents were asked about their own translation process. Graph 1 displays information about which tools translators used in their working routine, whereas Graph 2 sums up information about how they would evaluate their own TTs on a scale of 1 (ST-oriented) to 10 (TT-oriented).
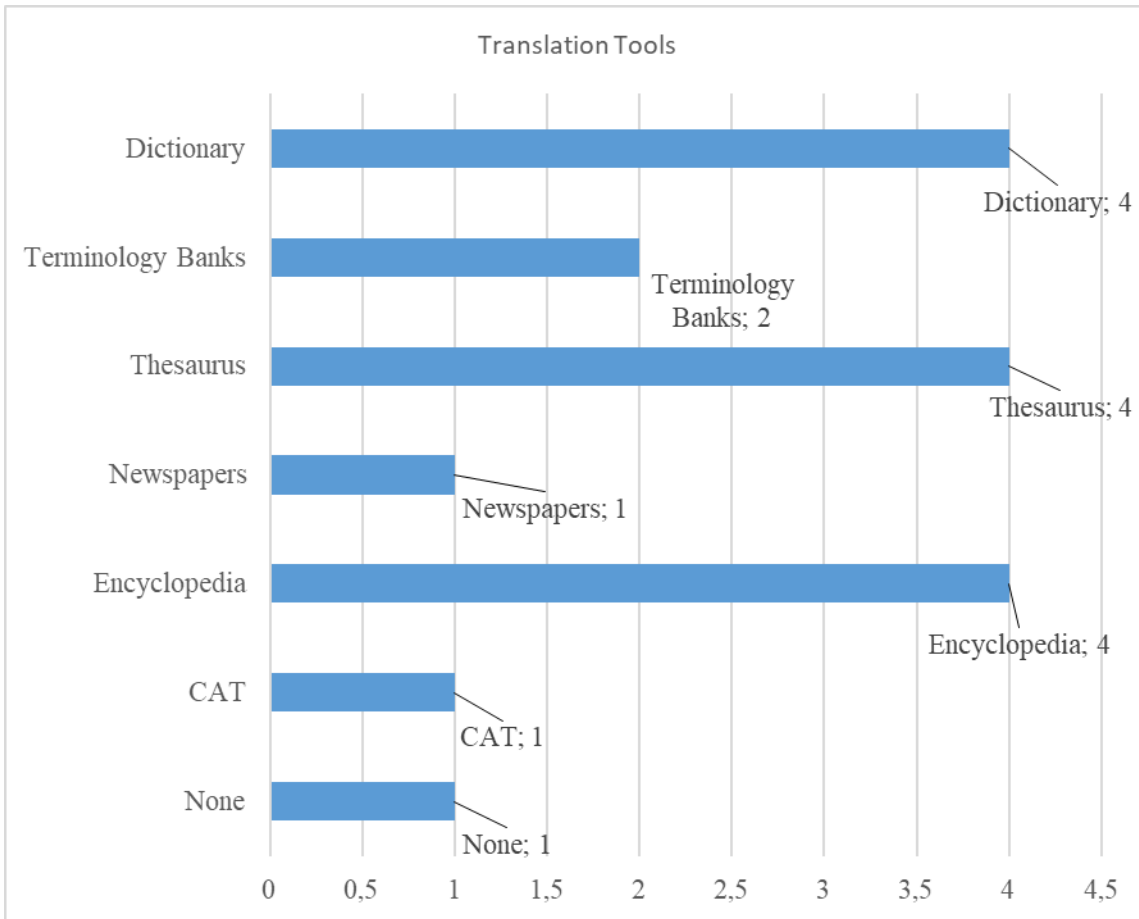
Graph 1. Translation Tools
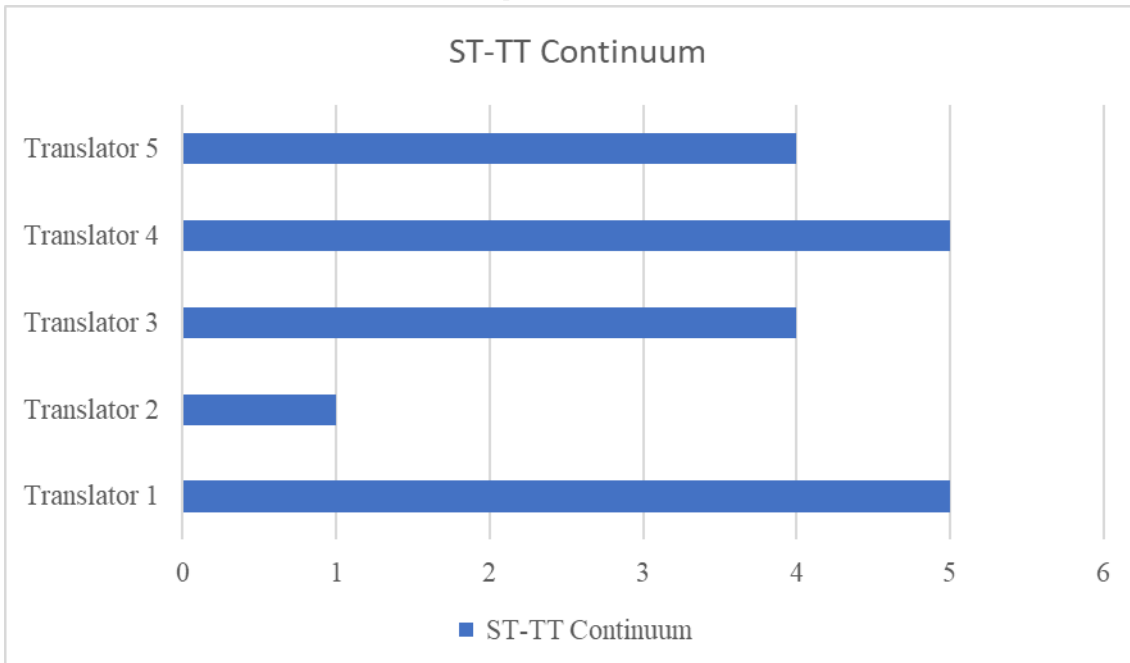
Graph 2. ST-TT 1-10 continuum

As expected, the majority of them use thesaurus and online dictionaries, whereas only one of them said that s/he did not need any translation tool. Generally, the more tools (especially high-tech tools such as CAT and terminology banks) they used, the more years of experience they had.

In terms of overall translation strategies, the respondents seem to agree that their translations are usually ST-oriented. This fact is interesting as the same happens with fun-subs (O'Hagan, 2009), which are usually ST-oriented, and seems to point to the fact that translation in non-professional and uncontrolled (web) environments tends to be closer to STs. Moreover, respondents stated that cultural proximity to the ST makes the translation easier and, therefore, they feel encouraged to translate the texts they are more familiar with.

There were a couple of questions in the survey asking translators to say whether or not they manipulate the text and if they thought that those manipulations could be ideologically motivated. Four out of five stated that, ideally, no ideologically motivated manipulation should occur, but in reality, they sometimes smooth some edges; one out of five categorically excluded any manipulation whatsoever. Below I reported three interesting answers in which volunteer translators considered the linguistic and translational aspects of translating the language of bridge bloggers.

1. Il mio margine di intervento è molto ridotto. Fino a oggi, ho tradotto testi che non necessitavano di "manipolazioni" particolari perché semplici e scritti in modo internazionale. Ecco, se devo dire una cosa, GV utilizza un linguaggio internazionale soprattutto perché i giornalisti provengono da varie parti del mondo e utilizzano l'inglese come lingua per veicolare l'informazione quindi le particolarità stilistiche che possono riscontrarsi nelle testate anglosassoni sono quasi del tutto assenti.[94]

2. Nella mia esperienza di GV, e considerando anche il lavoro degli altri collaboratori traduttori, sinceramente credo che venga manipolato poco o per niente dal punto di vista contenutistico, mentre dal punto di vista

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[94] My scope of action is quite limited. Until now, I translated texts that did not need any particular "manipulation" as they were simple and written according to an international style. If I have to say something, GV's journalists come from all over the world and employ an international language using English as lingua franca. Thus, the stylistic peculiarities typical of British news jargon are absent. [my translation]

linguistico solo il tanto necessario e naturale per trasmettere il messaggio nel modo più chiaro e più fedele all'originale possibile.[95]

3. Mi attengo al testo di partenza, cercando di dar voce a chi l'ha scritto: è un modo per rispettare il punto di vista dell'autore. Per quanto riguarda l'appetibilità, cerco di evitare la traduzione letteraria e di "sciogliere" quelle espressioni che suonano male per chi legge. Make it easy è un po' il nostro motto, ma solo a beneficio di chiarezza e fluidità di testo, senza manipolare i concetti.[96]

From the three answers provided above, we can pinpoint three main issues regarding translation upon which to reflect: closeness to the ST, the internationality of the STs, and the perception of manipulation. These three issues are necessarily intertwined, and interdependent. Indeed, the three respondents state that usually *Global Voices*'s STs do not need to be modified from a linguistic point of you because of the international status of the SL (i.e. English) which the articles are written in. Thus, translators say they try to avoid so-called *literal translation* in favour of more idiomatic ones, but without manipulating the ideas and concepts contained in the ST.

By looking at the results from the corpus, especially those considering borrowings and mistranslations and the overlap between the two, it seems that these volunteer translators are not fully aware that their intervention sometimes verges on ideological manipulation, even if their TTs remains very close to the STs' syntax and lexicon. Finally, the status of English as main SL at *Global Voices* surely raises the issue of its internationality. The fact that many STs are written in English as a second language or are themselves translations from a language other than English will have an impact on the TTs, which would be extremely interesting to further investigate.

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[95] According to my experience at GV and considering other translators' work, I honestly believe that, from the point of view of content, there is little to none manipulation of texts, while, from a linguistic point of view, texts are manipulated only the bare minimum in order to pass the message on in the most comprehensible and loyal way. [my translation]

[96] I stick to the ST, trying to give voice to the author; it is a way to be respectful of the author's stance. As concerns making the text more appealing, I try to avoid literal translations and to "solve" those expressions which sound badly for the reader. "Make it easy" is our motto, however only in order to make the TT flowing better and clearer, without manipulating concepts. [my translation]

e) <u>Conclusion</u>

Although this is a small-scale case study on translations in the context of citizen journalism, there are some trends that may be worth investigating more deeply with more comprehensive studies.

Within the data set of this case study, translators tend to stay very close to the STs, which in turn justifies the presence of lexical and syntactic calques found in the TTs. More interestingly, the qualitative analysis of STs and TTs suggests how textual and possibly ideological manipulations seem to happen at the lexical level though addition and alterations, and how, sometimes, it is hard to distinguish between mistranslations and deliberate manipulations.

As far as the GV corpus is concerned, I have shown that, even with such a small data set, through corpus technology, we can group texts in thematic areas, and let our investigation start from there. Indeed, I identified four main areas of interest (Refugees, Brexit, Advocacy and Threats to Safety), which are consistent with *Global Voices*' aim of providing an alternative view on the news.

One considerable advantage of a small corpus such as GV is that its size is manageable, therefore it is feasible for the analyst to closely read the texts and thus get acquainted with them. As a matter of fact, a close reading of STs and TTs shows that the abovementioned four areas of interest are reported from personal (bloggers/interviewees') perspectives and stances, effectively giving voice to underrepresented social categories such as refugees and the LGBT community.

The *Global Voices* agenda has implications for the kind of journalism it provides, in that mainstream news practices and, at times, news values, do not apply here. Advocating seems indeed to be inevitable and also the only way of making these voices heard (cf. Waisbord, 2009), meaning that objectivity, relevance and consonance (Bednarek & Caple, 2017) could be

overlooked. A larger parallel corpus would be able to give a more complete picture of discursive practices and their translation within citizen journalism, thus shedding some light on a phenomenon that is constantly expanding.

Finally, the results of the survey are partial and limited, nonetheless they provide a good starting point for further research into the actors of what can be defined, according to some participants, collaborative translation. In particular, the results suggest that, in this context, the equation volunteer/activist = non-professional may not hold true. At least with reference to translators, some volunteer translators are already professionals, and others are on their way to become professionals.

Part Three: Conclusion

I. Applying methodological convergence to different news media

Part Three of this study presented how the theoretical and methodological framework of *convergence* (Chapter 2) can be applied to a variety of journalistic genres, from audio-visual to written, from broadcasting news to online participatory journalism. Thus, I focused on the building of the AVNews Corpus, and on how this corpus can be used to analyse multilingual journalistic discourses in the context of broadcasting news. I did so with two case studies focusing on two influential topics which still resonate in the European context, i.e. migration and the Eastern Ukraine issue.

Further on, in line with the global and local trends of the journalistic discourse, I considered two alternative news sources both envisaging written journalism, but approaching it from two different media, i.e. traditional newspapers and online blog-style journalism. With these two case studies about alternative voices in the news, I intended to demonstrate both the applicability of the *convergence* framework and the importance of translation, or rather language transfer activities, within local and global news.

Moreover, the case studies in Part Three of this thesis clearly point at the fact that language transfer activities in the news escape the traditional understanding of translation and therefore need to be considered under alternative views. Using ethnography (case studies 3 and 4) as well as discourse analysis (case studies 1 and 2) can shed light on translational practices that operates on the discourse level, shaping identities of others (e.g. Ukrainians), representing social categories (e.g. migrants) and acting as mirrors and promoters of communities (e.g. Italo-Australians).

Finally, the present section importantly demonstrated that the corpus-based approach both to TS (Laviosa, 2002; Mikhailov & Cooper, 2016; Olohan, 2012) and to (C)DA (P. Baker

& McEnery, 2015; Partington et al., 2013) provides analysts with a powerful tool able to implement the research with visible evidence, consequently validating and expanding the reach of their claims.

Conclusions and further research

The role played by multilingualism in the news is difficult to deny, particularly in the increasingly connected and globalised world we live in. Ignoring its complexities and characteristics means not understanding its influence on society as a whole. In the course of this thesis, I tried to describe a way of addressing these complexities and of making sense out of the multiple transformations that news items undergo when migrating from one lingua-cultural context to another. The framework of theoretical and methodological *convergence* presented in this study is to be considered a prototype, that requires further testing and improving.

This framework seems to be particularly effective for the investigation of news translation, which some regard as a recent field of enquiry within TS (Valdeón, 2015) and has been rarely addressed by other disciplines within the Humanities. However, TS is a transversal discipline and easily accommodates the inclusion of different research methodologies, theories and applied approaches (M. Baker & Saldanha, 2011). Therefore, if applied to news translation, the *convergence* approach presented in this study allows for interdisciplinary research to yield valuable and relevant results for all the disciplines which are called upon in the analysis, eventually bringing different disciplines, methodologies and insights from a range of academic fields to a point of convergence.

McCarthy describes the term interdiscipline as "the Phoenician trader among the settled nations" (McCarthy, 1999), and I find this metaphor to be a good fit to what TS and, in particular, news translation represent. Indeed, translation in the news is something enigmatic and difficult to grasp as I have tried to make clear throughout this thesis, stressing how the academic disciplines involved in the analysis of international journalism should cooperate in order to make sense out of the extremely complex and layered field of multilingual news.

263

As pointed out on various occasions, in multilingual journalism the superficial realizations of linguistic transfers are in actual fact indicative of more profound changes and shifts; as Federici puts it, it "becomes a mediation between two social structures, that of SL and that of TL, each one carrying an ideological thrust" (Federici, 2011, p. 1040). Thus, the linguistic realization of this process of mediation is just the tip of the iceberg, but, at the same time, it is also the gateway access to the layers of meaning that stand beneath it.

The four case studies presented in this thesis aimed, on the one hand, to prove the feasibility of the *convergence* framework and, on the other hand, to deconstruct the news items they focused upon, in order to analyse and eventually understand the discourses they promoted and the interplay between the medium (TV, Internet, newspaper) and the message. In so doing, I tried to bear in mind that "the medium is the message" (McLuhan, 1994) and that it plays a fundamental role in the interpretation of the message itself. By touching upon different media through which messages are delivered to a variety of audiences, the four case studies addressed contemporary realizations of journalism starting from its language (including its images) and arriving at an identification of the discourses envisaged by each medium for its lingua-cultural context.

The four case studies, in particular, consider issues of migration (Case Study 1, 6.2.1) and identity (Case Study 2, 6.2.2), the interplay between the two of them (Case Study 3, 6.3.1), and issues of advocacy and professionalism within alternative news providers (Case Study 4, 6.3.2). Through the cross-linguistic *convergent* analyses carried out in each case study, I tried to account for the linguistic transfer activities mainly by means of comparisons between texts and, at times, by resorting to external resources such as general corpora of the languages involved in the analysis. Exception made for Case Study 4, the other case studies did not entail any strict ST-TT rationale, and this allowed me to analyse them as if they were independent yet related texts, which eventually brought to surface plausible translational interventions, thus

264

realizing the "happy circularity" (Bernardini & Ferraresi, 2011, p. 243) or "serendipitous process of discovery" (Laviosa, 2002, p. 118) which is the ultimate aim of the *convergence* framework.

The results brought about by the four case studies, especially those employing the AVNews Corpus, confirm that news translation is rarely acknowledged and accounted for. In particular, *Euronews*' denial of translational intervention (Chapter 4.3 and 6.2.1, 6.2.2) as well as the conversations with professionals working at *RAI* (3.2.1) and *BBC* (3.3.1) essentially brought to the fore the issue of the status of translation in the news. The impression is that the whole question is more about labelling the activity than the translational activity itself. Namely, as reported by Gambier (in Valdeón, 2015, p. 643), the term translation in the newsroom is almost "taboo".

Therefore, Katan's suggestion to professional translators and interpreters "to step into the role of transcreator" (Katan, 2016, p. 377) may be valuable for "journalators" as well (Van Doorslaer, 2012). Provided that "translation" is understood as a form of intercultural mediation (Katan, 2016, p. 375) and *transcreation* as involving "neither a strict translation nor creation of a message from scratch" (Schriver 2011 in Katan, 2016, p. 376), the term "transcreator" would remove the misconception of translation as a word by word transposition from SL to TL and reinstate the role of creativity in translational processes, thus making news translation more accepted and acceptable in the eyes of journalists and, in general, the news industry.

A further issue that was addressed by this thesis is that of professionalism in the news as well as in translation. In subsection 1.2.2, I pointed out that some scholars in JS lamented that the broader access to the news brought by the Internet is causing a general de-professionalization within journalism, ultimately challenging the role of journalists as "discrete gates" of information (Quandt & Singer, 2009, p. 134). This criticism comes from the recent and increasingly influential presence of alternative forms of journalism, notably citizen

journalism. Although from the perspective of professional journalists this criticism is understandable, it seems too simplistic to dismiss citizen media as a merely unprofessional activity.

Participation in the media as well as in translation has increasingly been gaining attention from the academia, because it raises important concerns and issues especially in relation to professionalism. For instance, Wyman analyses and compares through CL alternative and corporate media narratives in order to understand the reasons behind the last US presidential election (Wyman, 2017). She shows how, on the one hand, mainstream media were essentially misguided in their evaluation of electoral polls and how alternative media, and on the other hand, were actually right in foreseeing Trump's victory. Wyman's work is a reminder that alternative media should be analysed and considered as fully-fledged subjects of investigation and not be simply dismissed as unrepresentative and unprofessional.

Moreover, the fact that the mainstream media are also increasingly resorting to UGC is another symptom of a shift within the journalistic profession. Finally, UGC and audience participation could also be significant and interesting to be analysed cross-linguistically and cross-culturally. I am referring in particular to audience's comments on news websites and/or users' responses to tweets by prominent figures or official newscasters accounts. Indeed, comments of this kind can inform reception studies as well as provide insights into which discourses are shaping public opinion cross-culturally (McGlashan & Baker, 2017; Zappavigna, 2015).

Participation is something that has been observed by TS scholars within a variety of fields (Beaven et al., 2013; Massidda, 2015; O'Hagan, 2009; Sutherlin, 2013). Crowdsourcing and collaborative translation are becoming widespread on the World Wide Web, calling for scholars within TS to account for their complexities and characteristics in their academic production. As was the case with participatory journalism, websites such as *TedX*, *BabelCube*,

Subsfactory, *Global Voices*, etc., where translation takes on this collaborative aspect, raise issues about professionalism within this field. A huge and undoubtedly very productive field of studies is opening up here, one that merges the study of multilingual realizations of news items with the technology enabling such participation on the part of concerned citizens and audiences, which is what, hopefully, Case Study 4 about *Global Voices* (6.3.2) contributed to.

With regards to collaborative and participatory aspects within the news and translation, maybe the main question is how do we, as researchers, address this virtual reality and how fair is it to dismiss its actors as unprofessional just because they do not adhere to normative behaviours established by more traditional media enterprises? It should be borne in mind that, at the early stages of journalism, journalists were met with the same distrustful attitude (Conboy, 2004), and eventually imposed their presence as professionals.

As concerns audio-visual multilingual news discourse, further developments of this line of research surely include building larger corpora, because more data could point out patterns and peculiarities of news language and bring more insight as far as news translation is concerned. The AVNews Corpus presents some limits, and a larger and less composite corpus (e.g. involving two monolingual channels, or one bilingual channel) would also allow for the use of more complex statistics. Indeed, the AVNews Corpus complex composition made it difficult to handle complex statistics because there were too many variables to be considered.

In particular, I do think that it would be very useful to focus the effort of building multilingual news corpora on hybrid contexts of news. Indeed, news providers such as *Euronews*, with its mixture of audio-visual and written news, are likely to become prominent in the future of convergent media. Corpus-based investigations of such news contexts allow analysts to actively engage with multimodality within the news, thus analysing texts and videos with the one single and flexible tool, which can be annotated according to researchers' needs. Moreover, with a similar tool engaging with qualitative multimodal analysis would be not only

desirable, but also feasible, as tagging schemes similar to the one presented in this study would allow the analyst to consider audio-visual aspect of singular news items. A further development of the present study would surely include a more detailed and quality-oriented analysis of the audio and visual components of the newscasts.

There is a further aspect that deserves scholarly attention within TS and JS, that is the sources of international news. Indeed, more research into the sources informing the media and the figure of *fixers* (Murrell, 2009, 2014; Wyman, 2017; Chapter 4.3 in this thesis) is necessary for two main reasons. In the first instance, reconstructing the journey of a news item from its origin would mean having a clearer picture of the event itself and of the discourses associated to the event in question within each context in which it lands. This, of course, would also shed light on translational interventions and how, through translation, discourses are promoted or downplayed. Secondly, piecing together the puzzle of news sources would be important in order to see who gets a voice in the news, that is who is translated and therefore included and who is left silent and therefore ignored (Berkowitz, 2009). This research trajectory can actually encompass both mainstream and alternative form of news making (including ethnic media). This double focus would add a further comparative perspective on the differences between mainstream and alternative media in dealing with their sources.

As a final remark, I would like to underline how all the future perspectives brought together within this final chapter essentially rely on interdisciplinarity and integrated methodologies, confirming once more how the analysis of multilingual discourses in general can benefit from the application of convergent methods and theories.

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Appendix

Appendix A:

Case study 3 (6.3.2), Table containing STs and TTs' headlines and word count.

TT	ST	Source Texts Headlines	Target Texts Headlines
1	A	"Meanwhile in Victoria: CFA Volunteers ambush Daniel Andrews" – The Australian, 15/06/2016 866 words	"I volontari della Country Fire Authority hanno manifestato contro l'accordo con l'UFU" 20/06/2016 389 words
	B	"CFA Crisis: United Firefighters Union payment to ex-Victoria Police Association revealed" – The Herald Sun, 17/06/2016 1225 words	
	C	"Furious CFA members ambush Premier Daniel Andrews in Ararat" – The Herald Sun, 15/06/2016 1008 words	
	D	"CFA protests interrupts Victorian Government's new renewable energy target" – ABC News, 15/06/2016 697 words	
2	E	"Election 2016: Federal Labor pledgs funding for study into second Basslink power cable" – ABC News, 17/06/2016 576 words	"L'ALP federale promette di posare un secondo cavo Basslink" 20/06/2016 92 words
3	F	"La Trobe Valley jobs at risk as coal plant likely 'gone by 2020'" – The Australian, 17/06/2016 414 words	"Posti di lavoro a rischio nella La Trobe Valley per la chiusura della miniera di Hazelwood" 20/06/2016 117 words
4	G	"Green's no-confidence motion over Brooks affair time-wasting stunt, Will Hodgman says" – ABC News, 16/06/2016 256 words	"Respinta la mozione di sfiducia contro Will Hodgman" 20/06/2016 136 words
	H	"No confidence motion in Tas premier" - SkyNews, 16/06/2016 265 Words	
	I	"Premier blamed for Tas minister's downfall" – News.com.au, 14/06/2016 381 words	
5	J	"Broken Hill water crisis: NSW to build Murray river pipeline under $500m supply plan" – ABC News, 16/06/2016 689 words	"Mezzo miliardo per l'acqua di Broken Hill" 20/06/2016 206 words
6	K	"Nicholls proposes alternative job creation	"Qld, assunti in un anno seimila

		programme in Queensland budget reply speech" – ABC News, 16/06/2016 469 words	dipendenti in più nel settore pubblico" 20/06/2016 165 words
	L	"Queensland budget 2016: Tim Nicholls slams 'trickery'" – The Australian, 17/06/2016 464 words	
7	M	"NT – Labour promises inquiry into political funding if it wins the election", The Australian, 17/08/2016 511 words	"NT, la campagna entra nella fase decisiva'" 18/08/2016 224 words
	N	"'We can change': CLP appeal to NT voters", news.com.au, 14/08/2016 483 words	
	O	"CLP's Adam Giles hits rock bottom in the Northern Territory", The Australian, 15/08/2016 1786 words	
8	P	"Uber opposes Victoria's planned $2 levy on taxi and ride-booking fares, saying it will 'reduce demand'" – ABC News, 08/09/2016 235 words	"Victoria, Uber contesta la soprattassa di due dollari del governo" 12/09/2016 100 words
9	Q	"Malmsbury Youth Justice Centre staff risk being killed Worksafe report reveals", The Herald Sun, 08/09/2016 444 words	"Criminalità giovanile, è emergenza" 12/09/2016 255 words
	R	"Ice-addicted teenager accused of kidnapping a five-year old in the father's BMW and taking her on a terrifying chase was 'involved in an armed prison riot'", Daily Mail Australia, 26/08/2016 438 words	
10	S	"Victorian council amalgamations: Local Government Minister open to move if community wants it" – Herald Sun, 01/09/2016 337 words	"Enti locali in Victoria, ministro solleva l'ipotesi di nuove fusioni" 12/09/2016 204 words
11	T	"WA protest laws on backburner after state election" – ABC News, 07/09/2016 333 words	"Accantonate 'per il momento' le leggi anti protesta in WA" 2/09/2016 169 words
	U	"Workers concerned at Colin Barnett's anti-protest stance" – WA Today, 21/04/2015 433 words	
12	V	"ABS figures show Queensland economy continues to surge" – QLD Gov. Media Statement, 07/09/2016 477 words	"Queensland, economia in ripresa" 12/09/2016 341 words
	W	"Queensland Treasurer claims new ABS figures show economy is surging" – ABC News, 08/09/2016 328 words	