when news travels east

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japanese newspapers

kayo matsushita

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Translation Practices by Japanese Newspapers

Translation, Interpreting and Transfer

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"Translation, Interpreting and Transfer" takes as its basis an inclusive view of translation and translation studies. It covers research and scholarly reflection, theoretical and methodological, on all aspects of the core activities translation and interpreting, but also similar rewriting and recontextualization practices such as adaptation, localization, transcreation and transediting, keeping Roman Jakobson's inclusive view on interlingual, intralingual and intersemiotic translation in mind. The title of the series, which includes the more encompassing concept of transfer, reflects this broad conceptualization of translation matters.

When News Travels East

Translation Practices by Japanese Newspapers

Kayo Matsushita

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Preface

The twenty-first century has witnessed a dramatic shift in the way people access information. The dominance of mobile users has changed the traditional media landscape. Not only the print media, which were said to be on the path of extinction for decades, but also broadcast media are seeing their audience switching to social media and other mobile-friendly services. Some say journalism is dead but it seems to be quite the contrary. At a time when "fake news" spreads around the world so easily and instantly, the value of credible information has risen higher than ever before. Renewed attention is being paid to the vital role that journalism and journalists play, as seen in the increase of online subscribers of *The New York Times* globally after President Donald Trump took office in 2017.[1] Sadly, however, the presence and the importance of translation in international news production have been largely neglected until recently.

News translation is now a burgeoning field of research that has gained traction among scholars of Translation Studies since the mid-2000s. Following *Language and Intercultural Communication*'s news translation issue in 2005 (see Bassnett 2005 among others) and University of Warwick's "Translation in Global News" project (Bielsa 2007; Bielsa and Bassnett 2009; Conway and Bassnett 2006; Schäffner and Bassnett 2010), interest in news translation grew rapidly, especially in the Western world where most of the major global news agencies are headquartered. Eventually, this interest spread to other parts of the world with publications dedicated to news translation, including those focusing on local practices in Asia, Eastern Europe, Latin America, the Middle East, and Africa coming out over the past two decades.

The recent publication of two special issues on news translation is a reflection of this movement. In a special issue titled "Culture and News Translation" published by the journal *Perspectives* in 2015, Roberto Valdeón provides an overview of the evolution of what he calls "journalistic translation research (JTR)" since the turn of the century (Valdeón 2015b). Based on the understanding that JTR or news translation research has established itself as a subarea of Translation Studies, another more recent special issue by *Across Languages and Cultures* published in late 2018 focused on the methodological challenges faced by this field of research, outlined in its overview article, titled "The Methodological Remainder in News Translation Research: Outlining the Background" (Davier, Schäffner, and Van Doorslaer 2018). The original

idea for this book began to form in the midst of such developments as a way to contribute to this growing and maturing body of research by providing a Japanese perspective.

The rationale behind the writing of this book was not only academic but also personal. In 1997, I started my career as a newspaper reporter working for the *Asahi Shimbun*, one of the leading newspapers in Japan. After nine years covering domestic news ranging from crime to politics, economics, education, sports, and culture, I made my way to the international news desk at the Tokyo headquarters in 2006. For the next four years, which included three years as a foreign correspondent based in New York, I was responsible for covering newsworthy events happening outside of Japan and reporting on them for readers in Japan. In other words, I was a journalist-translator—or "journalator" as Van Doorslaer (2012) puts it—without knowing that such a role even existed.

Returning to Japan from New York in 2010, I began pursuing an academic career the following year by entering Rikkyo University's Graduate School of Intercultural Communication. I was initially considering an altogether different topic for my doctoral dissertation, but my realization that there was so little conversation about the experiences of journalators such as myself spurred me to investigate Japanese news translation practices from an academic point of view. The resulting doctoral dissertation, "Risk Management in the Decision-Making Process of English-Japanese News Translation," was defended and accepted in March 2016, and it forms the basis of this book.

As a former newsroom insider, one of my strongest motivations for writing about news translation practices in Japan was the desire to fully explore and describe the inner workings of Japanese media newsrooms invisible to the outside world. In doing so, I had to rely on my personal network, which meant that the target media would naturally be the newspaper. This seemed to be a limitation at first, but I found it to be an ideal selection as I carried on with my project.

First, Japan has one of the largest newspaper circulations in the world with approximately forty million copies sold daily at a time when global newspaper readership is shrinking rapidly.[2] According to the World Association of News Publishers (WAN-IFRA 2016), Japan is ranked the highest in terms of newspaper circulation per one thousand adults, and four of the top ten paid-for dailies in the world are Japanese, all four of which are targets of analysis for this book. In addition, newspapers are considered the most trustworthy media by the Japanese public.[3] Second, much of the Japanese news content available via the internet, an increasingly popular source of information, is aggregated newspaper articles or articles written by former newspaper reporters now working in online media (Matsushita 2019). The third reason, and the one that

addresses the core issue of news translation research, is that the newspaper is the most suitable form of media for observing the relationship between the source text (ST) and the target text (TT).

The ST-TT relationship has been a major obstacle in previous news translation research. Since news translation is part of a collaborative and multifaceted news production process, some researchers, such as Luc van Doorslaer (also a former journalist), have claimed that it is "almost impossible" to "deconstruct a news message in order to determine which parts have been edited and which parts are the results of a translation act" (Van Doorslaer 2009, 85). However, this book tries to bypass this stumbling block by focusing on "direct quotations" (i.e., literal representations of the original speech) appearing in news articles. In order to focus only on clearly observable ST-TT relationships, articles containing direct quotations of public speeches were chosen. Although excluding other direct quotations, notably those of local media reports often used in news translation analysis, is a limitation, direct quotions of public speeches by high-level officials are expected to be the most accurate and complete translation that a journalator can produce, according to international and domestic media guidelines and interviews with Japanese journalators that I have conducted. While translated quotations can never be truly verbatim, given that the speeches are broadcast live and recorded with no room for manipulation, this approach at least eliminates uncertainties surrounding the ST and allows the researcher to concentrate on the TTs.

Compared to broadcast media, direct quotations in print media are more clearly identifiable because of the presence of grammatical markers such as quotation marks. Even among the various forms of print media, the newspaper has an advantage over magazines in this respect because the corresponding STs, such as comments and speeches by politicians, are most easily tracked in daily newspapers because of their daily news cycle. Although there are also two wire services in Japan, Kyodo News and Jiji Press, since their articles are sold directly to newspapers and the original source articles are not fully accessible, the ST-TT relationship cannot be observed as clearly as they can be in newspapers.

To summarize my rationale, Japanese newspapers are held as credible to a large audience and naturally support comparison between ST and TT. For this book, articles carried by six of the nation's largest broadsheets published in Tokyo—namely, the *Yomiuri Shimbun* (読売新聞), the *Asahi Shimbun* (朝日新聞), the *Mainichi Shimbun* (毎日新聞), *The Nikkei* (日本経済新聞),[4] the *Sankei Shimbun* (産経新聞), and the *Tokyo Shimbun* (東京新聞)—were analyzed and journalators from all six publications interviewed. The case studies included were carefully selected to ensure that both the ST-TT relationship and the translation strategies used were clearly identifiable. While I do not claim

that this book is representative of all news translation practices in Japan, I do believe that it can serve as a useful point of reference for researchers investigating other types of media, and hope that it will become a building block on which future news translation research in Japan and beyond can stand.

The organization of this book is as follows. After the introduction, Chapter 2 provides an overview of the relevant literature. Based on the focus of the present study, literature covering two areas of inquiry is reviewed in detail. The first area is journalistic practices involving translation, including works from Translation Studies, Media and Communication Studies including journalism, as well as neighboring disciplines such as Sociolinguistics. Two key concepts in news translation—"gatekeeping" and "transediting"—are introduced along with relevant literature. Particular emphasis is placed on research relating to the "Translation in Global News" project, a multidisciplinary effort to bring scholars and practitioners of news translation together. The second area of inquiry is journalism and speech events, as well as the position of translation in the relationship between the two, which is reviewed with special attention given to the use and translation of direct quotations.

Chapter 3 outlines the historical development of the Japanese mass media and the current media landscape in Japan. All four traditional types of media, namely the two main types of print media—newspapers and news magazines—and two main broadcast media—TV and radio—will be covered. Since online media has become prevalent in Japan as well, a sub-section will be dedicated to describing the players and audiences in this relatively new type of media. The typical profiles of Japanese journalators working for these media will also be explained.

Chapter 4 discusses the history of studies on risk leading up to the application of the concept of risk management in translation. Following an overview, Pym's concept of risk management is discussed and examined in detail. The unique risks entailed in news translation are described using various examples, and the relationship between risk and the selection of translation strategies, as well as the correlation between risk and effort, are examined. Throughout the chapter, the applicability of this concept as a theoretical framework for analyzing the decision-making processes in news translation is reviewed and analyzed.

Chapter 5 explains the method for analysis designed for the present study. First, a brief introduction on basic risk analysis methods is given, followed by an explanation regarding the modifications that were made to the analytical method in order to meet the requirements of the present study. This chapter details each step of the analytical process such as target selection,

identification of translation strategies, and measurement of risk and effort. It also discusses the overall analysis of risk in news translation.

Chapter 6 describes the target chosen for the main case study—the 2012 U.S. presidential election and its coverage by major Japanese newspapers—in detail and presents the results of the text analysis. First, background information on the targeted events, newspapers, journalators, and overall process of news translation at the Japanese newspaper companies in general is provided. The selected TTs are then analyzed based on the method explained in Chapter 5. Next, the translation strategies are identified and the effort invested in the translations is examined. Last, the risks are described in relation to the effort invested, after which the journalator's news translation practices are explained using the concept of risk management.

Chapter 7 verifies the findings in the preceding chapter by analyzing possible risk management practices from the point of view of the journalator. Based on interviews conducted with international news reporters from all six newspapers, including three who actually translated parts of President Obama's victory speech and/or inaugural address in 2012, the ways risk affected their decision-making processes are investigated. The risk management strategies identified through text analysis are compared against the journalators' own accounts to corroborate the key findings. At the end of this chapter, preliminary conclusions are drawn.

Chapter 8 uses these preliminary conclusions to explore the applicability of the concept of risk management to other news translation practices. The drastic changes in the media environment triggered by the shift towards disseminating news over the internet, and the increased availability of original source materials online, have created new risks for news translation practitioners. Readers and viewers in the internet age can easily access news sources themselves, enabling them to make near-instant comparisons of STs and TTs. News production has also become high-speed, demanding news translation to be performed almost as instantly as interpreting, posing additional risks. New journalistic practices, which seem to have emerged as coping strategies to manage such risks, are also examined and illustrated in this chapter along with their implications for further research.

It is expected that this book will not only provide empirical evidence of some of the previous findings in news translation research and contribute towards the theorization of risk management in translation, but that it will also shed light on the interesting yet underexplored news translation practices in Japan.

Kayo Matsushita
September 2019

Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1 Everywhere and Nowhere: Defining the Boundaries of News Translation

In this era of globalization, news stories are increasingly being transferred across linguistic and cultural boundaries each day. Whenever media organizations cover news events happening in foreign language settings, translation inevitably occurs. This includes global news agencies translating local news stories for their international audience, foreign correspondents reporting on events happening overseas for their domestic readers, and messages of global leaders being broadcast or published in multiple languages. In each of these situations, both oral and written translation is heavily involved because "a story may be generated orally in one language, be phoned in to a central office in that same language or in another, then be rewritten in a different language in an agency and sold around the world" (Bassnett 2005, 125). In most cases, these translation activities are performed by journalist-translators, or "journalators" (Van Doorslaer 2012), which consist mainly of international news reporters for whom translation is only a minor part of their job description (Bielsa 2007; Bielsa and Bassnett 2009).

Until two decades ago, however, the vital role translation plays in the practice of journalism—commonly referred to as *news translation*—had been largely ignored in existing fields of research, despite its visible and growing presence (Vuorinen 1999, 61–62; Holland 2013, 334). Researchers have given a number of reasons explaining this neglect. Bielsa (2007) bases the relatively low interest among Translation Studies scholars on the fact that news translation "usually is in the hands of journalists rather than translators" (Bielsa 2007, 135). Meanwhile, research in Media and Communication Studies, including studies on journalism, has "focused on single language cases, and has paid scant attention to interlingual transactions" (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009, 17).

Others, such as Van Doorslaer (2010), point to the complexity of the news translation process in which multiple participants perform a combined act of "information gathering, translating, selecting, reinterpreting, contextualizing and editing" (Van Doorslaer 2010, 181). In newsrooms where multiple source texts (STs) are used to produce a new target text (TT), translation is "hardly ever seen as 'translation proper' or 'translation-as-generally-understood'" (Van Doorslaer 2010, 182). Some also argue that because of the aforementioned

characteristics, news translation has posed challenges to "traditional categories in the field of translation studies" (Holland 2013, 338).

However, this situation has been changing recently for two main reasons. First, the demand for and the impact of international news in a globalized world has become significantly larger, thus inviting increased attention from scholars, especially from Translation Studies. Triggered by the University of Warwick's "Translation in Global News" project (Bielsa 2007; Bielsa and Bassnett 2009; Conway and Bassnett 2006), numerous case studies, which first emerged in Western countries and then expanded to other regions, have been carried out regarding various news translation practices. Second, the field of Translation Studies itself is evolving. As Pym (2014) illustrates, translation theories took shape in the latter half of the twentieth century, during which the focus of research gradually shifted from *equivalence* (equal value between ST and TT) toward theories that concentrate more on the indeterminate, communicative, and complex nature of translation. Growing attention is being focused on the social contexts in which translations are being performed and on the changing realities that translators and interpreters face today.

These recent movements have contributed to the incorporation of news translation as a field of research within Translation Studies and the broadening of its scope of inquiry over the last two decades (Valdeón 2015b; Davier, Schäffner, and Van Doorslaer 2018; Schäffner 2018). It is worth noting, however, that news translation research is still in its early stage of development, as seen in the fact that the term "news translation" does not yet have a clear definition. Some researchers such as Valdeón use "journalistic translation research" or its acronym "JTR" to cover "not only informative texts, but also interpretative and argumentative ones" (Valdeón 2015b, 654). Researchers who use the more general term "news translation" also need to clarify their definition of the term before discussing the specifics of their research.[1] Based on key research on this topic (see Chapter 2), I define news translation as translation that (a) occurs when news organizations report on events happening in a foreign language setting, (b) is typically performed by journalators with limited or no specific translator training, and (c) includes various forms of translation such as text-to-text, speech-to-text, and text-to-oral reproduction,[2] but (d) excludes audiovisual translation such as voiceover, dubbing, and subtitling.[3] It should also be mentioned that the focus of this book is on "hard news"[4] reported by the mainstream media[5] for reasons which will be made clear in the following chapters.

To date, there has been little research from Japan on news translation, especially regarding practices in the Japanese mainstream media. Multiple

reasons have been identified. First, the details of news production processes in major Japanese news organizations are considered trade secrets and are therefore difficult to investigate without the rare cooperation of insiders. Second, most Japanese media generally serve only domestic audiences, so less attention is paid to "research that uses surveys similar to other countries, or work that places Japanese news media in an international context" (Oi 2012, 79). Moreover, ever since Japan's economic downturn beginning in the 1980s, research in Japan on international news coverage in general has lost popularity (Takeichi and Hara 2003, 113). Nevertheless, Japan is still the world's third largest economy by GDP, and the international news delivered by the Japanese media to over 126 million people in Japan and beyond is worthy of attention from the global community.

1.2   Scope and Purpose

In order to make a meaningful contribution to news translation research from Japan, this book examines news translation practices by Japanese newspapers. The rationale for focusing on the newspaper instead of other forms of media is two-fold. First, the newspaper is still the most trusted form of media in Japan, ranking highest in terms of trustworthiness among the major news media outlets (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications 2018a). In addition, Japan has one of the largest newspaper readerships in the world, with more than a hundred companies publishing a total of approximately forty million copies daily.[6] Second, as explained in the preface, I worked for a leading Japanese newspaper, the *Asahi Shimbun*, for fourteen years. I have firsthand experience in news translation, both as an international news reporter based in Tokyo and as a foreign correspondent in New York, where I mainly covered the United Nations for three years.

As mentioned above, the inner workings of newsrooms are mostly kept confidential, especially in Japan where top-selling newspapers still enjoy massive print circulations of up to 834 million copies[7] (more than five times that of the best-selling newspaper in the United States[8]) and competition is fierce. Although attempts have been made to explore how news translation is conducted by Japanese news organizations in the past through interviews with journalists (e.g., Clausen 2004; Kawahara 2010), what actually happens inside the newsroom is difficult to grasp unless one has direct access (Matsushita 2013). This partially explains why literature on news translation has been authored primarily by those with work experience in the media, a fact discussed further in Chapter 2.

However, since relying on one's personal experience alone can lead to potential bias, journalators were also interviewed and given questionnaires for the present study in order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of news translation practices in Japan and abroad, while still taking advantage of my own experience. By using such an approach, it is expected that one of the key objectives of writing this book—to provide an accurate picture of how news translation practices are carried out by Japanese newspapers—can be achieved. In addition, it is hoped that clearly understanding the processes as well as the agencies involved will lend focus to the analysis and credibility to the results.

In order to maximize the scope of analysis based on the possible impact news translation can have on Japanese readers, I have analyzed news translation practices by the six largest commercial newspapers published in Tokyo,[9] namely the *Yomiuri Shimbun,* the *Asahi Shimbun,* the *Mainichi Shimbun, The Nikkei,* the *Sankei Shimbun,* and the *Tokyo Shimbun*[10] (*shimbun* means "newspaper" in Japanese). To maximize the corpus of selected newspaper articles, the U.S. presidential election—an international event that is one of the most heavily covered by the Japanese media—was selected as the target event for this case study.

1.3   Case and Framework

The news event chosen for text analysis is the 2012 U.S. presidential election, in which Barack Obama was elected president for the second time. Given the fact that the United States is Japan's most important ally, U.S. presidential elections attract massive news coverage in Japan, enabling researchers ready access to an abundance of materials for analysis. Especially after the inauguration of President Obama, who caused a sensation throughout the world as the first African-American president, the number of news articles with direct quotations from the president's speeches increased dramatically. Not only did his proposal of a world without nuclear weapons encourage many Japanese, but his eloquent speeches also captured the hearts of many English learners in Japan, making CD and DVD collections of his speeches best sellers.

It is worth mentioning at this point why the most recent presidential election at the time of writing, the U.S. presidential election of 2016, was not selected as the main case study. Although Japanese media attention was even greater in the 2016 election in which real estate mogul Donald Trump beat former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, fewer direct quotations[11] were used in the Japanese newspapers, partly because of the difficulty of

translating Trump's utterances. Many translators and interpreters around the world described them as being illogical, non-factual, inappropriate, and incomplete, resulting in the mainstream media refraining from quoting him directly (Lichfield 2016; Osaki 2017; Viennot 2016). Therefore, this book will focus on the previous presidential election in 2012, while acknowledging that translation of President Trump's speeches could make an interesting case study if approached from a different angle. Findings from a pilot study I conducted on the Japanese media coverage of the two presidents' speeches will be presented in section 6.1 to support my rationale.

Within this targeted event, the analysis focused on 150 direct quotations extracted from articles on President Obama's election victory speech and inaugural address from the six newspapers. In addition to the text analysis of these two speeches, interviews were conducted with eight journalators from the six newspapers by making use of the author's personal connections. This additional step was taken in order to present an overall picture of the actual news translation processes as well as to corroborate the results of the text analysis with the journalators' own accounts. This combination of "*product*-oriented approach" and "*process*-oriented approach" has been identified as particularly useful in the study of news translation (Holland 2013, 335–36), and responds to Davier and Van Doorslaer's (2018) call for the "triangulation" of research methods combining textual analysis and qualitative data collected through interviews and fieldwork.

Another main characteristic of the present study is its focus on direct quotations. As previous studies have already identified, news translation is part of a collaborative and multifaceted news production process Stetting (1989) named "transediting." It involves multiple sources (e.g., interviews, previous news reports, press releases, official documents) and multiple players (e.g., reporters, local news assistants, local editors, editors at the head office). The ambiguous relationship between a source text (ST) and its target text (TT) that results from this production process has been an obstacle for many researchers exploring news translation. As Orengo (2005, 180) points out, "in news translation the definition and identification of a ST and a TT are at best labyrinthine." Even in research on monolingual news, it has been considered impractical "to treat any story as the solo, first hand product of the ostensible source journalist unless we have proven this by eye witness observation of the journalist at work" (Bell 1991, 42).

However, to analyze news translation as a translational act and to differentiate it from other complex journalistic practices, the ST and TT must be clearly identified. Although some claim that it is "almost impossible" to "deconstruct a news message in order to determine which parts have been

edited and which parts are the results of a translation act" (van Doorslaer 2009, 85), such a distinction can be made by focusing on direct quotations, in particular those taken from public speeches. In an internet age where public speeches—especially those of an official figure with high visibility—are made available immediately after or even during the event via government websites or through private platforms such as social media, news audiences can access an original speech independently of mainstream media reports. In the case of a major international event, such as the U.S. presidential election, the candidates' speeches are broadcast live not only by international networks such as CNN, but also by local broadcasters in countries outside of the United States, including Japan. In this and other similar cases, the original speech, as the ST, can be clearly observed by many around the world and can therefore be considered "stable sources" (Hernández Guerrero 2009, 2010; Valdeón 2015a) unlike direct quotations of local media reports, which may contain interpretive information.

At the other end of the process, direct quotations within a news report can be considered TTs because, in journalism, direct quotations are deemed faithful reproductions of the original speech. For example, Reuters clearly states in its *Handbook of Journalism* that quotations are "sacred" and instructs not to "alter anything put in quotation marks" (Reuters 2017, under "Quotations"). The New York Times Company also states in its *Guidelines on Integrity* that "readers should be able to assume that *every word* between quotation marks is what the speaker or writer said" (New York Times Company 2008, under "Quotations"). The *Associated Press Stylebook*, which is frequently referenced by international media organizations that publish in English, cautions never to "alter quotations even to correct minor grammatical errors or word usage," and suggests paraphrasing instead of direct quotation as a better alternative if corrections are needed (Associated Press 2019, under "Quotations in the news").

According to the interviewees in my research, none of the six newspapers analyzed had guidelines regarding direct quotations other than stylistic instructions on the use of single or double quotation marks (*Asahi Shimbun* 2019, *Yomiuri Shimbun* 2017). Therefore, I have so far referenced publically accessible guidelines for well-respected international news organizations, though the influence of institutional conventions of Japanese newspapers on how the journalators quote their subjects directly will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

Translated quotations can never be verbatim in the true sense, as demonstrated in European case studies (Haapanen and Perrin 2019; Davier and Van Doorslaer 2018). However, they nevertheless represent the most accurate and

complete translation that a journalator can produce, at least in the Japanese context. Given the fact that direct quotations in Japanese newspapers are clearly identifiable by focusing on quotation marks, this approach opens up a new possibility to "explore the potential of the analysis of easily available naturalistic data to detect trends and test hypotheses" in Translation Studies (Gile 2011, 202).

In addition, editors and other intermediaries (or *gatekeepers* as described in Chapter 2) are unlikely to edit content within quotation marks unless they have sufficient reason to do so (e.g., discovery of a mistranslation after comparing the article with a transcript of the speech). In the case of newspapers or other print media in which print space is limited, omission of content can be a possible intervention by intermediaries such as the editor at the international news desk or the layout editor. However, the author of the article will be the one to make the final decision, at least in Japanese news production. This protocol has been confirmed through interviews with journalators and backed by this author's personal newsroom work experience, as further detailed in Chapters 6 and 7. For the above reasons, this book treats direct quotations from President Obama's election victory speech and inaugural address that appeared in Japanese newspapers as TTs.

Regarding the theoretical framework for analysis, the present study uses the concept of "risk management" as it applies to Translation Studies. According to Anthony Pym, who has produced numerous works on this topic over the past fifteen years (Pym, 2004a, 2004b, 2005a, 2005b, 2008a, 2008b, 2012, 2014, 2015, 2016; Pym and Matsushita 2018), risks entailed in the content or context of translation have a decisive impact on how translators translate and can therefore explain "unethical or non-standard practices" in translation that prior theories could not reasonably explain (Pym 2016, 247). His works have been thoroughly reviewed and selectively used to guide the analysis presented in this book.

Prior research on news translation focused on describing its unique practices such as the use of domestication (Bassnett 2005, 2011; Bielsa 2005; Kang 2010) and omission (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009; Hursti 2001; Jiménez-Crespo 2012; Matsushita 2013, 2015) as key translation strategies, but to date there has been little discussion of applying theoretical approaches because the dominant theories in Translation Studies have not been fully applicable. As Bassnett (2005) posits, "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" (Bassnett 2005, 129–30). Against this backdrop, Matsushita (2014) analyzed news translation through the lens of risk management and found that doing so revealed a

convincing rationale for some of the translation strategies used by Japanese newspapers, such as omission. Risk management was particularly effective at explaining cases of TT manipulation (i.e., shifts that occur as a result of translation decisions) that other concepts or theories in Translation Studies had struggled to explain. In this book, I aim to further explore the applicability and validity of using risk management as a theoretical framework by analyzing a wider range of examples.

The results of the present study could provide journalators in Japan with opportunities to reflect on their practices and become aware that they are performing the act of translation. This awareness could invite rethinking on the part of the journalators and lead to improvements in their practices, including the development of necessary guidelines and training on news translation. It is also hoped that this book will enable readers and viewers to realize that much of the content that they read or see in the news is actually translated versions of the original, thus enhancing their media literacy.

Chapter 2
What is News Translation?

This chapter reviews the literature pertaining to the development of news translation as a field of research. Based on the objectives of the present study described in the introduction, literature on journalistic practices involving translation—mainly from Translation Studies but also from relevant disciplines such as Media and Communication Studies as well as Sociolinguistics—is categorized and illustrated. Since Valdeón (2015b) already offers a comprehensive review of research approaches in news translation (e.g., process-based approaches, cultural studies approaches, reception studies, medium-based studies), I will focus only on those that are directly relevant to the present study.

First, literature discussing two main ideas that have engaged scholars and promoted research in news translation, namely *gatekeeping* and *transediting*, is reviewed. Second, a wide range of research conducted by journalism insiders (i.e., researchers who have worked in the media) is outlined. Third, the University of Warwick's "Translation in Global News" project, which combined scholarly and practitioner-led research and is considered a milestone in this field, is reviewed in detail. Fourth, a subsection is dedicated to literature on news translation by the Japanese media. Last, literature on journalism and speech events is reviewed, with special attention given to the use and translation of direct quotations.

2.1   Journalism and Translation

The relationship between journalism and translation, and the role of translation in the multifaceted and collaborative practice of international news reporting, have remained relatively unexplored until quite recently. One of the main reasons is that translation has been embedded in global newsgathering, news production, and news dissemination which happens both intralingually and interlingually, thus making news translation difficult for scholars of Translation Studies to approach. In other words, news translation has not been considered "translation proper" (Jakobson [1959]2012, 127). However, this situation has been changing recently with a noticeable increase in the number of research projects being conducted, reflecting the growing presence of news translation in the era of globalization.[1] The increased interest by Translation

Studies scholars seems to have invited renewed attention from journalism scholars, sociolinguists, and discourse analysts, which has resulted in active research, especially in the past twenty years. When it comes to the type of news translation that this book focuses on, however, the discussions seem to circle around two key concepts: gatekeeping and transediting. Some of the seminal literature influenced by these concepts is outlined below.

2.1.1   Gatekeeping and Transediting

The concepts of gatekeeping and transediting emerged as an effort to explain the unique and multifaceted functions of news translation. These two ideas have often been regarded as overlapping concepts or even as synonyms (Cheesman and Nohl 2011); however, the understanding, definitions, and use of these terms vary from scholar to scholar (Schäffner, 2012b). It is therefore worthwhile to examine these two concepts and to introduce some recent works that have drawn on them to identify or understand news translation.

2.1.1.1   Gatekeeping

The metaphor of gatekeeping was established in communication research in the early 1950s. According to White (1950), German-American psychologist Kurt Lewin was the one who initially applied the term "gatekeepers" in communication research. Lewin (1947, 145) pointed out that the "travelling of a news item through certain communication channels in a group" is dependent upon what happens in the "gate region." He argued that the flow of communication is controlled at the gates "either by impartial rules or by 'gate keepers,'" and, in the case of the latter, "an individual or group is 'in power' for making the decision between 'in' or 'out'" (ibid.).

The idea of gatekeeping has since been widely applied in mass communication research (White 1950, 383). It has frequently been used to "examine the often complex route of news texts from the initial producer (or news event) to the end-user (i.e., the newspaper reader, television viewer, radio listener, etc.) and the selections and modifications taking place along the way" (Vuorinen 1995, 161). Vuorinen himself defined gatekeeping as "the process of controlling the flow of information into and through communication channels" (ibid.), further elaborating this process using McNelly's (1959) model. In this model, the systematic flow of an international news story starts with a foreign correspondent covering a newsworthy event and writing an article. The article

then passes through a series of gatekeepers who may "edit, rewrite or cut it, combine it with a related story, or otherwise shape it" (Vuorinen 1995, 162). In the case of newspapers, for example, these gatekeepers are editors, layout editors, fact-checkers, and/or copy editors.

It is implicit in the word "gatekeeper" itself that a certain level of information control or manipulation takes place as the news text travels through this process. As McNelly (1959, 26) describes, "By the time the story is ready to pass on to the consumer it may be a very different product from what it was at the beginning of its journey through the chain." This process becomes even more complicated in the case of international news reporting (Vuorinen 1995, 161). Obviously, translation is an indispensable part of this journey; however, "very little has been written or said about translation in the context of international news transmission," because translation is considered "something different from 'editing,' 'modifying,' or 'editorial selection and processing'" that the journalists carry out (ibid., 163). What is explained here is the fact that news translation has been considered a negligible part of the global news transmission process, and even in studies dealing with international mass communication, translation had been "either completely ignored or only mentioned in passing" (ibid.).

A rare exception to the above observation comes from Fujii (1988) who wrote one of the earlier works highlighting the gatekeeper role that journalators play when translating news texts. Based on his ten years of experience translating Japanese news into English for the overseas radio service of Nippon Hoso Kyokai (NHK or Japan Broadcasting Corporation), Japan's national public broadcaster, Fujii investigated the extent to which journalators (whom he called "English-language news reporters") performed gatekeeping roles. Based on this objective, he compared an article by the *Asahi Shimbun* and its English translation as it appeared in the *Asahi Evening News* (an English language newspaper published by the same company until it was discontinued in 2001). He discovered that journalators as gatekeepers were not only "controlling the quantity of [the] message" (ibid., 32), but also serving other functions such as "transforming, supplementing and reorganizing messages" (ibid., 37).

While Fujii's case study was limited to news translation in a small English language newspaper due to practical reasons,[2] Hursti (2001) focused on the gatekeeping role of journalators in Finland who translate English news articles into Finnish for broader domestic consumption. This research, like Fujii's, was based on the author's own experience as a "professional news translator" for Reuters and Finnish News Agency (FNA).

Hursti (2001) initially gives gatekeeping a narrow description: "control[ling] the amount of news flow from gate to gate (as gatekeepers) by selecting those stories or story details that they consider newsworthy to be passed on to the next gate" (ibid., sec. 2, para. 5, original emphasis removed). However, as he then describes how a Reuters article becomes a Finnish-language article through FNS as a result of news translation, he expands the role of gatekeeping to include "transforming" and "transfer." Transforming includes reorganization, deletion, addition, and substitution, based on "translatorial (transeditorial)" decisions made by the FNA journalist (ibid., sec. 2, para. 7). Conversely, transfer occurs when the FNA journalist decides to "retain the string of information intact" through lexical or syntactical transfer (ibid.). After reviewing specific examples, Hursti concluded that transediting, which entails manipulation of the text, is a more accurate descriptor of news translation than the term gatekeeping, which is "based almost solely on selection" (ibid., sec. 2, para. 1).

Hursti's understanding of the difference between the two concepts is shared to some extent by Cheesman and Nohl (2011). They analyzed how the editorial and translational decision-making process works within the BBC World Service (BBCWS), which provides multilingual news services around the world in over thirty languages. Specifically, they compared how a BBC news report on the formulation of President Obama's new White House team following the 2008 U.S. presidential election was reported by the BBCWS's Arabic, Persian, Tamil, and Turkish services. Cheesman and Nohl (ibid.) made a clear distinction between gatekeeping and transediting based on the timing and purpose of each operation. In their view, gatekeeping can be defined as "the selection of a news report as worth publishing," and "the selection and reorganization of its parts (paragraphs and sentences)" (ibid., 218), which occurs when different language versions of the same news report are produced. In this context, gatekeeping refers to "*what* and *in which sequential order* things are put into a report," and therefore is "an operation which is performed prior to translation" (ibid.).

On the other hand, they define transediting as "changes within the selected and reorganized text which occur during translation" (Cheesman and Nohl 2011, 218), referring to various translation strategies applied by each of the four language services. Based on these distinctions made by Hursti (2001) and Cheesman and Nohl (2011), transediting seems to deal more closely with the news translation process that the present study intends to examine because it focuses on the decision-making and manipulation that occurs in the act of translation whereas gatekeeping deals primarily with selection.

2.1.1.2   Transediting

The term transediting was coined in 1989 by Karen Stetting, a Danish scholar of English, in a paper published as part of the *Proceedings from the Fourth Nordic Conference for English Studies*. As Schäffner (2012b, 867) points out, the main topic of this conference was neither translation nor news reporting. Stetting's intention behind the introduction of this composite term, which she describes as "different from translation and from editing; it is a combination of the two tasks" (Stetting 1989, 374), was to draw attention to the fact that "a certain amount of editing has always been included in the translation task" (ibid., 371). By doing so, she hoped to "contribute towards opening up for a discussion of the legitimacy of improving and, to a certain extent, changing texts in the translation process" (ibid., 373). Stetting's focus was not limited to the transediting of news articles, but included a variety of practical texts such as "business correspondence, instructions, brochures, advertising and public relations materials" (ibid., 375). It is clear that she did not foresee future news translation scholars using the term specifically to represent the complex nature of translation in journalism.

Whatever Stetting's initial intentions may have been, a number of news translation researchers have found her term useful and have constructed their arguments around its underlying concept. Luc van Doorslaer, another researcher with journalistic experience, used the term transediting in his analysis of news translation practices by Dutch- and French-language newspapers in Belgium. Van Doorslaer (2009, 85) uses transediting to explain that translation is inseparable from other journalistic work involved in covering international news and that it is in fact "a daily part of journalistic editing." In his analysis of a corpus of newspaper articles containing more than one thousand articles on international news, only a very limited number of the articles (4.6 percent in the Flemish press and even less in the Francophone press) were presented as translations. Based on this finding, he argues that "the dominance of transediting practice" in international news reporting is confirmed (ibid., 88).

In Asia, Ya-Mei Chen has written multiple articles on the practice of transediting by the Taiwanese press. For example, Chen (2009) analyzed how three Chinese-language newspapers published in Taiwan translated articles from *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* on news relating to China. Chen names three functions of news transediting which aim at producing "suitable" and "acceptable" target texts: (a) to meet the requirements of speed, brevity and timeliness; (b) to adjust the source texts to the target journalistic norms; and (c) to alter the news angles (ibid., 203). Based on this understanding, and by examining the samples in her study, Chen realized that "what matters most

in news trans-editing [sic] is not 'faithfulness' or 'equivalence' but 'rewriting' by dint of various types of textual manipulation" (ibid., 204).

As seen, a number of studies on news translation have used terms such as gatekeeping and transediting in order to draw attention to the unique position of translation: embedded (and often invisible) in the production of international news. However, it is important to acknowledge that questions have been raised recently as to whether such terms are still necessary, given the fact that news translation research has already earned some level of recognition. For example, Schäffner (2012b), after reviewing the use of the term transediting in prior research, suggests that, although the introduction of a new term can contribute to "raising awareness of the complexity of processes and encourage rethinking the more traditional views," our understanding of news translation has moved beyond the point where such a term is necessary (880–81). Schäffner (ibid.) also claims that having a separate term such as transediting implies that editing is not part of what translators do, which is an underestimate of the translators' role today, be it in news translation or any other specialization.

On the other hand, Van Doorslaer (2012) proposes an even newer term. As mentioned earlier, he introduced the term "journalator" by combining the two roles they play—journalist and translator—to describe "a newsroom worker who makes abundant use of translation (in its broader definitions) when transferring and reformulating or recreating informative journalistic texts" (ibid., 1049). Following Van Doorslaer, this book also uses the word journalator based on this definition.

Van Doorslaer (2012) says his objective in coining this new term is to highlight translators and their responsibilities in newsrooms. As opposed to transediting which did not target news reporting specifically, he argues that this new term "would make the overall presence of forms of translation in newsrooms linguistically visible" (ibid., 1049). Unlike Schäffner, who feels that new terms are no longer necessary, Van Doorslaer holds that not enough has been expressed regarding the complex nature of news translation and that new terms are still useful in drawing attention to its unique characteristics. Sharing this perspective, Lauri Haapanen, another former journalist, introduced the term "translingual quoting"[3] to distinguish quoting in translation from monolingual quoting, making explicit an underappreciated difference between the two in the newsmaking process (Haapanen 2017).

It can be said that such recent creation of new terms is an indication that news translation research is still young and evolving with scholars trying to shed light on the subject from different angles. Such growing interest is evident in the fact that both Schäffner (2012b) and Van Doorslaer (2012) appeared

in the same special issue of *Meta* (vol. 57 no.4), which compiled as many as thirteen articles under the title *Journalism and Translation*.

2.1.2   Research by Insiders

As seen in the previous subsection, some of the influential works on news translation thus far have been conducted by practitioners of journalism—including journalist-turned-researchers (e.g., Fujii 1988; Hursti 2001; Haapanen 2017) —many of whom were journalators themselves. This again seems to be a reflection of the fact that news translation research is still in its early stage of development, since it is natural for research to stem from interest among a field's practitioners, especially in the case of news translation, which has long been neglected by relevant disciplines. It has additionally been pointed out that direct insight into institutional practices by media organizations is necessary to explain and analyze news translation practices accurately (Pan 2014, 549). This book, being written by a former journalator using first-hand information from newsroom insiders, follows this line of research.

The active participation of journalists in news translation research can also be explained by findings from prior research in this field that suggest that research on news translation processes must be substantially ethnographic in nature. As Holland (2013, 343) puts it, "in order to understand how news translation is carried out, and to learn how (when, where, why, by whom…) translations are disseminated, approved, sampled, edited and broadcast, we must ask those involved, observe them at work, and/or participate ourselves." This explains why some of the initial works tended to be limited to observations of news translation phenomena by those within the industry based on their own experience of performing translation as part of their journalistic activities. However, among the works by journalism insiders, some emerged as key pieces of research and contributed to shaping news translation as a subject of academic inquiry by providing valuable case studies for analysis.

Research by Tsai (2005) is typical of observation-based studies by a former insider of a television newsroom. Based on her experience as a "news translator" working for a Taiwanese broadcaster, Tsai (ibid.) succeeded in providing readers with a first-hand account of exactly how news translation was performed. In the Taiwanese TV newsroom where she served as a "writer in the International News Center," not only was she responsible for translating English news materials, but she was also in charge of finding the necessary footage, reading, recording translated scripts as voiceovers, and editing the film, all within a tight timeframe. Tsai names some of the key strategies involved in the translation

process, such as synthesis, reorganization, deletion, addition, generalization, and rewriting, to show the vast range of tasks news translators need to perform (ibid., 148). Her research is also unique in revealing a "journalistic hierarchy" inside the newsroom, especially concerning the clear division between journalists and translators, through her participatory observation.

Research by Bani (2006) is another example of work from an insider's point of view. Bani analyzed translations in *Internazionale*, a weekly magazine in Italy that publishes translations from newspapers around the world. With experience in translating newspaper articles for this magazine, Bani illustrates the news translation process (or, in her words, the "press translation" process) in the newsroom. Starting with a selection of articles to be translated from "prestigious newspapers" (ibid., 38) from around the world, the articles chosen are sent to translators who work offsite from the editorial office. Once the articles have been translated, the editorial board takes over and makes any necessary revisions. According to Bani (ibid., 41), four layers of proofreading are performed by two editors, one copy editor, and a director. Three of these layers of proofreading apply to the translated Italian version only. The board modifies the translations according to the needs of the target by "cutting, changing the paragraph structure, altering the syntax according to editorial stylistic norms or inserting explanations" (ibid.). Such a vivid description of this process would not be possible without first-hand newsroom experience.

Although these practitioner-led studies "provide very valuable empirical accounts of translation practice in various news organisations and of the usual tasks and difficulties encountered by the translator of news," there still remains the task of "systematically trac[ing] the theoretical implications from existing practice in very diverse organisations and the general principles that govern news translation" (Bielsa 2007, 141). The need for such a theoretical and comprehensive approach was the motivation behind the launch of the "Translation in Global News" project.

2.1.3   Warwick's "Translation in Global News" Project

The increase in interest among scholars and practitioners as illustrated in the previous section crystallized in a milestone project in the burgeoning yet brief history of news translation. Under the direction of Susan Bassnett of the University of Warwick and funded by the United Kingdom's Arts and Humanities Research Council, "The Politics and Economics of Translation in Global Media" was launched in 2003 and ran until 2007 (Holland 2013, 334). This project, better known today by the title of the most prominent publication

of the project *Translation in Global News*, brought together "translators, news reporters and senior figures in international news agencies as well as academics" (Bassnett 2011, 138). Such an inclusive approach was made possible because the organizers, mainly academics, believed that "without the input of practitioners, the research would be pointless" (ibid.).

The breadth of participation was remarkable, as demonstrated by the wide range of titles appearing in the proceedings of one of the international seminars held near the end of the project (Conway and Bassnett 2006). Scholars in Media Studies, Globalization Studies, and Translation Studies made contributions, and examples of news translations by the media were presented from nations around the world, including Australia, Canada, Finland, France, Italy, Taiwan the United Kingdom, and the United States. The discussions conducted and views presented during the international seminars were reviewed, and the key findings were published together as *Translation in Global News*, co-authored by Esperança Bielsa and Susan Bassnett and published in 2009.

Without a doubt, this was the first and the most comprehensive publication of its kind aimed at bringing an interdisciplinary approach to the study of news translation (Schäffner 2012b). Focusing on international wire services, such as the Associated Press (AP), Reuters, and Agence France-Presse (AFP), as key players in the global circulation of news, the publication examines in detail how news translation is being carried out within these global news agencies.

The highlight of the publication is fieldwork conducted in Montevideo, Uruguay, at the Latin American regional offices of two global news agencies: AFP and the smaller, alternative news agency, Inter Press Service (IPS). Through two weeks of ethnographic observations and interviews with editors, staff writers, and translators, they reconfirmed that translation at a major news agency such as AFP is "fully incorporated into the production of news" and produced by "journalists who do not normally have any specific training as translators" (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009, 81). Although their work focused mostly on global (rather than local) news agencies and text-to-text translations, the study succeeded in addressing news translation from multiple angles—actors, processes, outputs as well as their social implications.

2.1.4   News Translation Research in Japan

While attention to news translation has been gaining global momentum, it remains a minor field of research in Japan. As such, only a very limited number of research projects have been carried out regarding the practices of international reporting by the Japanese media or regarding translation into

and out of Japanese in the media. Possibly the most-cited research on news translation in Japan is Fujii (1988), which was mentioned earlier. Fujii was among the first academics to look into news translation practices in Japan, but the example he chose was restricted to that of an English language newspaper. Considering that the circulation of English language newspapers in Japan represents less than 1 percent of all newspapers published,[4] his work clearly is not illustrative of general news translation practices in Japan.

Another study on the practice of news translation in Japan is by Barnard (2000), who compared the Japanese version of *Newsweek* with the original English version to identify underlying translation processes. Based on text analysis, Barnard concluded that the Japanese version tended to downplay the significance of the nuclear accident that occurred in 1999. The examples shown in Barnard (ibid.), such as the omission and softening of words criticizing Japanese authorities which he claimed were a result of self-censorship, indicate a clear difference in tone between the English and Japanese versions. However, since heavy editing—including sentence- and paragraph-level omission and addition—seems to have taken place, consistent with the magazine's known practice of not simply translating news articles from the American original, generalizing this example as representative of news translation in Japan would be problematic.

Regarding dissemination of global news by broadcasters, Clausen (2004) made a unique contribution by comparing Danish and Japanese practices. Clausen based her research on interviews with "40 media experts and news producers at the major Japanese broadcast stations" (ibid., 26) and on newsroom observations at NHK, the national public broadcaster, and at TV Asahi, a commercial station. Using the United Nations Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995 as one example, Clausen compared and analyzed the ways Danish and Japanese broadcasters covered the event. Some interesting findings, such as differences in perspective among the broadcasters (e.g., Danish news coverage being more critical of the Chinese organizers) were pointed out, but the focus of the study was on the content of the actual news coverage; the issue of translation was hardly discussed.

Approaching "media translation" from the viewpoint of Linguistic Anthropology, Tsuboi (2013) investigated the Bosnian Conflict as a case study. She compared the different types of media coverage—news magazines, specialized magazines, books, and TV documentaries—to investigate the influence of ideology and power behind the translations of key phrases such as "ethnic cleansing." Drawing on the event model of semiotic anthropology, Tsuboi examined translational practices in media discourse as interactions that occur in sociocultural and historical contexts. Her attempt to bridge the

gap between theories of equivalence and uncertainty in Translation Studies by applying Contemporary Linguistic Anthropology is highly suggestive, but her case study did not include daily news reporting by the mainstream media due to practical limitations (ibid., 16).

Kawahara (2010) conducted interviews with news reporters and editors who worked for newspaper companies and news agencies to identify their news translation processes. He subsequently identified three types of news translation: direct translation, complex process, and direct coverage. The first type, direct translation, is exercised the least. It occurs when reporters play the role of the translator by translating news items already reported by the foreign media. The second type, complex process, combines translations of foreign news reports with original reporting by the correspondent. In this case, translation can occur in multiple ways depending on the language proficiency of the correspondent, including using local assistants as translators (e.g., to gather information and translate news articles from the local language into a language comprehensible by the correspondent).

The third type, direct coverage, is exercised the most. It occurs when correspondents conduct interviews themselves (with or without the help of local assistants as interpreters) and write news reports directly in Japanese. While all three types of news translation can be observed in Japanese newsrooms, Kawahara's study does not provide a comprehensive picture of the news translation process by the Japanese media because neither the details of the practice nor the backgrounds of the interviewees are provided. As seen, all of the studies described above dealt with some aspect of news translation, but none of them specifically studied the practices of the mainstream media in Japan, a void that this book intends to fill.

2.2   Journalism and Speech Events

The target of analysis for the present study is the translation of speech events, namely U.S. President Obama's victory speech and inaugural address following the presidential election in 2012, as reported by Japanese newspapers. This selection is based on the importance of "who said what" in news reporting. As New Zealand-based journalist and sociolinguist Allan Bell puts it, "News is what people say more than what people do," and much, if not most, of what journalists report is "talk not action" (Bell 1991, 53). Although Bell does not seem to have much to say about translation in his study of news language, his observations of the inner workings of newsrooms have provided valuable input for news translation scholars; consequently, his work has been heavily cited in the field.

News translation scholars also acknowledge the importance of speech events and the way they are translated because, ultimately, public figures such as politicians "react to statements by other politicians as they were presented to them in translation" rather than the original (Schäffner 2008, 3). In addition, direct quotations can be considered "stable sources" (Hernández Guerrero 2009, 2010; Valdeón 2015a) because they come from the speeches themselves and leave little room for transediting. This constraint makes direct quotations suitable for news translation analysis.

2.2.1   Direct Quotations

Clayman (1995) analyzed the U.S. vice-presidential debate of 1988 and neatly described the power of the spoken word in the news: "a single compelling remark or interactional exchange becomes the primary focus of attention as it is extensively replayed, quoted, paraphrased, referred to, and discussed" (118–19). This effect is enabled through sound bites in television or direct quotations in print because "collective memories of past interactional events are conditioned by those excerpts that are preserved in the mass media" (ibid., 119).

Not only are direct quotations impactful, but they are also useful for news reporting. Bell (1991) illustrates the three main reasons the media uses a direct quotation. First is its value as a "particularly incontrovertible fact" because a direct quotation is presented as "the newsmaker's own words" (ibid., 207). Second is its function to "distance and disown" whatever the speaker said and free the reporter from taking responsibility, especially in cases where politically or grammatically incorrect phrases were uttered (ibid., 208). Third is its power to add flavor. In Bell's words, a direct quotation is "supposed to be brief, pithy, colourful, to add something which a version in reported speech would not" (ibid., 209).

Bassnett (2005) makes an interesting point by describing that the use of direct quotations differs from country to country based on what the media organizations in each country perceive as the reader's expectations. For example, in the United Kingdom, both tabloids and broadsheets tend to use direct quotations often, so that their articles "convey a greater sense of authenticity" which they believe is what the readers want (ibid., 124). However, in some other European countries, the use of direct quotations in news writing would be perceived as "dumbing down" and thus articles are written using reported speech instead (ibid.). Based on my own newsroom experience and that of journalators I interviewed, the Japanese convention is

similar to that of the United Kingdom, and all three purposes Bell describes seem to match actual practice in Japan.

Literature on "direct speech" (as it is typically called outside the journalistic world) is vast, since it has been one of the areas of research traditionally explored by literary scholars within the framework of speech presentation. Attempts have also been made to apply speech models developed for literary works to news texts (Short 1991). It is important to note, however, that a direct quotation, although a form of direct speech, can appear differently in a Japanese news text as compared to a text in a novel. For example, while direct speech is often indicated not only by the presence of quotation marks but also by reporting verbs and other grammatical markers, this is not always the case with direct quotations in Japanese. Satoh (2001), who analyzed how Japanese newspapers quote the words of the Japanese Imperial Family, explains this clearly:

> [I]n Japanese newspapers, direct speech is marked by the presence of quotation marks for a quote; indirect speech by the absence of quotation marks for a quote; and a mixture of direct and indirect speech is marked by the presence of quotation marks for part of a quote. (Satoh 2001, 173)

Satoh elaborates by adding, "due to the lack of any markers to differentiate them, some instances of direct speech look identical to the possible indirect versions, except for the presence of quotation marks," and states that "sometimes the presence of quotation marks is the *only* clue to distinguish direct speech from indirect speech" (Satoh 2001, 173–74, emphasis added). Based on Satoh's finding and the convention used by Japanese newspapers, direct quotations in the present study are operationally defined as utterances and parts of utterances enclosed in quotation marks.

Another interesting finding can be seen in Davis (1985), who describes the relationship between media discourse and hierarchy. Through analysis of news reports, Davis confirmed that "the higher the status of a speaker, the more direct the presentation" (ibid., 47). This relationship was initially pointed out by the Glasgow University Media Group (1980, 163), of which Davis was a member. The finding supports the present study's decision to treat direct quotations from President Obama's speeches as TTs. President Obama, being at the time the leader of the world's most powerful nation, enjoyed one of the highest statuses in the world; consequently, he should have been quoted as accurately as possible, even in another language.

Davis's finding has also been applicable in languages other than English. For example, Wertsch (1991, 83) explains that the traditional procedure of

the former Soviet press when quoting official figures has been "to report a text verbatim in its entirety" by referring to prewritten scripts provided to the media in advance. In the case of Japan, the Emperor, as the symbol of the state, is considered by the Japanese public to hold the highest status. Therefore, it is not surprising when Satoh (2001,183) points out that even the honorific verb forms, which are used in conversations and public speeches but usually deleted or replaced in direct quotations, are maintained when journalists quote the words of the Imperial Family members. This practice was clearly observed during the coverage of Emperor Akihito's abdication and Crown Prince Naruhito's accession to the Chrysanthemum Throne in the spring of 2019, which generated an unprecedented number of articles with direct quotations of the Imperial Family members' speeches because it was the first abdication in over two centuries.

Floros' (2012) findings also corroborate the shared understanding that direct quotations are less likely to be manipulated in the news translation process. In his analysis of the Greek Cypriot newspapers' coverage of the self-declared but unrecognized "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)," modifiers such as "illegal" or "so-called" were used consistently when referring to TRNC apart from those which appeared in direct quotations. Based on numerous similar examples, Floros (ibid., 938–39) concludes that "intervention appears exclusively in indirect speech instances, while direct speech instances are left unaffected."

It is worth noting that some researchers such as Haapanen (2017) have discovered cases in which original speeches in Finnish were reworded, modified, or even newly created without a corresponding source text yet presented as direct quotations by the local media. His research method of obtaining audio recordings of interviews from the journalists along with hand-written notes and transcripts when available and comparing the output (published news articles) against them provides valuable information regarding the transformations made to the text during the news production phase.

However, the levels of manipulation observed were significantly higher than those found in the case of Japanese newspapers' coverage of President Obama's speeches that the present study analyzed, possibly because the data came mainly from one-on-one interviews conducted by the participating journalist rather than political speeches broadcast live internationally which this book focuses on, the major difference being whether the source text is accessible to the reader or not. Another difference was that the corpus used by Haapanen (ibid.) included magazines and bulletins as well as newspapers and contained more "soft news" than "hard news." Although Haapanen (ibid., 14) claims that "there are no research results which indicate that the exact

format of a target article would play a crucial role in the invocation of some particular way of quoting," the two differences mentioned above clearly change the risk environment surrounding the journalist, which can influence the way the speeches are quoted.

Along with Haapanen (2017), several attempts to apply text progression analysis (a multimethod approach developed in the context of text production research which effectively combines methods such as ethnographic observation, interviews, computer logging, screen recordings, eye-tracking, and cue-based retrospective verbalizations) to translation research have been made. This body of work is seen among other disciplines such as applied linguistics and media and communication studies (Ehrensberger-Dow and Perrin 2009, 2015; Perrin, Ehrensberger-Dow, and Zampa 2017) and has proven to be effective in analyzing translation processes. The most recent studies directly connected to the present study are works by Haapanen and Perrin on quoting practices by the media (Haapanen and Perrin 2017) and one on translingual quoting (Haapanen and Perrin 2019), both of which will be referenced in the following chapters.

2.2.2 Translation of Speech Events

Given the importance of speeches in news reporting and the usefulness of direct quotations as targets of analysis, some of the literature on news translation has also focused on speech events and their translations. For example, Schäffner (2008) compared media reports on different types of speech events: a group media interview with Russian President Putin, an official speech by then-President Ahmadinejad of Iran, and a joint press conference by then-President Bush of the United States and German Chancellor Merkel. Through detailed analysis of the texts, Schäffner found that "institutional policies and ideologies have an impact on the actual textual profiles of the translations" and that news translations "are not straightforward and faithful reproductions of their source texts, as often assumed by lay-people" (ibid., 22).

Others, such as Baker (2006), used an example of Osama Bin Laden's video speech in Arabic translated into English by Al-Jazeera and MEMRI[5] to highlight how the influence of political agendas can lead to different translations. Bassnett (2005) revealed that significantly different versions of former Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's court hearing were printed as translated transcripts from Arabic to English in two British newspapers. Kang (2010) compared how quotations from an exclusive interview with then-President of South Korea Roh Moo Hyun conducted by American and Korean reporters

of *Newsweek* were presented differently in *Newsweek*'s original American edition and its Korean edition. Jiménez-Crespo (2012) examined the Spanish translations of U.S. President Obama's first inaugural address in 2009 as they appeared in reports by various online media. He showed how widely the translations varied despite their identical origin.

Since many speech events picked up by the media are political speeches, research on news translation of speech events—including some mentioned above—has been influenced directly or indirectly by Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), a field of research where the media have been analyzed frequently and thus concepts and methodologies are well established (Fairclough 1995; Fowler 1991; Van Dijk 1988). As a result, the decision-making process in news translation has often been associated with issues of ideology and power.

A number of studies of news translation have explicitly adopted CDA as an analytical framework. For example, Valdeón (2008) compared online news reports in English by BBC World News and in Spanish by BBC Mundo, focusing on three strategies: omission, addition, and permutation. Based on a case study of Saddam Hussein's first court appearance in Iraq, Valdeón (ibid., 318) pointed out that, in shortening the text from the English original in order to comply with the editorial requirement to reduce space, BBC Mundo mainly omitted information relating to the defense of the accused (i.e., Saddam Hussein). Based on this and other examples, Valdeón (ibid.) drew the conclusion that "this is a clear instance of selective appropriation of certain facts in order to construe a certain image of the news event" which contributed to the portrayal of Hussein in a "very negative manner" and painted a "sinister picture of the dictator" (ibid.).

A similar argument can be seen in Kuo and Nakamura (2005) who examined how two Taiwanese newspapers with opposing ideological stances translated and reported on the same news article by the AP regarding an interview with Taiwan's then-First Lady who had been visiting the United States at the time. Following the CDA approach, the study tried to identify the "ideology of the news writers" which was "hidden in the subtle choice of linguistic forms" (ibid., 395). As a result, they found that each newspaper deleted information that was "incongruent with its political stance" (ibid., 402): the pro-unification *United Daily News* had deleted negative information about the KMT (Chinese Nationalist Party) and the pro-independence *Liberty Times* had deleted Beijing's insistence that "Taiwan is part of China" (ibid.).

As indicated above, some studies have succeeded in demonstrating how ideologies of news organizations and individual journalators can "play a significant role in determining what is to be retained and what is to be omitted" (Chen 2006, 10). However, it does not always seem applicable to news

translation practices in different parts of the world. For example, in a country like Japan, where major commercial media organizations are neither directly affiliated with any political party[6] nor owned by a powerful enterprise or individual, institutional ideology becomes highly invisible even if it were to exist.

Munday (2007) makes a similar argument. While analyzing translations of speeches by revolutionary leaders in Latin America, he found two English language newspapers reporting then-President of Cuba Fidel Castro's announcement of temporarily handing over control to his brother due to illness: one by *Granma*, the official newspaper of Cuba, and the other by the American *Miami Herald*. The result of the comparison showed that Castro's own actions (i.e., a series of official visits in and out of the country in a short timeframe) that led to his illness, carefully concealed through grammatical choices in the Spanish original, were in fact highlighted through its translation into English, not by the *Miami Herald*, but by *Granma*, the official paper.

Despite the fact that the *Miami Herald*, a regional paper in the American state of Florida, is "published predominantly to an audience of Cuban exiles and therefore in a context hostile to the Cuban government," there was "no obvious attempt to distort the message" (Munday 2007, 203). On the other hand, *Granma*'s translation "which is subject to state control" unintentionally revealed what had been concealed in the original announcement by changing passive verbs to active and adding first-person pronouns. This and other similar findings led Munday to state that "critical discourse analysts (and, indeed, translation studies theorists) tend to focus on manipulation in politically sensitive texts, but this may not occur at all, or it may not occur in the expected ways" (ibid., 200). He concludes:

> While I generally agree with critical linguists and discourse analysts who see the lexicogrammatical choices of the author as reproducing an ideology and conveying a representation of reality that favours the powerful side, particularly when this is represented by an institution, when it comes to translation the intervention of the translator inevitably means that the selection alters. However, while it is always more exciting to suggest that such shifts have an ideological motivation, I think we should not be too hasty to jump to such a conclusion. (Munday 2007, 213)

In the case study of the 2012 U.S. presidential election that is the focus of the present study, news translation practices did emerge that cannot be clearly explained by ideological manipulation or issues of power. These practices are presented in Chapter 7. If CDA alone cannot account for all aspects

of translation of speech events by the media, an alternative framework for analysis is needed. Therefore, there is value in exploring other concepts and frameworks within Translation Studies in order to shed new light on news translation.

One such example is Orengo (2005), who attempted to adopt "localization" as a theoretical framework for analyzing news translation. Orengo compared the Italian newspapers' coverage of the meeting between George Bush, then-President of the United States, and Silvio Berlusconi, then-Prime Minister of Italy, in 2004. Although similar to the present study in the type of speech event selected, Orengo (ibid.) focused on how the political leanings of the Italian papers analyzed were reflected in the headlines as well as in the way the news material was localized to meet the needs of their respective reader-ships. No particular attention was paid to the translation of the utterances themselves, contrary to the present study which focuses on the ways utterances are translated and presented as direct quotations. In Orengo's view, "it is the content surrounding such quotations that makes the difference and indicates the newspapers' stance" (ibid.,182).

Another key difference is that Orengo's (2005) "news localization" is primarily based on situations where news agencies are "information retailers" and Italian newspapers are "information buyers" (179). Since the present study focuses on cases where translations are conducted straight from their source (e.g., President Obama's speech) by Japanese newspapers themselves and transformed into a direct quotation without an intermediary text (e.g., international agency news), localization as a theoretical framework does not seem fully applicable. In search for a better alternative, the concept of risk management is examined in Chapter 4 as a possible framework for the theoretical analysis of news translation.

Chapter 3
Japanese Journalism and Translation

3.1   Historical Development

This chapter provides a historical overview of the evolution of Japanese journalism based mainly on Haruhara and Takeichi (2016), a widely used journalism textbook in Japan that offers a comprehensive history of the development of Japanese media. In order to add external perspectives, international publications on Japanese media and its history such as Rausch (2014) and Darling-Wolf (2018) are also referenced, supplemented by various public documents.[1]

In the early seventeenth century, several decades after the emergence of early forms of newspapers (handwritten newsletters on commerce and trade) in Europe, a prototype of the "*shimbun*" (新聞) [newspaper] appeared in Japan. The newspaper, referred to as *kawaraban* after its primitive tile-block printing method, was a usually single-sheet newsletter featuring hot topics ranging from natural disasters to sumo tournament results. During the latter half of the Edo period (1603–1868) when Japan closed itself from the rest of the world, a policy commonly referred to as "*sakoku*" (鎖国) [national isolation], *kawaraban* was sold in city streets and popularly read by ordinary citizens as their only written source of news.

Towards the end of the Edo period in 1854, Japan opened its door to the Western world with a major shift in the country's diplomatic policy known as "*kaikoku*," (開国) [opening the country]. Nagasaki, along with Hakodate and Yokohama, was one of the ports made available for foreign trade in 1859. Two years later in 1861, Japan's first newspaper in its modern form, the *Nagasaki Shipping List and Advertiser*, was published by a British businessman, A.W. Hansard. It was written in English and published twice weekly on Wednesdays and Saturdays, with subscriptions starting at $20 per year, according to the original editions collected and digitized by the Nagasaki University Library.[2]

Although Japan finally resumed foreign trade after two centuries of isolation, information from overseas only came from limited communication channels, such as via the Dutch East India Company through Nagasaki. This was the reason why the first Japanese language newspaper, *Kanpan Batavia Shimbun*[3] (官板バタヒヤ新聞), published by the Tokugawa government, contained a summary of translated articles from *Javasche Courant*, an official newspaper published by the Dutch in Java, Indonesia. *Kanpan* means

"published by the government" and Batavia was the name given to Jakarta by the Dutch. It is known as the first publication with the word "*shimbun*" in its name, which has now become a common noun for newspapers in general.

In 1864, a couple of years after *Kanpan Batavia Shimbun* was founded, the first private-owned newspaper in Japanese, *Kaigai Shimbun* (海外新聞), was published by Hikozo Hamada, better known by the name Joseph Heko, a castaway who returned to Japan after becoming a U.S. citizen. The content consisted mostly of translated articles and was published once or twice a month with the help of a Japanese journalist Ginko Kishida and others, but was never widely known and failed to attract mass readership. Nevertheless, Joseph Hiko is often praised as the "father of newspapers" in Japan.

The Edo period ended with the Meiji Restoration (1868)—the handing over of power from the Tokugawa Family to the Meiji Emperor—and Japan embarked on the path to full-fledged modernization. The official newspaper of the Meiji Government, *Daijokan Nisshi* (太政官日誌), was published and several commercial newspapers appeared immediately after, the first being the *Chugai Shimbun* (中外新聞) in February 1868, published by a journalist and scholar of Western Studies, Shunsan Yanagawa. The first Japanese-owned daily newspaper in Japanese, *Yokohama Mainichi Shimbun* (横浜毎日新聞), was published a couple of years later. Although some of these private newsapers were soon banned or suspended during the turmoil following the transition of power to the new Meiji government, some revived several years later when the government introduced the licensing system for newspaper publishers and started purchasing and distributing newspapers nationwide as a way to disseminate public information. Thanks to such government policies along with the growing demand for news in an era of rapid change and the introduction of advanced printing methods from the West, a number of newspapers emerged towards the end of the nineteenth century, some of which still exist today and will be explained in detail individually in this chapter (see section 3.2.1 and its subsections).

In addition to the newspapers, which continued to expand their geographical coverage and increase their circulation, other types of media emerged as well. Among the oldest were magazines, which also appeared around the time of the Meiji Restoration. Shunsan Yanagawa's *Seiyo Zasshi* (西洋雑誌), meaning "Western magazine," is known as Japan's first magazine, initially published in 1867, one year before the commercial newspaper, *Chugai Shimbun*, which he also founded. Since then, the term *zasshi* has been used as the Japanese translation for the word "magazine." The early magazines such as *Taiyo* (太陽), which started in 1895, featured commentaries by famous critics of politics, economics, and society, and were widely read by the intellectual class of

modernizing Japan. Later, several established publishing houses started producing magazines of various kinds ranging from news to entertainment on a weekly or monthly basis. This time during the Meiji period (1868–1912) is considered the dawn of print journalism in Japan.

Print media continued to increase their presence and influence during the Sino-Japanese War, the Russo-Japanese War, and World War I due to public appetite for news about the counry's conquest and territorial expansion. The circulation of newspapers grew significantly during this period because they were the primary sources of war-related information. Their circulation grew steadily until the years building up to World War II, when print media eventually became targets of censorship and were forced to merge as a result of cutbacks on printing paper by the government. In the years that followed, the situation surrounding wartime Japan took a turn for the worse, but newspapers kept publishing uncritically positive stories about the war until the war ended in 1945, based solely on official announcements from the imperial headquarters. This propagandistic role Japanese newspapers played during the war was heavily criticized afterwards, which has cast a shadow over the history of Japanese media. It is an interesting topic from a journalistic perspective, but I will refrain from explaining it at length in this book because there are many other publications focusing on this specific issue (see Kasza 1988 among others for more detail).

Following print media, Japan's broadcast media started to appear in the 1920s with the introduction of public radio. Japan's first national broadcasting started in 1925 with three government-authorized stations in Tokyo, Osaka, and Nagoya. The three stations were later integrated to form *Nippon Hoso Kyokai* (NHK), which still exists as the only public broadcaster of radio and television programs. With the aim to realize a live broadcast of the accession ceremony of Emperor Hirohito throughout the nation, the establishment of the radio station network proceeded with historic speed, enabling the special program to air nationwide on November 6, 1928. This boosted the number of subscribers dramatically, allowing ordinally citizens to enjoy their favorite sports such as baseball and sumo, as well as live broadcasts of the Olympic games starting from Berlin in 1936. In the following years as Japan entered into war with China and later with the Allied Forces, people started to rely on radio for breaking news stories about the war. It was also over the radio that Emperor Hirohito announced Japan's surrender ending World War II.

Several years after the war as Japan followed the path to economic recovery, movements to establish commercial radio stations started to emerge in multiple locations. The number of medium frequency (AM) radio stations jumped from six in 1951 to forty in 1957,[4] making nationwide commercial radio

broadcasts possible. During the economic boom that followed, the cost of radio advertisements rose dramatically, marking the "Golden Age of Radio" in Japan. However, radio's prosperity did not last long due to the rise of very high frequency (VHF) television in the late 1950s. Eventually, demand for radio was supplanted by demand for television.

Unlike radio broadcasting which had established itself before World War II, the development of television broadcasting technology was interrupted by the war, and the first TV broadcast from NHK's television studios in Tokyo did not take place until February 1953. Several commercial broadcasters subsequently came into being, with the Nippon Television Network Corporation (NTV) starting its broadcasts just six months after NHK. Following the launch of NTV, several commercial broadcasters emerged in the mid-1950s. Responding to the growing demand, the government gave permission to thirty-four commercial broadcasting stations to air VHF television programs in 1957.[5] The TV coverage of the wedding of then-Crown Prince Akihito in 1959 and the rapid economic growth of the postwar years accelerated the proliferation of television sets.

However, early television sets were too expensive for regular households (it was said to cost more than thirty times the average monthly salary), so people often went to electronic appliance stores or gathered at train stations to watch professional wrestling matches or nighttime baseball games. Owning a television set became a major aspiration for Japanese families. As the average household income sharply increased throughout the 1960s and into the 1970s, television sets came to constitute a "must-have" for each home along with refrigerators and washing machines. Advances in coverage and relay technology allowed television broadcasting to fully utilize its potential as a means of providing information and news in a timely manner, and soon, TV broadcasting became the number one source of information in Japan, both in terms of news and entertainment.

Newspapers, magazines, radio, and TV broadcasting have since been considered the "four masses" or the top-four mass media in Japan, the current state of which will be explained in the following section.

3.2   The Current Media Landscape

Fast-forward half a century to twenty-first century Japan, and we still see the "four masses" actively in play and maintaining power in the Japanese media industry. However, the invention of the internet has brought about new dynamics to the Japanese media landscape such as the rise of online

media. In this section, a brief overview of each of these five major types of media will be presented with special focus on the newspapers that this book will highlight in the following chapters.

3.2.1   Newspapers

According to the Japan Newspaper Publishers & Editors Association, the organization that monitors newspaper circulation nationwide, there are more than a hundred newspapers in Japan. Ranging in their outreach from local to regional to national, they enjoyed a total circulation of nearly forty million copies daily as of 2018.[6] The six top-selling newspapers in Japan at the time of writing are the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, the *Asahi Shimbun*, the *Mainichi Shimbun*, *The Nikkei*, and the *Sankei Shimbun* (all national papers) and the *Chunichi Shimbun* (a regional paper), all of which are included in the corpus for the main case study of this book.[7] Brief descriptions of each newspaper follow in order of circulation as of December 2018, according to the Japan Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC), which publishes its report every six months. All but *Sankei* publish twice daily (in the morning and in the afternoon),[8] and more than 95 percent of the copies printed are delivered to individual homes.[9]

3.2.1.1   The Yomiuri Shimbun (読売新聞)

With a circulation of 8.34 million, the *Yomiuri Shimbun* is the largest newspaper in Japan. It was also registered in 2010 as the newspaper with the world's highest circulation in Guinness World Records for being the only newspaper to have reached a morning circulation exceeding ten million copies.[10] Founded in 1874, it was one of the later broadsheets to be published nationally among the existing top-selling papers; however, its circulation grew rapidly from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s when the newspaper's popular professional baseball team, the Yomiuri Giants, won the Japan Championship Series—the Japanese equivalent of the World Series[11]— for nine consecutive years. It became the number-one-selling newspaper in Japan in 1977. The newspaper's political stance is often described as "conservative" (Sanger 1992) or "center-right" (Neuharth 2004) with a tendency to support the ruling Liberal Democratic Party on major political agendas such as the controversial constitutional revision (*The Daily Yomiuri* 2004).

3.2.1.2   The Asahi Shimbun (朝日新聞)

First published in Osaka in 1879, the *Asahi Shimbun* has Japan's second largest circulation, reaching 5.76 million. With a history of publishing a joint newspaper in English with the *International Herald Tribune* (currently owned by The New York Times Company and published as *The New York Times International Edition*), the newspaper pronounces itself as the liberal paper of quality in Japan, although it is often considered to lean "center-left" (Neuharth 2004). This reputation is based on its long tradition of reporting on big political scandals concerning the ruling party more often than its conservative competitors do (Sayle 1989). In 2014, it came under fire when it publicly admitted to misreporting parts of its past coverage on the so-called "comfort women" issue, as well as its account of Tokyo Electric Power Company (TEPCO) employees retreating against orders from the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant on the day of the 2011 earthquake.

3.2.1.3   The Mainichi Shimbun (毎日新聞)

The *Mainichi Shimbun* has the longest history among all existing newspapers in Japan. It resulted from a merger between *Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun* (東京日日新聞)—the first daily newspaper, published in Tokyo in 1972—and *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* (大阪毎日新聞), which was founded in 1976. It is also known for having been the first to offer home delivery service, which later became the standard system in Japan. The company began to struggle, however, after the "Nishiyama Incident" in the 1970s in which a staff reporter was tried and found guilty of disclosing a confidential document regarding the Reversion of Okinawa to Japan.[12] This incident led to a large-scale boycott campaign causing circulation to dwindle. Its circulation is now down to 2.64 million, less than half that of the top two. Politically, the paper is considered to be left-leaning (Nakamoto 1998).

3.2.1.4   The Nikkei (日本経済新聞)

Among the six newspapers analyzed, *The Nikkei* is the only financial paper distributed nationwide in Japan, with a circulation of 2.38 million. Their stronghold is the business community, and the paper has managed to differentiate itself from the other national broadsheets by providing wide-ranging and in-depth economic coverage welcomed by the corporate elite. In recent years, *The Nikkei* has expanded its multi-platform business, being the first major Japanese newspaper to publish a fully digitized version with

paid subscription. Its presence in Asia is also growing with the launch of its *Nikkei Asian Review*, a weekly English-language magazine, in the autumn of 2013. Because of their unique position in the market, their political stance is rarely the focus of attention, but it is considered to be on the right side of the spectrum between *Yomiuri* and *Sankei* (Taniguchi 2018).

3.2.1.5   The Sankei Shimbun (産経新聞)

Well-known for its unabashed rightwing position (Joyce 2001), the *Sankei Shimbun* maintains a circulation of 1.45 million with its readership concentrated in large cities. Despite the fact that its name at the start of publication in 1933 was *Nippon Kogyo Shimbun* (日本工業新聞) [Japan industry newspaper], which was later changed to *Sangyo Keizai Shimbun* (産業経済新聞) [Industry and economy newspaper] and to its short form *Sankei Shimbun*, it is neither industry- nor economy-focused, and considered a general newspaper in Japan. The company suddenly found itself at the center of media attention in 2014 when the South Korean government prosecuted the paper's former Seoul bureau chief for defaming the South Korean president, in an opinion piece he wrote for the online *Sankei News* based on rumors reported by the Korean media.[13] The Korean government has refuted the article as false and defamatory, but the court found the bureau chief to be innocent.

3.2.1.6   The Chunichi Shimbun (中日新聞)

The *Chunichi Shimbun* is one of the four general newspapers that the Chunichi Group publishes in different regions of Japan using shared content (the *Tokyo Shimbun*, second largest of the four, was chosen as a target for analysis in the case study of this book). The Chunichi Group, which originally started in 1942 as a result of a merger of two newspaper companies in central Japan, has a total circulation of 2.85 million (excluding the two sports newspapers that the group also publishes). The number is larger than some of the national papers such as *The Nikkei* or *Sankei*, though the group's papers do not cover all geographical areas in Japan. This is partly due to the fact that the Chunichi Group also owns a professional baseball team, the Chunichi Dragons, as their advertising vehicle and has its headquarters in Nagoya, the third largest city in Japan. Politically, it is considered to be the most leftist of the target newspapers (Sato 2016).

3.2.2   Magazines

Japan is said to be one of the rare countries in which magazines are still selling relatively well; there are more than 3,000 magazines covering wide-ranging genres from news and general interest to arts, sports, and culture (*Shuppan Nenkan* 2018). In 2017, around 65 percent of the titles were published monthly totaling 1.38 billion copies, while most of the rest were weekly magazines numbering 724 million copies. In the same year, seventy-seven new titles appeared in the market while 121 stopped publishing (ibid.).

Weekly magazines are the main players in Japanese magazine journalism and can be categorized into two groups. The first group consists of *shūkanshi* (週刊誌) [weeklies] that are published by major publishing houses: *Shūkan Bunshun* (週刊文春), *Shūkan Gendai* (週刊現代), *Shūkan Shincho* (週刊新潮), and *Shūkan Posuto* (週刊ポスト). The second group consists of those published by newspaper companies, such as *Shūkan Asahi* (週刊朝日) and *Sandē Mainichi* (サンデー毎日). Publishing-house magazines tend to focus on scandals and gossip as well as topics rarely covered by national newspapers (e.g., taboos) as a way to differentiate themselves from newspaper magazines. Newspaper magazines on the other hand leverage their organizational power and press club access to information.

3.2.3   TV Broadcasting

The broadcasting system in Japan consists of one public broadcaster, NHK, and a number of commercial broadcasters. NHK has two terrestrial TV channels—General TV and Educational TV—as well as two satellite TV channels—BS 1 and BS Premium—domestically. They also have two international television services: NHK World TV (broadcast in English) and NHK World Premium (Japanese). NHK earns its revenue by collecting *jushinryō*, which are mandatory viewing fees charged to every household that has a TV set.

On the other hand, the Japan Commercial Broadcasters Association (JBA)[14] has 207 members including 195 terrestrial broadcasters consisting of sixty-eight radio-only stations, ninety-five television-only stations, and thirty-two radio and television stations, as well as twelve satellite broadcasters, as of April 2018. Unlike NHK, these commercial broadcasting companies rely mostly on advertising revenue. In Japan, the local TV stations partner with one of the five major broadcasters in Tokyo—namely, Nippon Television (NTV), Tokyo Broadcasting System (TBS), Fuji Television, TV Asahi, and

TV Tokyo—to form nationwide networks. These five key stations provide the majority of the programs. Each of these key stations is affiliated with a national newspaper: NTV with *Yomiuri*, TBS with *Mainichi*, Fuji with *Sankei*, TV Asahi with *Asahi*, and TV Tokyo with *Nikkei*. In 2018, NHK and some of the commercial TV stations began 4K and 8K ultra-high-definition services on BS and CS satellite channels.

3.2.4   Radio Broadcasting

When compared to other developed countries or its Asian neighbors, Japan has a relatively small number of radio stations. NHK has the widest coverage with two AM stations (general and educational) and one FM station (mostly music and entertainment). Generally, each prefecture has these three NHK stations along with one private AM station (some of which are also on FM), and one private FM station, while there could be more stations in areas with larger populations. NHK also has a shortwave overseas radio station called NHK World Radio Japan.

AM and FM commercial radio stations each have unique programming styles. AM stations generally have talk shows which are hosted by personalities and cover a wide range of topics, including news, education, and entertainment. Another feature is their intensive sports coverage, especially of professional baseball. FM stations on the other hand used to focus on music programs, taking advantage of their high-quality stereo broadcasting. However, as more stations started providing services in major metropolitan areas in the late 1980s, and with the introduction of new foreign language and community FM stations in the 1990s, commercial FM stations added talk shows to their programming to distinguish themselves from their rivals. Owing to their capacity to deliver fresh community-oriented information to listeners, both AM and FM stations are not as dependent on network programs from key broadcasters in Tokyo as are the local television stations. The role of radio is particularly important in emergency situations such as earthquakes, typhoons, or other natural disasters. Some NHK and commercial programs are also available through online streaming services such as *Radiru★Radiru* and *radiko*.

3.2.5   Online Media

Until the 2010s, the major players in the Japanese online media market were conventional media organizations such as newspapers and TV broadcasters, which launched their own websites to supplement their main business. Especially in the case of newspapers, offering twenty-four-hour coverage in addition to publishing two editions a day in print has become crucial in the age of the internet. At the same time, large media outlets outside of Japan started launching Japanese websites. These included newspapers (e.g., *The Wall Street Journal*, *Financial Times*), wire services (e.g., Reuters, Bloomberg), magazines (e.g., *Newsweek*, *Forbes*), and broadcasters (e.g., CNN, BBC). Eventually, foreign online media companies started to launch services in Japan, led by online U.S. news outlets such as *The Huffington Post*[15] in 2013, *BuzzFeed* in 2016, and *Business Insider* in 2017. Prompted by this influx of foreign media, domestic online media has also emerged including news websites such as *BLOGOS* and *NewsPicks*. Today, online media have developed a visible presence in the Japanese media ecosystem. However, it is also true that most of the news articles read online are either produced by conventional media or sourced from conventional media by web portals (e.g., Yahoo!). In such circumstances, news translation practiced in online media newsrooms tends to be multifaceted, involving not only translation but also localization and adaptation (see Matsushita 2019 for details on translational activities performed by online media staff).

3.3   Japanese Journalators

3.3.1   Overview

In Japan, news translation has traditionally been carried out by journalists sent to overseas bureaus for three to four years on average to report on international events in the region. However, because of the cost, media companies capable of sending correspondents outside of Japan have been few. Among the five main media types introduced in this chapter, only newspapers and major broadcasters have the means to send correspondents overseas on a regular basis (Yoshida 2014).

Another key provider of "journalators" are the two wire services, Kyodo News and Jiji Press, from which smaller scale media organizations (both print and broadcast) buy news reports and photos. According to their websites,[16] each organization has approximately thirty to forty overseas bureaus. One

key factor to keep in mind is that, in the case of Japanese wires, their outputs (i.e., international news reports written by journalators) are basically unavailable to the general public because their end clients are media organizations that hold the right to use the materials purchased from the wire services at their disposal without citations. Therefore, unlike newspaper articles, which typically have bylines indicating the correspondents who wrote the article, the end products of the journalators working for the Japanese wire services cannot be usually identified.

According to the *Nihon Shimbun Nenkan* (日本新聞年鑑) [Japan Newspaper Annual] published by the Japan Newspaper Publishers & Editors Association, Japanese media companies with resident correspondents overseas (excluding locally-hired staff) as of July 2018 were the five national newspapers, the three regional newspapers, the two wire services, and the six key television networks. Yoshida (2014) counted the exact number of foreign correspondents for eighteen years between 1995 and 2012 by utilizing the general figures provided in the above mentioned annual and eliminating duplications (some are listed as being in charge of multiple bureaus) and locally-hired reporters. By Yoshida's calculations, the number of foreign correspondents for the newspapers and wire services combined decreased from 401 in 1995 to 354 in 2012. Yet, the number is still significant when compared to that of other countries including the United States (Kumar 2011). This number also exceeds the number of foreign correspondents at TV networks, which totaled 187 in 2012. As of July 2018, each of the six major newspaper companies highlighted in this book had approximately twenty to fifty foreign correspondents according to the *Nihon Shimbun Nenkan* (2019).

As the numbers show, TV networks also dispatch correspondents from Japan, but on a relatively smaller scale. In order to fulfill the purpose of the present study, which is to identify the translation process of Japanese journalators through text analysis and interviews, the following subsections will focus exclusively on newspaper journalators.

3.3.2   Typical Profiles

For this book, I have interviewed reporters from all six newspapers who have spent time overseas as a correspondent. I used the results of the interviews combined with my own experience as a New York correspondent for the *Asahi Shimbun* to create the typical profile of a newspaper journalator described in this subsection.

The interviews were conducted in Japanese either face-to-face or via Skype during the months of September through November 2014. Eight subjects, aged between forty and fifty with an average of twenty-two years of journalistic experience, were interviewed. All subjects were correspondents based in the United States at some point, and three of them covered the presidential election in 2012. The information gathered was used to describe the general news translation practices of Japanese newspapers. The interviews were semi-structured, and the general questions asked in the interviews are listed in Table 2.[17] Apart from one subject who had already left the newspaper he had worked for, all interviewees are working journalists and asked not to be named; therefore, the names of the journalists and their respective organizations remain anonymous in this book.

According to the interviewees, a typical journalator for a major Japanese newspaper company tends to have at least five years of experience covering domestic news in Japan as well as a strong command of English or other languages useful in covering international news such as Chinese, Korean, Russian, French, German, and Spanish. Relatively minor languages such as Arabic or Hebrew are optional but considered a plus if the reporter wants to be stationed in bureaus covering Africa and the Middle East. There is no official training provided by the newspaper companies, but some offer the opportunity for possible candidates to study abroad for up to a year. Most journalators already have the necessary skills and abilities to report in Japanese, so international reporting is considered just a variation of their prior professional experience, although many argue that the skillset required of a foreign correspondent is significantly different from that required of domestic reporters (Komori and Kondo 1984). To them, translation is in the periphery of their work in international news production (as seen in Bielsa 2007), and competency as translators differs largely among individuals based on their educational and linguistic backgrounds.

3.4   The News Translation Process

In this section, the overall picture of news translation practices by Japanese newspapers is presented, based on the interviews with the newspaper journalators. In order to describe the process as accurately as possible, a specific case—our case study of the U.S. presidential election in 2012—has been chosen. Only the aggregated information gathered from the interviews is used, with additional information provided based on the author's own experience as a New York correspondent covering the U.S. presidential election in 2008.

The interviewees' individual opinions and views regarding news translation by the Japanese newspapers are presented in Chapter 7.

By combining the information provided by the interviewees, the news translation process on Election Day of the U.S. presidential election, specifically concerning the coverage of President Obama's victory speech, generally occurred as follows. First, the U.S.-based correspondents (hereafter referred to as journalators), watched the newly elected president's speech, either on the ground or via news reports broadcast live by the U.S. networks. Then, while recording the speech, the journalators began writing their articles in Japanese on their computers. When they reached a point where they wanted to insert a translation of Obama's words as a direct quotation, they either played back their recording of the speech to listen again or they made use of transcripts prepared by news assistants or external providers. If journalators felt unsure of their translation, they asked a native speaker of English (e.g., a local assistant or an intern) whether their understanding of the English original was correct. A definite answer was not always to be expected because none of the assistants were trained translators nor did they all speak Japanese. The articles containing translations of President Obama's words were created and transmitted electronically to Tokyo. In some cases, a senior writer or editor based in the United States may have provided initial editing before transmission.

At the international news desk in Tokyo on the other end of the process, the duty editor (i.e., the editor in charge of editing news articles for the day's morning or evening edition) at the international news desk or the editor in charge of North American news read and edited the article. Any issues noticed in the translation would be resolved by comparing the quotation with the original version in English obtained through international newswire services—such as the AP and Reuters—or with official transcripts, if already available. This check could also be performed by international news reporters in Tokyo working in shifts to support the editors. Any discrepancy found between the original speech and the direct quotation was first communicated to the author of the article (i.e., the journalator), who could verify the discrepancy and then make corrections personally as needed. As a general principle, any change to the content of a direct quotation must be agreed upon by the journalator before the actual modification can be made; however, if a deadline is approaching, the editor has some discretion to make the required modification first and then have it approved by the journalator. In the case of the 2012 U.S. presidential election, the editors had half a day to work on the articles—ample time to consult the journalators if needed (i.e., it can be assumed that the journalators had full responsibility over their translations).

Once satisfied with the content of the article, the editor clicked the "article release" button to send it to the terminals of the layout editors and/or copy editors who were in charge of layout and headlines. A digital copy was also transmitted to the fact checkers, who, depending on their English capability, verified the accuracy of the entire article, including the translations in the direct quotations. Once the article was laid out with headlines attached, proof prints were sent to those involved, including the author waiting in the United States, for a final check. With all parties satisfied, the article, along with all the other articles of the day, was put to print.

The above process has been confirmed by the interviewees of the present study, who had been working for their respective newspaper companies for a minimum of eighteen years each. What this shows is that, although there are some gatekeepers along the way (e.g., the editors, reporters at the international news desk, the fact checker, as well as the layout editors who have the descretionary power to shorten an article to fit the layout), the journalator who initially wrote the article has the opportunity to see and contest any changes. Therefore, at least in the case of Japanese newspapers, direct quotations can be treated as TTs in the same manner as, for example, literary translation, because in principle the authorship of the direct quotation (and its translation) remains with the journalator. With this understanding in mind, the following chapters will look at the coverage of the U.S. presidential election by the Japanese journalators in 2012.

Chapter 4
Risk Management in Translation

The overview of prior literature pertaining to news translation research outlined in Chapter 2 showed that there is a need for a new theoretical framework to analyze certain aspects of news translation practice. Chapter 2 also revealed that, because news translation research is still early in its development, applicable theoretical frameworks have not yet been well established. This chapter explains the reasons behind choosing risk management as the theoretical framework for analyzing news translation in the present study. First, prior research on risk in general, as well as risk management in Translation Studies, is outlined. This overview is followed by a detailed review of the extensive research in this field by Anthony Pym.

4.1   What is Risk in Translation?

Risk management is a well-known and widely discussed concept, especially in the world of business; however, its implications have not been fully applied to Translation Studies. Hui (2012, 2) offers the following observation:

> Although risk management is not a new concept, it is an uncharted area as applied to the translation process and translator training. The idea of risk (analysis and management) has been mentioned from time to time as advice to translators (Gile 1995/2009; Pym 2010; Akbari 2009), but has been defined and developed by only one or two researchers. Very little research regarding risk management in the translation process has been conducted and only a small sample of translated text has been studied.

More recently, additional research has emerged (e.g., Canfora and Ottmann 2019; Cornelius and Feinauer 2017), but none have yet succeeded in theorizing risk management in translation. Among scholars of Translation Studies, Anthony Pym is considered the foremost theorist applying the concepts of risk analysis and risk management to current translation practices.[1] Since the mid-2000s, Pym has regularly published articles explaining translator and interpreter behavior from the perspective of risk management. Therefore, it is both necessary and worthwhile to review Pym's concept of risk management and identify some of the key findings to use as guidelines in applying

risk management as a theoretical framework for analyzing news translation practices. Before examining Pym's concept of risk management in translation, however, it is helpful to understand the development of key theories and concepts surrounding risk, risk analysis, and risk management.

The study of risk has a long history. According to Bernstein (1998), the modern concept of risk has its roots in the Hindu-Arabic numbering system, which was introduced to the West in the eleventh century. Risk only became a subject of serious study during the Renaissance. Originating in an attempt to solve a famous intellectual puzzle[2]—how to divide the stakes of an unfinished game of chance—two mathematicians, Blaise Pascal and Pierre de Fermat, discovered the "theory of probability," which Bernstein (1998, 3) describes as "the mathematical heart of the concept of risk." The enthusiasm among the mathematicians over "forecast[ing] the future with the help of numbers" (ibid.) eventually led them to invent quantitative techniques to measure risk.

Later, in seventeenth century Europe, the insurance industry emerged, making full use of what mathematicians had discovered about probability through sampling and measuring averages during the Renaissance. Thanks to these prior findings, insurance agents were able to invent ways to make predictions based on observations of the past. Shipping trade was beginning to boom, and business owners used underwriters to mitigate their own risk of losing cargoes and ships. Gradually, underwriters expanded their coverage to "house-breaking, highway robbery, death by gin-drinking, the death of horses, and 'assurance of female chastity'" (Bernstein 1998, 90). Such businesses existed because early forms of statistics had been established by that time, which enabled risk to be calculated with sufficient accuracy. By the eighteenth century, the insurance industry had emerged in the American colonies as well. As America grew and became the center of the world's economy, research on risk began to flourish, mainly as part of economic theory. During the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, as the world economy expanded and risks diversified, serious research on how to manage risk began to take shape.

In 1921, three years after the end of World War I, American economist Frank H. Knight published his book *Risk, Uncertainty and Profit,* which Bernstein (1998, 219) describes as "the first work of any importance, and in any field of study, that deals explicitly with decision-making under conditions of uncertainty." Knight ([1921]2014, 20) distinguished "risk" from "uncertainty" by defining risk as "*measurable* uncertainty" and uncertainty as the "non-quantitive type." While many theories prior to his time assumed that the cyclical nature of history lent the future some level of certainty, Knight, who lived through World War I, was dubious of such assumptions. He claimed that

a "mathematical or *a priori*" type of probability is "practically never met with in business" (Knight [1921]2014, 215). He further argued that the "present and more important task is to follow out the consequences of that higher form of uncertainty not susceptible to measurement and hence to elimination" (ibid., 232). Around the same time, John Maynard Keynes published several books on probability that also stressed the fact that economic activities are more or less unpredictable and decisions must be made based on their uncertainty. While this book neither claims nor intends to provide new insight into mathematical theories of probability or its applications in economics, uncertainty is also a key concept in Translation Studies, as I will explain later in this chapter in relation to risk management in translation.

Thanks to the combined efforts of the aforementioned mathematicians and economists, those of us who live in the modern era have tools to aid our decision-making on a variety of levels, "from allocating wealth to safeguarding public health, from waging war to planning a family, from paying insurance premiums to wearing a seatbelt, from planting corn to marketing cornflakes" (Bernstein 1998, 2). According to Renn (2008, 50), the concept of risk became central in the twenty-first century, not only as a subject of research, but also in business and throughout society to address "natural hazards, technological threats, working conditions, ambient health impacts, crime, terrorism, and pollution to leisure activities."

As research on risk spread to multiple disciplines, the definition of risk diversified as well. Although its definition depends heavily on the context and which aspect of risk the researcher intends to explore, the perception of risk seems to fall into two camps: as having both positive and negative consequences, or as having only a negative side. Jaeger et al. (2001), authored by a group of economists and sociologists, is a typical representation of the former. Based on the understanding that the consequences of risk are "rarely neutral, but carry with them rewards or penalties," Jaeger et al. (2001, 17) defined risk as "a situation or event in which something of human value (including humans themselves) has been put at stake and where the outcome is uncertain."

On the other hand, many other researchers focus only on the negative aspects of risk. For example, in a book on issues of technological risk in society, Kates, Hohenemser, and Kasperson (1985, 5) explain risk as "measures of the likelihood that particular adverse consequences will follow a hazardous event." Sociologist Ulrich Beck, in his bestseller on risk in a globalized world, defines risk as "a systemic way of dealing with hazards and insecurities induced and introduced by modernization itself" (Beck 1992, 21). Regarding risk in politics, a more recent publication simply defines risk as "something negative," similar

to "danger" or "hazard" (Althaus 2008, 22). This last and simplest definition seems to be the one most commonly used in real-life situations today when people talk about certain decisions being "too risky."

When it comes to the term "risk management," however, which is said to have evolved from the term "insurance management" in the mid-1970s (Drapeau and Heil 2015), both types of risk seem to be presupposed. In one of the classic books on insurance theory, Magee (1940) names and describes two types of risk to explain risk management: speculative risk and pure risk. The former involves opportunities for both loss and gain, while the latter entails only loss or no loss. Magee (ibid.) outlines five basic methods of handling risk: (a) avoiding risk, (b) ignoring risk, (c) retaining risk, (d) preventing loss, and (e) transferring risk. These methods are still applied to risk management even today, although in slightly modified forms.

One of the first attempts to use this type of risk management to explain translator behavior can be seen in Gile ([1995]2009). He explains:

> After collecting as much information as possible, translators must decide what they will write. These decisions involve expected gain and possible loss. Gain can take the form of increased clarity, more readable and convincing texts, a lower probability of misrepresenting the author's ideas etc. Loss may involve loss of information, lessened credibility because of inappropriate terminology, lower cultural acceptability because the target text says something or says it in a way which is not acceptable to Target-Text readers, etc. (Gile [1995]2009, 108)

Along with Gile, some researchers, such as Akbari (2009), also take into account both the positive and negative aspects of risk. Akbari claims that risk management "can be defined as the process whereby role players in translation practice and industry systematically address the risks attached to their activities with the goal of achieving success within each activity and across the portfolio of all activities" (ibid., 511). As examples of such success, Akbari (ibid.) lists "self satisfaction, financial reward in forms of monthly salary, bonus or a raise in the salary, successful communication, avoidance of criticism, getting published, being well received by the society, etc." Gile's notion of "gain" and Akbari's concept of "success" are echoed by Pym in what he calls a "reward," which will be explained in detail later in this chapter and applied to cases of news translation in Chapter 7.

It is worth noting, however, that some research on risk management in translation focuses only on "pure risk" as defined by Magee (1940). Angelone (2010), for example, uses the phrase "uncertainty management." He explains

that it "occurs when translators experience uncertainty (a cognitive state of indecision) upon encountering translation problems" (ibid., 17). This problem-solving aspect of risk management has also been discussed extensively in the field of localization, mainly among project managers of localization projects. For example, Lammers (2011) categorizes various risks encountered in localization projects into four types: technical, external, organizational, and project management-related. He goes on to stress that, unless these risks are managed, "projects would fail as a matter of course" (ibid., 211). Although Lammers' analysis of the time-bound nature of risk identification in localization projects as well as his advice on risk prioritization offer meaningful insights, it is important to keep in mind that translation is only one part of project-based localization. A similar approach can be observed in Sere (2015) which specifically focuses on risk management of translation projects based on the *Guide to the Project Management Body of Knowledge*, a guidebook on project management standards of the Project Management Institute (PMI).

4.2   Pym's Concept of Risk Management

As seen in the previous section, research on translators' and interpreters' risk management is still in its early stage of development. Most of the works thus far have been either very recent or based on only a limited number of case studies. However, Anthony Pym has been working on the theorization of risk management within Translation Studies for over fifteen years by examining real-life examples. Therefore, the present study reviews Pym's concept of risk management in detail and then builds upon his findings and theorization efforts in order to explore the applicability of risk management as a theoretical framework for analyzing news translation practices more holistically.

Pym's first article headlining "risk" appeared in 2004. It was based on a speech he had given a year earlier at an international conference held at the University of Athens. According to the article, which was later rewritten and published, the idea of risk in translation emerged as "a model of how translators make decisions when translating" (Pym 2005b, 69). Pym's central idea was that "translators distribute their effort in terms of the risks involved in rendering different textual elements" (ibid.). This idea led him to explore ways of applying the methods of risk analysis used in neo-classical economics to the field of translation and to develop the concept of risk management with the expectation that it might grow into one of the key theories in Translation Studies.

4.2.1   Uncertainty and Translation

In one of his more recent articles on risk management, Pym (2015, 67) articulates the reason he has been devoting his efforts to the theorization of risk management in Translation Studies: "I propose that some of the theoretical tensions and occasional deadlocks can be resolved by drawing on the rich array of ideas offered by risk analysis, particularly when the translator's decision-making is seen in terms of risk management." He came to this realization after spending over a decade examining existing theories in Translation Studies.

In one of his key publications, *Exploring Translation Theories* (Pym 2014), Pym categorizes major translation theories under paradigms of equivalence (natural and directional), purposes, descriptions, uncertainty, localization, and cultural translation, reflecting the five-decade history of theorization efforts in Translation Studies. Pym introduces the paradigms in chronological order to signify that each prior paradigm was contested and supplanted, to some degree, by its successor.

The first paradigm, "equivalence," which Pym describes as a relation of "equal value" between a "start-text segment[3]" and a "target-text segment" (Pym 2014, 6), had been a key term in Translation Studies until the 1970s, primarily because this "assumed sameness" makes translation unique and "distinguishes translations from all other kinds of texts" (ibid., 7). According to Pym, the traditional view that the same value exists between the ST and TT (in terms of meaning, form, function, etc.) were once so dominant that, in its heyday, to talk about translation was "to consider different kinds of equivalence" (ibid.). However, in the 1980s, the limitations of equivalence in terms of scope and its impracticability became evident and thus subsequent paradigms began to emerge and gain traction. For example, the second paradigm, "purposes," consists of a set of theories proposing that a translation is designed to achieve a purpose—or *skopos* in Vermeer's (1989/2012) terms—and that the TT is not necessarily required to maintain a value equal to that of the ST, thus challenging the equivalence paradigm. The third paradigm, "descriptions," referring mainly to the field of Descriptive Translation Studies developed by Toury (1980, 1995), changed the whole dynamic of the debates surrounding equivalence by claiming that "equivalence was a feature of all translations, simply because the texts were thought to be translations, no matter what their linguistic or aesthetic quality" (Pym 2014, 63, original emphasis removed). This paradigm of descriptions renders discussion of the existence of equivalence virtually meaningless.

Tracing Pym's discussion of the history of theorization efforts in Translation Studies to date reveals that Pym has been searching for alternative ways to explain present-day translation practices that challenge the limitations of conventional translation theories. I argue that news translation is one such practice (various examples of non-equivalence, for example, are presented in Chapters 6 and 7). Tsuboi (2013) analyzed Pym's paradigms in her study of how media outlets translated various texts on the Bosnian War. Tsuboi concluded that Pym's six paradigms could be grouped into two key paradigms: equivalence and uncertainty. She stressed that the main theoretical discussions in Translation Studies from Pym's point of view can be found in the antinomy of these two paradigms (ibid., 59).

According to Pym (2014), the basic idea of uncertainty in translation is that "you can never be entirely sure of the meanings you translate, and yet you translate nevertheless" (ibid., 86). While both paradigms of purposes and descriptions retain the notion of equivalence in one way or another, "technological changes affecting the stability of start texts, and a general intellectual climate of skepticism," cast doubt on equivalence more fundamentally (ibid., 87). Against this backdrop, Pym (ibid.) explains that the uncertainty paradigm was derived from "epistemological skepticism" towards the preceding paradigms, and that it is focused on such concepts as the "indeterminacy" of translation. It is within the uncertainty paradigm that "risk analysis" appears under "non-linear logic," a subcategory of uncertainty. Based on Pym's description, non-linear logic is introduced as "ways of living with indeterminism" (ibid., 102) under which risk analysis is positioned. Pym offers the following description:

> Risk analysis: Pym (2005) presents a model where translators do not seek equivalence but instead manage the risk of their solutions failing to achieve basic aims (like getting paid). This is based on calculations of the *probability* of failure, rather than any certitude of match. (Pym 2014, 103)

Since Pym (2014) does not provide a thorough explanation of risk or risk analysis, it must be sought in his earlier work, such as Pym (2005),[4] which was cited in the above excerpt, and numerous other articles he has written on this topic. The following subsections introduce some of the key definitions and central ideas around Pym's concepts of risk, risk analysis, and risk management.

4.2.2   The Nature of Risk

Pym (2005b, 71) defines risk as "the possibility of not fulfilling the translation's purpose," which reflects his general view that risk in translation is mostly negative. He illustrates this definition with an example of translation of Pakistani birth certificates. Citing Mayoral (2003), Pym (2005b) explains that Pakistani birth certificates often have general nouns *Dai Bibi* [midwife] and *Chawkidar* [concierge] listed in places where the actual names of the midwife and reporting officer at the hospital should be written; however, when the birth certificates are translated, these common nouns are treated as proper nouns. Despite the fact that these fictitious individuals appear in many of the translated Pakistani birth certificates, Pym (2005b, 70) argues that it "puts nothing at risk," whereas any mistake in the name of the person certified or the date of birth can be detrimental (i.e., high-risk). Pym (ibid., 69) explains that, in the case of translating common nouns as proper nouns for the midwife and the reporting officer, the translation's purpose is nevertheless fulfilled because the mistranslation "would tend not to stop the text from working as a successful target-language text." In the case of news translation, this can be seen in situations where proper nouns that are unfamiliar or less relevant to the intended readers are omitted or substituted (see Chapter 6 for examples).

   Building on this and other earlier findings, Pym (2015) introduces three types of risks that can be applied to risk analysis in translation: communicative risk, credibility risk, and uncertainty risk.[5] The example of birth certificates above is one example of communicative risk. According to Pym (ibid., 67), communicative risk deals with the way texts are interpreted and used in contexts, where the level of risk for each element is dependent upon whether they are key to communicative success (high risk) or not (low risk). Pym (ibid.) also explains that communicative risk "allows for a rationalist model of translators' decisions and effort distributions, positing that high effort should be invested in text items with high communicative risk." In news translation, journalators seem to pay the most attention to the communicative risk of "reader incomprehension," as seen in the reflections by those interviewed for the present study (see Chapter 7).

   The second type of risk—credibility risk—is defined in Pym (2015, 67) as the probability of the translator "losing a translation-specific kind of credibility." Although coined relatively recently, credibility risk appears repeatedly in his writings on risk in translation. For instance, Pym (2014) mentions risk as failing to achieve the fundamental objective of the translation. Pym (2005b, 78) explains that "one of the implicit purposes of all translations is to create trust in the figure of the translator." Therefore, a translator mistrusted by the

client or the communication participants faces immediate risks, such as "not getting paid" or "losing the client" (Pym 2005a, 34). Pym (2015, 69) takes it even further, stating that, "Risk, in translation, is first and foremost risk of losing credibility." He further cautions that, "when you perform a high-risk action, you could lose your money, your clients, your job, or all those things at once" (ibid.). Journalators also seem to be keenly aware of this risk since they are in direct contact with powerful newsmakers on a regular basis, and losing their trust can have a major impact on their work (e.g., limited access to information) and their life (like the Sankei journalator who was prosecuted in South Korea for defaming then-President of South Korea. See 3.2.1.5 for details).

The third type of risk—uncertainty risk—is defined in Pym (2015, 67) as one that "ensues from the translator's uncertainty when making decisions about how to render an item." It is thus "*internal* to the translator's decision-making processes" (ibid., 71). However, Pym (ibid.) suggests that this type of risk, which is a "correlative of text difficulty," is already implied in discussions of risk in translation and can be reasonably ignored because "without uncertainty, there is no risk." In keeping with this logic, only communicative risk and credibility risk will be taken into consideration in the present study. A table of risks analyzed in the present study is provided in Chapter 5.

4.2.3   Effort and Risk

Pym (2015, 71) argues that some elements of communicative risk are high risk while others are low risk and that "most other cases lie at various points in between." As seen in the example of the Pakistani birth certificate, this type of risk differs within a text. According to Pym, in order to make decisions, the translator first determines the risks by analyzing the purpose of the translation, and then distributes more effort towards high-risk elements rather than low-risk ones. This way of thinking is influenced by Levý's "minimax strategy" (Levý [1967]2000), which was introduced by Levý as an application of game theory to the translator's decision-making process (Pym 2014, 102). Levý ([1967]2000, 156) claimed that translators make pragmatic decisions by opting for a solution that promises "a maximum of effect with a minimum of effort." Pym (2005b, 73) sums up this idea in the following way: "Problems are high-risk or low-risk; solutions can be high-risk or low-risk; strategies are different ways of expending effort to manage risk; and the translator's efforts should ideally correlate with degrees of risk." It is important to note that, when analyzing the relationship between risk and effort in the context of risk management, its central focus is not on the "cognitive" effort as is the case in Gile's ([1995]2009) "Effort Models."

4.2.4   Ethics and Risk

The issue of ethics in translation is another area of focus for Pym, as seen in his book, *On Translator Ethics* (Pym 2012). In a number of articles, Pym explains the relationship between risk and ethics in translation. For example, Pym (2008a, 90) asserts that, in the ethics of cross-cultural communication, the goal is to achieve cooperation. Therefore, the mutual benefits that can be obtained through the communicative act need to be greater than the collective effort exerted. In such situations, the participants of the communication will cooperate, and through their cooperation, misunderstandings can be avoided. Within this framework, he sees translation as a "relatively high-effort mode of cross-cultural communication, ideally restricted to high-reward communication acts" (ibid.). Relating this to risk, Pym posits that translators should be able to distribute their efforts according to risks, which involve "the probability of non-cooperation" (ibid.). Taking the example of Gile's (1999) interpreting experiment using a video recording of a press conference given by the CEO of Kodak (an experimental example of news translation), Pym (2008a, 92) elaborates:

> [T]he communication act would fail if industrial secrets were revealed, if the information about trends was old, boring, unlikely or false, if the interviewer were left with nothing to report, if the information were too technical to be understood by a general audience, or if the interviewee were to appear in a negative light.

Based on the relationship between risk and ethics as described above, it is not only rational but also ethical to "work hardest on problems involving the highest risk" (ibid, 90).

4.2.5   Translation Strategies as Risk Management

Pym's definitions of risk and risk analysis were examined in the previous subsections, but his concept of risk management is most effectively explained through the analysis of actual cases. Pym (2016) provides an extreme but thought-provoking example of a military encounter in Afghanistan. Using this example, he explains that the interpreter's failure to render significant material can be considered "rational" from a risk-management perspective. It is worth reviewing this example in detail for the present study, not only

because it illustrates Pym's understanding of the concept of risk management but also because it is related to news translation.

The example Pym presents is a story about a local interpreter who was hired by U.S. military forces in Afghanistan. During one patrol, the interpreter was told to interpret something a village elder had said; however, instead of giving a full version of the elder's monologue, which included a parable, the interpreter decided to omit a significant portion. An eight-minute video of this interaction was posted on *The Guardian*'s website as part of a news series by photojournalist and filmmaker John D McHugh, who was embedded with U.S. troops in Afghanistan in 2008 and 2009.[6] Pym's own description of the event is given below in order to avoid misunderstanding of how he interpreted what took place in the video:

> The U.S. base has been receiving bombs from the vicinity of the village; the patrol has come to the village to find out where the bombs are coming from. When they arrive, no one is around – no one to speak with. Eventually a village elder comes along, and an enraged U.S. sergeant asks him about the Taliban (the ACM – Anti Coalition Militia) and the bombs. The old man replies in Pashto at length, telling a parable about ants eating some of the village's wheat, which I think basically means that the village does not like the Taliban but they have to live with them. The interpreter, however, does not render the parable at all, and instead tells the sergeant that the Taliban are somewhere "behind the mountain." This is the apparently scandalous part: a complex narrative is simply omitted, as the interpreter replaces it with words of his own invention. Later the interpreter gives the sergeant further insight into the interaction: "I hate these people, sir! When I ask him something else, they give me wrong answer." The report closes with the sergeant accusing the village elder of being "full of shit," and he, the sergeant, wanting to "clean the town out." (Pym 2016, 250–51)

Although it is easy to accuse the interpreter of being unprofessional or unethical by omitting the parable, of much more interest to Pym is why the omission occurred, and he attempts to explain it using the concept of risk management. According to Pym (2016, 254), the higher risk for the interpreter was "to lose the trust of the US, to lose his source of income and chances of future mobility" and the lower risk was "the possible loss of trust" from the villagers who seemed to belong to a different ethnic group than he.[7] He corroborates his argument by describing that the villagers have (a) no alternative interpreter to turn to, (b) no way of verifying what the interpreter

says in English, and (c) very probably no relation with the interpreter after the U.S. troops withdraw. Pym (2016, 254) therefore concludes:

> In this situation, the interpreter's rational course of action is to do every-thing possible to maintain the trust of the US. Hence, logically, his decision to omit the parable (which does not serve him at all, and is likely to confuse the issue), to invent a piece of ostensibly useful information (the Taliban are "over that hill"), and to stress to his employer that he has nothing at all to do with the people in the village ("I hate these people, sir!").

One may argue that there could be other possible reasons for omitting the parable, such as the interpreter not having understood its meaning because of a lack of background knowledge or fluency in the elder's dialect. However, the validity of Pym's (2016) observation is not of primary importance here. The purpose of sharing this example is to understand Pym's (2016) application of the concept of risk management when analyzing actual cases.

As seen, Pym (2005b) views translation strategies as ways of managing risk, unlike the traditional claims that strategies are different ways of achieving equivalence. In his words, translation strategies are "used to reduce or maintain levels of risk" (ibid., 73). Although strategies do not inherently carry a specific level of risk (for example, it cannot be said that the use of omission is always a low-risk or high-risk strategy), they invite "low-risk or high-risk consequences" (ibid.) depending on the context.

The Afghani interpreter opted for omission, which, in Pym's view, was a low-risk strategy at that particular moment in that particular context; however, he could not foresee the high-risk consequence awaiting him because of his decision. He was not aware that the film crew would have the footage of the dialogue in Pashto checked and subtitled before posting it on *The Guardian*'s website (and other sites such as YouTube). Obviously, the interpreter did not expect this, but it is not difficult to assume that his risk management might have had negative consequences (e.g., loss of job, ostracization, or even death). As Pym (2005b, 81) explains, if and when translators "misjudge the risks and give real offence, real damage can result."

It is worth noting at this point that Pym assumes both credibility risk (in the case of the Afghani interpreter) and communicative risk (in the case of the Pakistani birth certificate) are being managed by the interpreter or translator's selection of translation strategies. Although the nature of risk differs between the two, there is little value in differentiating the two risks if the present study were to analyze journalators' risk management through the use of their translation strategies. In order to avoid confusion, both credibility

risk and communicative risk will be combined and re-categorized for the present study.

4.3   Particular Risks in News Translation

Interpreting in a warzone in Afghanistan is an extreme example, but the unique characteristics of news translation pose many challenges and risks that can be extreme in their own way. One such characteristic is the restricted environment in which news translation takes place. Journalists today, more than ever, are constantly pressed for time. The internet allows news to be distributed anytime, anywhere, which shrinks the window for news production, let alone translation. Even print media, which used to enjoy longer deadlines than television or radio, is pressured to post news texts and videos online as soon as a major news story breaks. Some say that news translation has reached the point of near-instantaneity, moving it closer to interpreting even in the case of written translation (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009). Added to this is the fact that print media is still obviously restricted by space limitations.

Another unique feature of news translation is that news reports are produced for public (and often mass) consumption. This means that even if the subscriber (i.e., the client) is satisfied with the product (including its translated parts), anyone who has access to the material can publicly criticize the media institution or the individual responsible for the translation. In cases where political leaders or high-profile individuals are the ones making the claim, the consequences can be detrimental. One need not be reminded of governments that take legal actions against journalists on defamation or libel charges, some of which regard news articles by correspondents written in foreign languages.[8]

The combination of high political and social pressure with the strictly time-bound nature of news translation becomes a significant obstacle when trying to manage risks. As Lammers (2011, 220) points out regarding risk management in localization, in cases where meeting the deadline is paramount, there is no time for planning risk management strategies or even identifying possible risks in advance. This means that the risk management strategies taken by news organizations are often ad-hoc and individual in the sense that they can differ from translator to translator.

The warzone example described above features risks faced by an interpreter who inadvertently ended up in the media spotlight. However, news translation involves wide-ranging translational activities by various players other than

professional interpreters or translators. For example, observations of news translation practices around the world have revealed that news translations are mostly performed by journalists (i.e., journalators) with little or no training in translation and interpreting (Bielsa 2007; Bielsa and Bassnett 2009; Davier 2017).

In 2014, correspondents from Benin, Egypt, France, the Netherlands, Pakistan, Russia, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates, and the United States responded to an online survey sent to the United Nations Correspondents Association (UNCA) and The Foreign Correspondents' Club of Japan (FCCJ) for the present study confirming that their organizations have no professional translators or interpreters supporting their daily news coverage.[9] This indicates that the correspondents themselves are performing translation activities when necessary as part of their news reporting. In addition, none of the respondents said that their respective organizations have any guidelines or provide any training on news translation.

This result matches the reality in the Japanese media as well. According to interviews conducted with experienced international news reporters from each of the six companies examined in the present study, none of these six companies have guidelines or provide training on news translation. The interviewees, all of whom were dispatched overseas for periods ranging from three to eleven years at the time of the interview, also confirmed that they had not undergone any kind of translator or interpreter training, although all of them were engaged in news translation on a daily basis. This poses not only practical questions regarding qualification and competency, but also ethical questions when considering the fact that professional development (i.e., maintenance and improvement of skills through learning and training) is required in most codes of ethics in the interpreting and translation industry.[10]

Unlike professional translators and interpreters who are more aware of the possible difficulties and ethical issues that can arise from translating news, journalators are usually not that conscious of such issues. Moreover, they tend not to acknowledge the fact that what they are performing as part of their work as a journalist is actually translation or interpreting (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009, 81). This poses unique challenges for the practice of news translation, in addition to its already "risky" nature, as seen in the warzone example.

Although journalators certainly have limitations, the environment in which they work calls for immediate and constant translatorial decision-making, regardless of capability or readiness. The results of their decisions are reflected in the various forms of the news reports they produce which

are then made available to the public. With the intention of identifying whether journalators are actually managing their risks while translating, the present study combines text analysis (a product-oriented approach) with journalator interviews (a process-oriented approach). The specific method for analysis is outlined in Chapter 5, followed by the case study of the U.S. presidential election as covered by the six Japanese newspapers in Chapter 6.

Chapter 5
Analyzing the Effect of Risks on Translation

This chapter explains the method employed in the present study to analyze news translation practices using risk management as a theoretical framework. The objective of applying this method is to provide a logical and realistic explanation for news translation phenomena that conventional theories have thus far failed to explain fully. This method for analysis was designed for the main case study presented in Chapter 6: President Obama's victory speech and inaugural address following the 2012 U.S. presidential election, as covered by the six major newspapers in Japan. The rationale for the establishment of this analytical method and its role in the mixed methodology adopted by the present study are detailed in this chapter. Although guided by Pym's concept of risk management, his proposed risk categorization has been tailored to the present study focusing on news translation.

This chapter opens by outlining the various methodologies applied in news translation research thus far, taking examples from the special issue of *Across Languages and Cultures* dedicated to this topic (Davier, Schäffner, and Van Doorslaer 2018), after which the methodology used in the present study is outlined. It then provides a brief introduction regarding risk analysis in general, followed by an explanation of why and how I designed the method of risk analysis specific to the present study. Lastly, each of the four steps of this analysis is explained in detail.

5.1   Methodologies in News Translation Research

In the background paper of the above-mentioned special issue, Davier, Schäffner, and Van Doorslaer (2018) first acknowledge the contribution Valdeón (2015b) has made by effectively summarizing the evolution of what he calls "journalistic translation research," or JTR. However, this background paper also emphasizes that questions concerning methodology have not been fully discussed in the fifteen years covered in this article and argues that active scholarly inquiry in the field of news translation in the years following the publication of Valdeón (2015b) has brought us to a point where attention has shifted primarily to methodological issues (Davier, Schäffner, and Van Doorslaer 2018, 156).

While it is generally understood that there is no established methodology unique to news translation research, many attempts have been made in the past several years to move beyond mere text analysis, often by way of combining multiple methods (Davier, Schäffner, and Van Doorslaer 2018). Since research in this field so far has been predominantly product-oriented (mainly consisting of text, discourse, or corpus analysis), the need for triangulation of textual and participant data is increasingly being emphasized (ibid.) and process-oriented approaches developed at the intersection of text production analysis, media linguistics, and translation process research are emerging (see Haapanen and Perrin 2019 among others). Before I explain the details of and the rationale behind the selection of my own methodology focusing on the analytical method, giving a brief overview of the various methodologies presented and proposed in this special issue may be useful.

As the overview article (Davier, Schäffner, and Van Doorslaer 2018) explains, most of the six contributing articles in the special issue are revised versions of presentations made at the European Society for Translation Studies' Ninth Congress held in Aarhus, Denmark, in 2016, which focused on interdisciplinarity and methods in news translation research.

My own contribution, Matsushita and Schäffner (2018), highlights the need for multilingual collaboration to broaden the understanding of different news translation practices. The study compared the news coverages of Japanese Prime Minister Abe's statement commemorating the seventieth anniversary of Japan's surrender ending World War II by English language newspapers (British and American) and the German press in order to identify differences in their translingual quoting practices. Although the "multilingual corpora" (Baker 1995) created were relatively small (a total of twenty-six articles), the findings were corroborated with email responses from some of the journalators and thereby succeeded in uncovering different news translation practices, including the use of official English translation provided by the Japanese government as an interim text.

Other entries such as Manfredi (2018) also combined text analysis with email and phone interviews with the translators working for an Italian magazine and an Italian news website that she analyzed. She adopted Appraisal Theory (Martin and White 2005), a tool of Systemic Functional Linguistics, as a theoretical framework in analyzing translation strategies chosen by the translators and observed evaluative shifts. Also using interviews and field observation, Van Rooyen (2018) proposed a "mixed methods research design" that combines quantitative (data collection using a questionnaire) and qualitative (ethnographic fieldwork) approaches in her article mapping the news translation flow within multilingual community radio stations in South Africa.

Davier and Van Doorslaer (2018) strongly advocate such combined approaches, using a case study from Davier (2017) to support their claim. Davier (ibid.) triangulates textual analysis of news reports in three languages with interviews of the translators working for two newswire services and non-participant observation in their newsrooms. Their call for triangulation has been answered by the present study although I contest their statement that the status of a "unique source text has collapsed" (Davier and Van Doorslaer 2018, 242) in news translation because, in cases such as the U.S. president's victory and inauguration speeches that the present study analyzes, the status of the source text remains intact. Their observation that "even situations of identifiable source text-target text relationships do not nessarily provide parallel corpora for the researcher" (ibid., 244) surely applies to many cases, though not to the present study, which deals only with direct quotations from specific, one-time speeches that were only given in English (unlike statements by political leaders of non-English speaking countries who might give different language versions as seen in Holland 2006) and observed via live TV broadcast.

Two of the entries highlighted the usefulness of corpus-based research in news translation. One is a case study on financial news reporting in Canada using a "bilingual comparable (i.e., non-parallel) journalistic corpus" (Gagnon, Boulanger, and Kalantari 2018, 221) comprising nine million words of text selected from the French and English newspapers in Canada. Caimotto and Gaspari (2018) stressed the potential benefit that the combination of Corpus Linguistics (CL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) can bring to news translation research.

Along with the above-mentioned articles included in the special issue, other possible methodologies, including process-oriented approaches (e.g., progression analysis), historiography, and reception studies, as well as research methods such as ethnographic workplace analysis, eye tracking, screen recording, and keystroke logging, were also suggested (Davier, Schäffner, and Van Doorslaer 2018).

One of the important points raised in the special issue was the value of triangulation of methods, particularly by combining product-oriented (e.g., text analysis) and participant- and context-oriented (e.g., interviews or observation) approaches (Davier, Schäffner, and Van Doorslaer 2018, 160). The methodology for the present study matches their definition of triangulation because it combines comparative text analysis of the translingual quotations by six Japanese newspapers with interviews of journalators from all the newspapers analyzed, corroborated by the authors' fourteen years of newsroom experience including four as a journalator. Although the experience was not

based on a specific research question, it can nevertheless be considered a form of participatory observation in a broad sense. However, in order to analyze the outcomes generated by the above-mentioned methods and to examine the decision-making process by the Japanese newspapers, an analytical tool based on an appropriate and applicable theoretical framework was needed. Risk analysis was chosen for this purpose.

5.2   Risk Analysis

In modern society, risk analysis has become a common tool for decision-making, not just in the corporate world but also among governments and individuals. Although there is no single method of analysis, previous research shows that it generally consists of measuring two factors of risk: probability (the likelihood that the risk in question becomes a reality) and impact (the severity of the outcome once that risk becomes a reality). By presenting probability as one axis of a matrix and impact as the other, as shown in Figure 1, the area that must be prioritized when managing risk (i.e., the box where high probability and high impact intersect) systematically appears.
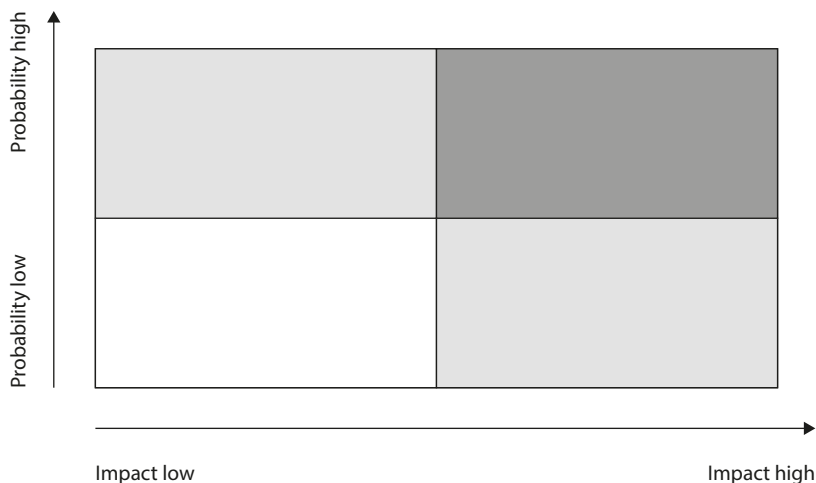

Figure 1.   Risk probability and impact matrix (based on Lammers 2011, 221).

This matrix alone, however, is insufficient for analyzing the risks in news translation because the multiple players and processes involved in news translation result in multifaceted risks that depend heavily on context. Even

before encountering any text-specific risks, journalators are faced with what I categorize as *source-oriented risks* (e.g., distrust by the speaker, loss of job), *target-oriented risks* (e.g., complaints from readers, decrease in subscriptions), and *general risks* (e.g., criticism from the public, loss of influence). In order to determine the appropriate method of analysis for the present study, which deals with this complex set of risks, the two examples of risk provided by Pym and presented in the previous chapter—the Pakistani birth certificates and the case of the Afghani interpreter—are further reviewed below.

5.2.1   Designing the Method

The example of the Pakistani birth certificates presented in Chapter 4 signifies that, when the purpose of the translation (or that of a communication in a broader sense) is clear, the potential communicative risk also becomes self-evident. As Pym (2005b, 70) describes, the purpose of translating a birth certificate is to recreate an official document in another language that is comprehensible and accepted by the receiving authority for its intended usage. Accuracy is only important if the information in question matters to the receiving side or appears to be fraudulent, leading to loss of credibility. In the case of the translation of Pakistani birth certificates from Urdu into Spanish as explained in the example, it is safe to assume that the Spanish authorities do not need the real name of the reporting officer or the midwife for any official business. Therefore, these pieces of information need not be accurate so long as they make sense (as long as they look like names of individuals). In this case, not translating *Dai Bibi* as "midwife" but instead making it look like a proper noun in the target language (i.e., a form of non-translation) "puts nothing at risk" (ibid.). This translation practice can be considered rational under Pym's concept of risk management, no matter how "unethical or non-standard" (Pym 2016, 247) it may seem.

Applying this idea to the case of news translation, the purpose of the news reporting must initially be clarified. Although it varies to a certain degree depending on the country and type of media, some basic purposes seem to be universal. First, news reports need to deliver something newsworthy. Although newsworthiness is largely subjective, some characteristics such as unexpectedness and meaningfulness of the news event are universal (Galtung and Ruge 1965). Second, news reports must be comprehensible to the consumers of the news. As Vermeer ([1989]2012, 196) suggests, "newspaper reports and their translations also have a purpose: to inform the recipient,

at least; the translation thus has to be comprehensible, in the right sense, to the expected readership."

This purpose seems to be widely acknowledged by Japanese newspapers. For example, the *Asahi Shimbun* clearly states on the first page of their reporter's handbook that articles need to be streamlined, concise, and easy to understand.[1] Although it is not a written rule, *Asahi* reporters are instructed to write articles that are readable and comprehensible for readers ranging from junior high school students to the elderly. This means that difficult or archaic words, neologisms, and culture- or generation-specific expressions need to be avoided. Third, news reporting must be timely. In the internet age, even newspapers are expected to post news alerts on their websites in a matter of minutes or even seconds when a major news story breaks. Therefore, the timeliness of news delivery is becoming more and more important in the news industry. With these basic purposes of news reporting identified, communicative risks in news translation can be assessed.

The example of the Afghani interpreter introduced in the previous chapter (Pym 2016) initially may not seem relevant to the present discussion because it occurred under such unique and extreme conditions. The risks the interpreter faces, such as losing his present employment or future mobility, do not reflect the reality of the Japanese journalators that are the focus of this book; however, they do share the credibility risk of losing their clients' trust (in the interpreter's case, the U.S. military). Even so, since the journalators who translated the TTs in this case study are full-time staff writers,[2] and they are paid on a monthly basis by their respective organizations for all of their journalistic work combined (i.e., not just for translation), the stakes are considerably higher for the Afghani interpreter who obviously does not enjoy the same status as the Japanesse journalators.

One important finding from the example above, however, is the fact that both spatial and temporal elements (i.e., proximity and immediacy of the risks involved) need to be considered. Translation and interpreting happen in a connected world where the impact of distance and time are non-negligible (Cronin 2003, Orengo 2005). By simply imagining that the Afghani interpreter was not on the ground with the U.S. troops but was instead providing his interpreting service from a remote location such as from an office in Dubai, his risk analysis and possible risk management would likely change quite significantly. As another hypothetical example, if the interpreter had been assigned a long-term book project and was told to translate accounts collected from the villagers in the area, he would likely translate the parable, provided that the village elder's narrative was comprehensible to him. Therefore, in addition to the two basic measurements

of risk, i.e., probability and impact, the proximity and immediacy of the risks involved are also considered when conducting risk analysis for the present study.[3]

5.2.2 Categorizing the Risks

So far, the present study has reviewed and examined Pym's concept of risk management in translation in order to identify the nature of the risks involved and how it might be relevant to the analysis of news translation practices. Based on the findings in Chapter 4 and the above subsections in this chapter, the following categorization emerged as representative of the risks specific to the present study.

First, both communicative risk and credibility risk are likely to impact journalators' decision-making, as seen in the two examples presented by Pym: the Pakistani birth certificate and the Afghani interpreter. It is not clear, however, which of the two risks has an overriding impact on the decision-making process. In other words, it is not known what happens when communicative risk calls for a decision that contradicts one that is needed to manage credibility risk. Therefore, the present study will not try to assign one or the other for each example analyzed, but will draw on each category as needed.

Second, risks can be divided in accordance with the parties involved in news translation. In the present study, three categories of risk have been discussed in this sense: source-oriented, target-oriented, and general risk. Since general risks are hard to avoid by the selection of translation strategies alone, they are ignored, leaving the first two as the main focus of attention. In summary, the risks involved in news translation analyzed in this book can be categorized as shown in Table 1.

Table 1.   Risks in news translation

	Source-oriented	Target-oriented
Credibility	losing trust of the speaker/client/employer	losing trust of the users (journalists, readers, etc.)
Communicative	mistranslating the message of the speaker	causing misunderstanding among the users

5.2.3   A Model for the Analysis of Risk in News Translation

5.2.3.1   Step One: Selecting the Target

As mentioned earlier, the present study focuses only on direct quotations as targets of analysis. Some of the advantages of this approach have already been highlighted, but it is worth revisiting the reasoning behind this choice of target before presenting the results of the actual analysis.

As already indicated, many prior studies have struggled to analyze news translation within the established frameworks of Translation Studies because of the complexity and multifaceted nature of international news production. This challenge is best described in Bielsa and Bassnett (2009, 16):

> What the study of news translation adds to the debate is in endeavouring to define quite what an original text might be. An original may be thousands of words of text that have to be cut down to a minimum, or it may be a string of loosely connected interviews and versions that have been derived from different sources, and those sources may well have originated in entirely different linguistic and cultural contexts. There is no clear sense of what an original is when we are looking at news translation, and in such circumstances the old idea of translation being an act that takes place across a binary line between source and target can no longer be upheld.

This issue of identifying "the original" from the complex practice of journalism can be largely overcome by focusing on direct quotations. As explained in earlier chapters, direct quotation, at least in the case of Japanese newspapers, enables the clearest ST-TT comparison. First of all, video and audio recordings as well as official transcripts are often made available in the case of public speech events by world leaders, enabling both journalators and researchers to access authentic materials. There are exceptions such as the case Holland (2006) observed where then-Indonesian President, Bacharuddin Jusuf Habibie, made the same statement twice—once in his native Indonesian and the second time in English. The statement was regarding the country's decision to allow the deployment of a U.N. peacekeeping operation, but the two versions were noticeably different in terms of both content and wording. In this case, the ST-TT relationship becomes unidentifiable, especially regarding news articles in languages other than Indonesian, because they could be based on either of the two versions or even both (ibid.). However, in televised, one-off speeches by the U.S. president, which are known to be

given only in English, the ST can be considered "stable" (Hernández Guerrero 2009, 2010; Valdeón 2015a).

On the target side, direct quotations from President Obama's speeches that appeared in the Japanese newspapers can be considered the corresponding TTs for the following reasons. First, direct quotations in general are presented as faithful reproductions of what the speaker actually said (Associated Press 2019, New York Times Company 2008, Reuters 2017). Although the actual translingual quoting practice differs depending on the particular conventions of a given culture or institution, journalists working for mainstream media generally believe that translation of quotes has to be literal or word-for-word (Davier and Van Doorslaer 2018, 251). Based on data collected for Davier (2017), Davier and Van Doorslaer (ibid.) revealed that nine out of ten translingual quotations in French, German, and English "showed extreme lexical similarities, with a few changes to make them nearly grammatically acceptable."

The "transediting" process, described by Stetting (1989) to include omitting, adding, rearranging, and summarizing information, is generally expected to happen outside of the quotation marks or "the rest of the story" to which they apply a "completely different professional attitude" (Davier and Van Doorslaer 2018, 252). Although the level of manipulations that happen within the quotations marks seems to vary by region, individual, and institution (Haapanen 2017), Japanese journalators treat the text within quotation marks with a similar attitude to that described above by Davier and Van Doorslaer (2018). Interviews with Japanese newspaper reporters suggested that direct quotations undergo only minimal editing (such as fixing grammatical mistakes) if needed and authorship basically remains in the hands of the initial writer. Although some level of manipulation could still happen even within the quotation marks, this approach of analyzing direct quotations exclusively (i.e., only the parts enclosed in quotation marks and not the news article as a whole) eliminates many of the obstacles that hampered prior research. The stability and traceability of the ST and TTs established in the present study effectively address conceptual challenges initially raised by Orengo (2005) and reiterated by others as seen in this subsection.

The direct quotations in the present study were extracted using the presence of quotation marks as identifiers, following the precedent set by Satoh (2001), who illustrated how to identify direct quotations in the Japanese media as presented in Chapter 2. However, quotations that could not be traced back to President Obama's original speeches were not included because their ST-TT relationship could not be confirmed. In addition, quotations in headlines, which Satoh calls "elliptical and ambiguous in terms of the voice" (ibid., 172), were excluded. This left for analysis only the quotations embedded in

the articles. Furthermore, quotations in opinion pieces, commentaries, and editorials were considered beyond the scope of the present study. Unlike straight news (i.e., factual reporting of an event as it unfolds), writers of these "overtly argumentative and subjective text types" (Thomson, White, and Kitley 2010, 70) tend to build their cases based on what has already been reported—rather than referencing primary information—at least in the case of Japanese newspapers. This tendency was clearly visible in my initial observation when I checked all the articles with direct quotations from the six newspapers, regardless of their genre. Even when direct quotations were used in the editorial, for example, they were often paraphrased versions of those already reported in previous reports. This is based on the Japanese convention that editorial writers, consisting mostly of veteran reporters, do not go out and report on a regular basis, but rather, aggregate information from multiple news sourses to build their case.

One-word quotations such as "scare quotes"[4] and other short phrases with quotation marks signifying "so-called" (Bell 1991, 208)[5] were also left out because these special usages of quotation marks do not always specify that the words were actually uttered by the speaker. Moreover, due to limited information, some quotations of this type were difficult to identify as translations of the speeches used in the present study because President Obama had delivered many other speeches that could have included the exact same word or phrase. Given these considerations, the target of analysis for the present study was pared down to forty-five articles containing 150 TTs. These are presented and discussed in detail in Chapters 6 and 7.

I acknowledge that such narrow scope that the present study has intentionally chosen (i.e., to focus only on public speeches rendered and broadcast live and their contents presented within quotation marks as direct quotations in newspaper articles) can be considered a limitation, including the possibility that its key findings might only be applicable to particular aspects of news translation. Nevertheless, I have decided to take this approach so that the role of translation in the complex process of international news reporting can be extracted in its purest form so that theories, concepts, and methodologies within Translation Studies can be effectively used in the analysis. The detailed analysis presented in Chapter 6 should provide enough evidence of its validity.

5.2.3.2   Step Two: Identifying the Translation Strategies

Since the objective is to provide a reasonable explanation of the news translation process through a risk management framework, and not to invent an effective way for journalators to manage risk, an inductive, rather than

deductive, approach is applied. According to Pym (2005b, 73), translation strategies can be "used to reduce or maintain levels of risk." Using this as a guideline, the present study first identifies the translation strategies used by practicing journalators and then analyzes those strategies to examine what risks (including both communicative and credibility risks in Pym's terms) may have influenced the journalator's decision to choose those strategies. This process should make clear the extent to which news translation practices can or cannot be explained by the concept of risk management.

The present study focuses on the use of three translation strategies: omission, addition, and substitution. According to findings from prior research (Bani 2006; Hursti 2001; Kang 2007; Stetting 1989; Vuorinen 1999), these three strategies are the common denominators in news translation practice. Also, given that the main objective of identifying translation strategies in the present study is to explore the relationship between risk and the selection of translation strategies, the list does not need to be exhaustive.

The method used in this case study to categorize TTs by translation strategy was based on Barik's (1971) categorization method, which he calls a "coding scheme." Barik (1971) examined simultaneous interpretations by interpreters with different levels of experience (i.e., professional interpreters, student interpreters, and amateurs), and he classified the observed translation shifts or "departures of the translation from the original" (ibid., 202) into three categories: omission, addition, and substitution.[6] Although Barik himself did not categorize them as strategies (i.e., his focus was on the shifts in terms of product not process), the present study found his method of categorization to be the most appropriate for its intended purpose for three reasons.

First, news translation is time-bound and takes place as part of "near-instantaneous information flows" (Cronin 2005, 111) in international news production. Even though a journalator is likely to have more time to translate when compared to a simultaneous interpreter (i.e., minutes vs seconds), they both work in "real time" (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009, 16) making news translation "more similar to interpreting than to translation" (ibid.). Therefore, Barik's categorization for interpreting can be considered highly relevant.

Second, the three categories listed by Barik (1971) are not only common in news translation but also conceptually broad enough to cover the main strategies identified by prior research on news translation. For example, explicitation, which is mentioned by various researchers as one of the commonly used news translation strategies (Baker 2006; Bielsa and Bassnett 2009; Gumul 2010; Jiménez-Crespo 2012), can be categorized as "elaboration addition" which is "addition in the form of an elaboration or other straight addition to the text" (Barik 1971, 202). "Paraphrasing" (Schäffner 2008, 13) can

be included in substitution as either "mild phrasing change" or "substantial phrasing change" (Barik 1971, 205) depending on the degree of manipulation.

Third, Barik's categorization is also suited to the targets of the present study, namely direct quotations embedded in news articles, because Barik's method is primarily concerned with "changes in meaning" (Barik 1971, 209) rather than shifts in form. In other words, Barik's method is focused on changes from the original "which to some degree affect the meaning of what is said" (ibid., 202). Barik's focus on meaning change echoes the purpose of the present study since the key function of a direct quotation is to convey the message of the speaker without altering its meaning in any way, as previously discussed.

For the above reasons, I consider Barik's (1971) method of categorization to be appropriate for the purpose of the present study. However, it needs to be noted that Barik's categorization of substitution includes "errors" as well. According to Barik (ibid., 204), substitutions can be considered errors depending on the level of manipulation. He explains: "Whereas some substitutions hardly affect the meaning of what is being said, others alter it considerably and represent more serious errors of translation" (ibid., original emphasis removed). Nevertheless, "error" is not used in the present study because its purpose of identifying translation strategies is to explore how risk is managed through the selection of said translation strategies. In this sense, whether or not the translation itself is erroneous is not of primary concern.

When discussing strategies, it is also important to keep in mind that some previous studies have pointed to domestication as a dominant strategy in news translation, a strategy not included in the categorization explained above. For example, Kang (2010, 27) posits that in news translation, which is carried out in situations where "cultural and political differences between the relevant cultures and institutions" exist, "domestication of news content to accommodate distinctive local perspectives" becomes a key strategy. This is because, as Kang (ibid., 26) points out, domestication as a strategy has the ability to put "news content into frameworks that render these events comprehensible, relevant and acceptable." On the other hand, Bielsa (2005, 143) stresses the power of domestication as a way to mediate the growing trend towards "cultural homogenisation and Anglo-American domination" at the local level.

Using the synonym "acculturation," Bassnett (2005, 120) also calls it the "dominant strategy" in news translation. Bassnett explains that, since translated news texts need to match the stylistic preferences of the target audience, "acculturation is essential in news reporting" (ibid., 127). She gives various examples of domestication: the use of "hyperbole" in Italian reporting, "irony and understatement" in the case of British media, "powerful, explanatory

expositional statement at the start of an article" in French, and an "enigmatic opening and a strong, summative conclusion" by the Americans (ibid., 124). Although these findings are both interesting and relevant to news translation research, the present study excludes domestication from the list of translation strategies because all the TTs are direct quotations, allowing less (if any) room for domestication or acculturation.

In cases where none of the three categories (omission, addition, and substitution) seemed to fit, the TTs were marked as "literal translation" or "none applicable" and were not included beyond the initial analysis. After labeling each TT with one or more translation strategies, the TTs belonging to each of the three categories were counted to measure the overall trend. As a next step, several examples containing high levels of manipulation were analyzed to see whether signs of risk management could be identified. In each step of the analysis, categorizations and selections were made subjectively, which "cannot be avoided when the basic dimension involved is that of meaning or meaning equivalence" (Barik 1971, 207, original emphasis removed). However, in determining cases in which the decisions behind the translations were difficult to understand or explain (i.e., unethical or non-standard practices), standards and codes of ethics prevalent in the fields of translation and journalism were referenced.

5.2.3.3   Step Three: Analyzing the Strategy and Effort

Another element to keep in mind when using Pym's concept of risk management as a guideline is effort. According to Pym (2005b, 73), translatorial effort is exerted to solve translation problems that occur when the translator has multiple options in rendering a TT. Effort varies "according to the problems identified and the strategies selected" with different strategies incurring different degrees of effort (ibid.). In short, "strategies are different ways of expending effort to manage risk" and effort should "ideally correlate with degrees of risk" (ibid.). What Pym's explanation suggests is that strategies define the level of effort needed, and the investment of effort increases when risk increases. Therefore, the present study links the identified strategies to effort levels to investigate whether the risks involved can or cannot be explained in relation to effort.

The study measures effort in terms of the expected time required to produce the TT.[7] Omission is thus categorized as the strategy requiring the lowest level of effort because it is expected to be the least time-consuming strategy. Although I acknowledge that such a simple way to measure effort does not fully reflect the reality, this time-based method of measuring effort was chosen for

practical reasons. In the case of news translation, there is no way of accurately determining how much work is actually put into the production of each TT without making prearrangements to observe and record journalators as they work, which is almost impossible in the case of hard news since newsrooms constantly deal with classified information. Therefore, classifications were relative, with omission ranking at the lowest level of effort. Addition was the next lowest, and substitution the third, based on the consensus among the journalators interviewed and as observed in previous studies (e.g., Valdeón 2008). It can be argued that omission, although requiring the least amount of time to produce a translation, requires high cognitive effort in many cases. Such effort may be measured using think-aloud protocols, which are beyond the scope of the present study since it does not focus specifically on cognitive effort as explained in Chapter 4 (section 4.2.3). Unlike interpreters, journalators are at liberty to select which part of the speech they will or will not quote, and therefore, cognitive effort needed for omission can be considered significantly less than in interpreting as far as direct quotations are concerned.

5.2.3.4   Step Four: Identifying and Analyzing Risk Management

The fourth step is to identify possible risk factors according to the different levels of effort. The risk-effort relationship was analyzed to determine whether risk management could explain the decision-making processes employed by the journalators. According to Pym (2005b, 73), the level of risk should correlate with the level of effort—that is, the higher the risk, the higher the effort. However, there can be other combinations such as low-effort, high-risk or high-effort, low-risk. Each of these cases was analyzed from the perspective of risk management.

This last step in the analysis, step four, was ultimately purely qualitative, since accurate measurement of the risk-effort correlation was not possible, at least within the limitations of the present study; therefore, the findings tended to be more speculative than empirical. In order to overcome these limitations, the results of the four-step analysis were corroborated with first-hand accounts from the journalators through one-on-one interviews. This type of approach is particularly meaningful for news translation research because it has often been pointed out that journalators tend not to "elaborate on the particular nature and consequences of translation," and it therefore remains unclear "what the translation process actually involves" (Vuorinen 1995, 163). A combination of text analysis with interviews, strongly recommended by Davier and Van Doorslaer (2018) and exercised by some news translation

researchers as illustrated earlier, enables an in-depth investigation into news translation practices which previous research has not been able to provide. Holland (2013, 335–36) elaborates:

> [E]mpirical research into translation may take a primarily *product*-oriented or a primarily *process*-oriented approach: the former focusing mainly on translations themselves (i.e. examining translations as texts, and analysing their relationships to original texts in source languages); the latter more concerned with questions of how translations are produced, by whom and in what contexts. Of course the two can be combined in the investigation of how particular procedural and contextual arrangements affect translations as *products*, and this 'mixed' approach may be especially useful in the study of news translation.

Although only three journalators were able to comment on their own translations, the fact that all eight interviewees had experience reporting from the United States for at least three years and had participated in the U.S. presidential election coverage added credibility to the analysis. The detailed outcome of this combined approach is presented in Chapter 7.

Chapter 6
Case Study: 2012 U.S. Presidential Election

As discussed in previous chapters, the target of analysis for the present study is direct quotations from speeches given in English as reported by major Japanese newspapers. Japanese newspaper organizations still maintain a relatively wide network of foreign news coverage, with bureaus set up not only in English-speaking countries but also in countries such as China, South Korea, Russia, France, and Germany, where command of the local language in news reporting is typically required. Nevertheless, English is the dominant language used by reporters when covering international news.[1] The present study focuses on one of the largest international stories in an English-language setting: a U.S. presidential election. By selecting this highly newsworthy event, a sufficient number of articles from all six major newspapers in Japan were readily available for analysis.

The corpus for this case study consisted of articles published by the six top-selling newspapers in Japan, namely the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, the *Asahi Shimbun*, the *Mainichi Shimbun*, *The Nikkei*, the *Sankei Shimbun*, and the Chunichi Group's *Tokyo Shimbun*, as explained in previous chapters. Depending on the location and the time of printing, the content of the papers can differ significantly. Such differences seem to be common in other parts of the world as well. As Bell (1991, 23) explains, "most larger dailies publish two or more editions a day, and the changes from one to the next can be both major and non-random." Therefore, in order to enable comparison under similar conditions, the final version of each paper's morning and evening editions printed in Tokyo were chosen.

Each newspaper included in the present study is listed in section 3.2.1 in descending order of circulation according to the Japan Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC),[2] the organization that monitors newspaper circulation nationwide. This chapter begins with a brief comparison between the Japanese newspapers' coverages during and after the U.S. presidential election in 2008 and 2016, followed by a general description of the two speech events chosen for analysis: President Obama's election victory speech and his inaugural address when he was reelected in 2012 (both are presented in full in Appendices A and B). Next, the results of the text analysis of the 150 TTs extracted from these speeches are presented, based on the method described in Chapter 5.

6.1   Difference in Quoting Obama and Trump

As explained in Chapter 1, this book intentionally avoided using the U.S. presidential election in 2016 as a case study and decided to focus on the 2012 election. The decision was made based on the results of another study in which I comparied the ways the Japanese newspapers quoted the utterances of President Trump and President Obama (Matsushita, forthcoming). I will present the key findings from this comparative study in order to explain the rationale behind the choice.

The design of the comparative study was as follows. First, using online databases for the two largest daily newspapers in Japan, the *Yomiuri Shimbun* and the *Asahi Shimbun*, I collected articles containing direct quotations of President Trump and President Obama (e.g., oral statements, speeches, and comments) using specific search terms and time periods. Then, STs for each direct quotation were searched using government websites and other sources. Articles that included direct quotations with clearly identifiable STs became targets of detailed analysis, mainly via comparison of the ST and the TT as well as the TTs against each other.

The search terms used were "*daitōryō* & *Toranpu*" (大統領&トランプ) ["President & Trump"] as well as "*daitōryō* & *Obama*" (大統領&オバマ) [President & Obama]. The dates used for the searches were "January 21 to May 1" in 2017 for President Trump and the same period in 2009 for President Obama. These cover the respective "honeymoon periods" (first hundred days since inauguration)[3] in which the events covered, as well as the topic and text-type generated by the two newspapers, are expected to be similar.

The initial search returned 1,703 *Yomiuri* articles and 1,259 *Asahi* articles for President Trump and 745 *Yomiuri* articles and 767 *Asahi* articles for President Obama, showing a sharp increase in the number of articles published, the possible reason for which will be provided later in this section. As a next step, cases that fit the following criteria were selected so that only the articles containing direct quotations suitable for the purpose of this comparative study were collected. Above all, for the article to be retained in the corpora, it had to contain the president's direct quotations following step one regarding target selection described in the previous chapter. This meant that the direct quotations in this comparative study were extracted using the presence of quotation marks as identifiers following Satoh (2001), with other necessary considerations given (such as exclusion of quotation marks in headlines and scare quotes as described in section 5.2.3.1). Full and summary translations of the president's speeches presented individually without a body text were omitted.

Of those with direct quotations, the following three types were excluded manually: (a) articles with STs that were unidentifiable by or inaccessible to the researcher, (b) articles written by those other than the journalators of the respective newspapers, and (c) articles with words or phrases in quotation marks that were not taken from specific utterances. Articles included in the first type were those quoting wire reports and articles by other print media which are based on exclusive material (e.g., one-on-one interviews), articles quoting radio and TV broadcast news which were not accessible to the researcher (e.g., programs only available in certain regions), and articles quoting unidentifiable media reports (e.g., "according to the local media"). The second type included articles written by external contributors, articles based solely on expert interviews, articles containing quotes that are hearsay, and entries in the reader's column. A typical example belonging to the third type would be campaign slogans such as "Yes We Can" and "Make America Great Again" (see Matsushita forthcoming for a comprehensive list of the selection criteria)

The comparative analysis highlighted the shift in "translingual quoting" (Haapanen 2017; Haapanen and Perrin 2019) practices by the two Japanese newspapers between their coverage of the first hundred days of President Obama's presidency in 2009 and those of President Trump in 2017. The inauguration of President Obama, who was the first African-American to assume the position, was undoubtedly a newsworthy topic for the Japanese media, resulting in an unprecedented number of news articles being generated during his first hundred days in office. However, this record was soon exceeded by his successor who was even more newsworthy in several respects: Trump, famous for being a businessman, was the first person to become president without any political or military experience; the underdog winner of a bitterly fought presidential election against a former first lady and secretary of state seeking the first female presidency in U.S. history; and a celebrity known for his scandalous comments and behavior both before and during the presidential campaign.

The total number of articles that the two largest newspapers published in the targeted period of analysis shows the increased attention clearly: close to three thousand articles in the case of President Trump, almost doubling President Obama's count of slightly more than fifteen hundred. However, if we look at the numbers more closely, focusing on the number of articles with direct quotations, a different phenomenon surfaces. While approximately 24 percent of the articles on President Obama included one or more direct quotations from his speeches, statements, or remarks made during press conferences and interviews, only 15 percent involved direct quotations in the case of President Trump.

Although it is hard to give definite reasons as to why this pattern emerges, it is evident that the two Japanese newspapers found President Obama to be more quoteworthy than President Trump. This finding contradicts the prevailing impression that President Trump's utterances are constantly making news around the world, an observation that seems justified when we read or watch news produced by the English-language media. Therefore, it is worth hypothesizing that the discrepancy in coverage stems from the untranslatability of President Trump's words, especially when compared with those of President Obama.

This hypothesis is well supported by examples of translingual quoting practices by the two newspapers. Japanese newspapers prefer to use direct quotations over indirect quotations for the reasons outlined in Chapter 2 (section 2.2.1). However, there have been cases in which President Trump's comments were quoted indirectly. For example, in an article published on February 21 about remarks made by secretary of defense Jim Mattis during his visit to Iraq, the *Asahi Shimbun* partially quoted an article by Reuters (Stewart, 2017).[4] After stating "According to Reuters," it quoted two remarks by Secretary Mattis with quotation marks but quoted President Trump's comment indirectly without quotation marks although all three quotes appeared in the Reuters article as direct quotations.

The Reuters article quoted President Trump as telling CIA staff in January, "We should have kept the oil. But okay. Maybe you'll have another chance," implying that the CIA should have seized Iraq's oil after overturning Saddam Hussein in 2003. The *Asahi* article simply said "*Toranpu-shi wa Amerika Chūōjōhōkyoku (CIA) de ichi gatsu, iraku no sekiyu o kakuho subekidatta to hatsugen*" (トランプ氏は米中央情報局（ＣＩＡ）で1月、イラクの石油を確保すべきだったと発言) [Mr. Trump had said at the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in January that Iraq's oil should have been secured], without translating the original comment or putting it in quotation marks. Since one of Secretary Mattis' remarks ("We're not in Iraq to seize anybody's oil") was considered to be in response to the previous comment in January made by President Trump and was therefore placed right after the indirect quotation in the same sentence, it would have been natural to quote both of them directly if no translation were needed. Such examples show that quoting practices by the Japanese media, at least in cases where translingual quoting is needed, change for subjects whose utterances are hard to translate, as explained in the introduction (Lichfield 2016; Osaki 2017; Viennot 2016).

Although prior research has pointed out that quoting practices change over time as evidenced in common trends such as the shrinking length and the increasing number of quotes (Haapanen and Perrin 2017, 427), no significant changes in the quoting patterns were observed regarding other subjects of news (e.g.,

cabinet members, government officials, and other world leaders) between the two consecutive coverages of the first hundred days of the U.S. presidency by the two Japanese newspapers, possibly because the two events occurred within a relatively short period of time. Therefore, the present study considers the observed changes in translingual quoting practices to be highly influenced by the characters of the two U.S. presidents and the nature of their speeches and comments.

A detailed analysis following the comparative study resulted in interesting findings which can be characterized as differences in (a) frequency (the proportion of articles containing direct quotations), (b) length (the number of words within a quote), and (c) dispersion (the distribution of articles with direct quotations over the hundred-day period). However, for the purpose of the present study, it should suffice to say that President Obama's speeches were chosen instead of President Trump's in order to obtain the maximum number of TTs that are suitable for analysis in terms of length and variety. Of the two elections that President Obama won, the more recent one which took place in 2012 was selected based on the understanding that Japanese newspapers' translingual quoting practices will likely have matured and standardized during the four years of intensively covering and quoting President Obama, which makes the case more suitable for analyzing the decision-making process by the journalators.

6.2   Targeted Speech Events

The 2012 U.S. presidential election was held Tuesday, November 6, 2012. The incumbent, President Barack Obama, who won the Democratic nomination, ran against former Governor of Massachusetts, Mitt Romney, the Republican nominee. After a historical victory in 2008 that made him the first African-American to hold the office, President Obama remained the strongest Democratic contender in his second election bid despite his struggles as president in bringing about economic recovery and tackling unemployment. He gained the Democratic nomination with no serious opposition, which gave him a reasonable advantage over former Governor Romney, whose nomination was secured later in the game. Their respective campaigns centered around domestic issues such as revitalizing the economy, tackling long-standing federal budget issues, and putting into place a sound health care system for all. Foreign policies, including deescalating the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan as well as curtailing the nuclear ambitions of countries such as Iran and North Korea, were also highlighted.

The outcome of the election was quite straightforward: President Obama won a decisive victory over former Governor Romney with 332 electoral votes to Romney's 206, taking the popular vote as well. President Obama earned

more popular votes than any other Democratic presidential candidate in U.S. history (except for himself in 2008).

6.2.1   Victory Speech

On Election Day, the U.S. networks began announcing President Obama's re-election slightly past 11:00 p.m. (EST). Subsequently, the Japanese media began broadcasting news flashes and issuing news alerts via the internet and mobile news services. After former Governor Romney gave his concession speech just past midnight in Boston, all that was left for the news day was President Obama's victory speech, which he was scheduled to give in his adopted hometown of Chicago. According to the White House website, the victory speech started at 12:38 a.m. (CST) on Wednesday, November 7 and lasted approximately twenty minutes. The word count of the official transcript was 2,160 (excluding notations for applause and laughter). In Japan, the speech started at 3:38 p.m. (JST) on Wednesday and was broadcast live by CNN, NHK, and other commercial networks. In the speech, President Obama repeated his intention to move the country forward and assured the American people that "for the United States of America, the best is yet to come." This phrase, along with expressions reflecting his determination to achieve economic recovery, were heavily quoted by the American and international media.

6.2.2   Inaugural Address

Unlike his victory speech, President Obama's inaugural address was a carefully scheduled event, which started at 11:55 a.m. (EST) on Monday, January 21, 2013, according to the White House. The speech continued for nineteen minutes. The word count of the official transcript was 2,106 words (excluding notations). This was a less newsworthy event for the Japanese media compared to his victory speech, as both the occasion and the content of the speech were more predictable. In addition, Obama's speech started almost two hours past midnight (JST) on Tuesday, January 22; consequently, it was not broadcast live by NHK or any other key terrestrial networks in Japan. Japanese viewers had to either rely on international networks such as CNN via satellite or cable, or go online to see the event in real time. In this meticulously scripted speech, President Obama touched upon a wide range of issues from inequality to climate change, and he often repeated the phrase "our journey is not complete," referring to the amount of work ahead that America had yet to tackle "as one nation and one people."

6.2.3   Journalators' Roles

As already described in previous chapters, interviews with journalators from all six newspapers were conducted for the present study in order to understand how the two speeches above were translated. This understanding of the Japanese news translation process serves as a basis for the text analysis detailed in the following sections. The information gathered from the interviews is supplemented, when necessary, by my own experience as a New York correspondent covering the U.S. presidential election in 2008. The general questions asked during the interviews are listed in Table 2, and the interviewees' individual opinions and views regarding news translation by the Japanese newspapers are presented in Chapter 7. The questions prepared and the interviews conducted were in Japanese, and the English translations are mine.

Table 2.   General questions asked in journalator interviews

Q1. Please tell me about yourself (e.g., year and date of joining the news organization, years of experience in international news reporting, and experience as a foreign correspondent).

Q2. In your news organization, how many reporters are engaged in international news reporting (e.g., number of foreign correspondents, number of staff writers and editors based in Tokyo)?

Q3. Does your organization have professional translators who have gone through translator training?

Q4. When reporting overseas using a foreign language, who does the translation and how?

Q5. When reporting in Japan using a foreign language, who does the translation and how?

Q6. Please describe the process of international news production starting from you as a foreign correspondent reporting and writing the article until the article gets printed. Include all participants.

Q7. Is there anyone other than the initial writer who would check the translation by, for example, checking it against the original transcript (e.g., other reporters, editors, fact-checkers)?

Q8. Have you ever participated in any kind of translator/interpreter training after joining the organization?

Q9. Does your organization have guidelines regarding translation?

Q10. Does your organization have guidelines regarding direct quotations?

Q11. Is there anything that you are mindful of when translating?

Q12. Do you have any further comments or opinions regarding news translation?

In addition to the general questions, specific questions regarding U.S. presidential elections—the number of reporters based in the United States and their involvement in the presidential election coverage, as well as the roles of each reporter during the campaign—were asked depending on the interviewee's individual knowledge and experience. Other questions were asked with the aim of identifying the journalators featured in the bylines of the articles analyzed and of learning more about their respective organizations.

It is important to note that I did not specifically choose only the journalators who were identifiable by the bylines in the articles contained in my corpus. Although there are merits to conducting retrospective interviews using methods such as stimulated recall (Haapanen 2017), the fact that more than a year had passed since they wrote the articles at the time of the interview would have required me to maintain a critical distance from the findings (Davier, Schäffner, and Van Doorslaer 2018, 158). In addition, as Van Rooyen (2018, 265) points out, focusing on the actual translation done by the journalators could invite "some resistence or animosity" from the journalators because they might feel that their own works are being evaluated and criticized. It was therefore beneficial for the purpose of the present study to ask questions more broadly regarding news translation practices by the Japanese newspapers, only touching upon specific translations as needed.

The results of the interviews showed that U.S. presidential elections in general are covered by correspondents based in the United States. All six newspapers have their main U.S. bureau in Washington, D.C., each of which was staffed with two to six correspondents in 2012. All of the organizations also maintain a bureau in New York, each staffed by as few as two and as many as ten correspondents (ibid.). Additionally, four of the papers had one or two bureaus on the West Coast in Los Angeles and/or Silicon Valley, each with one or two correspondents serving as bureau chief (ibid.). Most of these correspondents participated in the production of straight news stories on the 2012 U.S. presidential election, while those in Japan covered the event from a different angle in the form of side stories or editorials.

When examining the forty-five articles analyzed for this case study, all but one article had bylines indicating which individual(s) wrote the article and datelines indicating where the article was written. According to the interviewees of the present study, all of these articles were prepared either by correspondents based in the United States at the time they were written

or by staff writers based in Tokyo. It was also confirmed that the U.S.-based correspondents themselves were the ones who translated the speech of their news subjects from English to Japanese, often by using transcripts prepared by news assistants or by external sources (Questions 3 and 4 from Table 2). This means that the U.S.-based correspondents were functioning as journalators, although none of them had prior training in translation or interpreting (Question 8) or even any guidelines to follow when translating (Question 9).

6.3   Text Analysis

Due to the time difference between Washington and Tokyo, news coverage of the U.S. presidential election took place at a very inconvenient time in Japan. This posed editorial challenges, especially in the case of newspapers, because their final deadlines are typically around 1:30 a.m. for the morning edition and 1:30 p.m. for the evening edition, unless special arrangements are made in advance among the newspaper companies to extend them.[5] Obama's victory speech fell on a Wednesday afternoon around 3:40 p.m. (JST), which meant that none of Obama's actual utterances could be reflected in the evening papers published in Japan on November 7, 2012. His inaugural address started at 2 a.m. (JST), also after the deadline for the morning paper. This meant that quotations from his speeches first appeared in articles published online. Newspaper articles with Obama's direct quotations taken from his inaugural address first started to appear in print in the evening edition published in Japan on January 22, 2013. Against this backdrop, the present study focused on only three editions of the six newspapers published in Tokyo: the morning edition dated November 8, 2012, the evening edition dated January 22, 2013, and the morning edition dated January 23, 2013.[6]

With the relationship between the STs (from President Obama's speeches) and the TTs (the corresponding direct quotations as reported by the Japanese newspapers) made clear, this section provides the results of the text analysis conducted and the news translation strategies identified. From the three editions of the six newspapers analyzed, forty-five articles were selected based on the criteria explained in Chapter 5. Table 3 lists the newspapers, the number of articles selected, and the number of TTs extracted from each edition.

Table 3.   Selected newspapers, number of articles, and TTs

Newspaper	Circulation (million)	Articles (Number of TTs)			
		11/8/2012	1/22/2013	1/23/2013	Total
Yomiuri	8.34	5 (11)	2 (14)	2 (6)	9 (31)
Asahi	5.76	3 (6)	2 (12)	6 (10)	11 (28)
Mainichi	2.64	4 (9)	2 (15)	0 (0)	6 (24)
Nikkei	2.38	3 (6)	2 (7)	1 (5)	6 (18)
Sankei	1.45	4 (12)	0 (0)	2 (10)	6 (22)
Tokyo	0.46	4 (14)	1 (8)	2 (5)	7 (27)

The strategies found are presented in the subsections below, along with some unique examples of news translation practices discovered through this analysis. The sentences indicated as STs were taken from the two speeches as they appeared on CNN in Japan, both of which I videotaped and transcribed. The official transcripts released by the White House were used to check the accuracy of my transcription. Since the two transcripts did not differ except for the use of punctuation and the exclusion of false starts and repetitions, I have used the official version in the analysis. The TTs were chosen from the newspaper articles based on the criteria described in Chapter 5. Each TT was compared carefully against its source in order to verify that it contained a translation of Obama's actual words from either his victory speech or inaugural address.

6.3.1   Types of Strategies

The first step in the analysis was to examine the 150 TTs selected to identify the type of translation strategy or strategies used. As was previously mentioned in Chapter 5, the present study analyzes three strategies: omission, addition, and substitution. The definitions and categorizations of these strategies[7] are based on Barik (1971) for the purposes also explained in the previous chapter. A brief description of each strategy is provided below with examples. It is worth noting that, in the field of Translation Studies, scholars define the term "translation strategy" itself in significantly different ways (Shinohara 2013), ranging from "a simple action, technique, step, method, or pattern of behavior" to "inferred macrotexual plans or mind-sets" (Pym 2011, 92). Based on the

purpose of the present study, however, Chesterman's (1997, 89) relatively narrow definition of translation strategies, which are explained as "forms of explicitly *textual* manipulation" that are "observable from the translation product itself, in comparison with the source text," is applied when extracting examples for detailed analysis. Any shifts between the ST and TT that were likely to be explained by a lack of comprehension, insufficient mastery of English, or careless mistakes have been excluded from the analysis.

6.3.1.1 Omission

The omission strategy refers to "items present in the original version which are left out of the translation" (Barik 1971, 200). It can be as small as omitting a single word or short phrase or as large as several sentences. Following Barik's (ibid., 202) categorization, minor omissions such as omissions of the conjunction "and," definite articles, and fillers (e.g., "now"), as well as omissions of specification (e.g., "We" instead of "the American people") were not considered part of the omission strategy. Although omission of specifications can be politically motivated or an attempt to avoid adverse reactions from specific readers, such practice is not generally assumed in the case of Japanese newspapers as explained in Chapter 2 (see section 2.2.2. for a detailed explanation).

6.3.1.2 Addition

The addition strategy refers to "material which is added outright to the text" (Barik 1971, 202) by the translator. This includes additions of qualifiers (e.g., "really") and conjunctions (other than "and") that introduce a certain relationship not implicit in the ST. What other researchers might categorize as "explicitation"[8] is included here as "elaboration addition" (Barik 1971, 202). In the present study, cases such as "leaders of both parties" being translated into "*Minshu, Kyōwa ryōto no shidōsha*" (民主・共和両党の指導者) [leaders of both Democratic and Republican Parties] are counted as addition because the names of the political parties do not appear in the ST, but have been added to the TT.

6.3.1.3 Substitution

The substitution strategy refers to material substituted by the translator for something in the ST. It can be a single word or a whole clause. Some substitutions "hardly affect the meaning of what is being said, others alter

it considerably and represent more serious errors" (Barik 1971, 204, original emphasis removed). For example, the substitution of "none can avoid" with "*dare mo nogareru koto ga dekinai*" (だれも逃れることができない)[none can escape] does not affect the meaning in any significant way, but the substitution of "cost of health care" with "*iryō hoken no kosuto*" (医療保険のコスト) [cost of health insurance] can be considered more erroneous because health insurance is not an equal substitution for health care. Both of these cases are treated equally as substitutions in the present study, as explained in Chapter 5.

6.3.1.4 Distribution of Omission, Addition, and Substitution

Shown below is the result of step two of the analysis. In cases where the TT did not fall under a single category, they were assigned to multiple categories. TTs that did not match any of the three (e.g., literal translations) were counted but excluded from further analysis. The result of this initial analysis is shown in Table 4.

Table 4.   Results of the initial analysis

Newspapers	Omission	Addition	Substitution
Yomiuri	19	5	9
Asahi	16	3	9
Mainichi	10	3	6
Nikkei	7	1	11
Sankei	13	1	3
Tokyo	15	2	9
Total	80	15	47

In total, omission was found in eighty TTs, substitution in forty-seven, and addition in fifteen. Apart from these, twenty-seven TTs were categorized as "literal translation" and seventeen as "none applicable." Except for *The Nikkei*, all the newspapers used omission most frequently; addition was used the least in all six newspapers. In terms of percentages, omission was used in 53 percent of the TTs, substitution in 31 percent, and addition in 10 percent. The result of this initial analysis coincides with the findings of prior research, which identified omission as a predominant strategy in news translation given its time-bound nature and the need for conciseness, especially in the case of print media (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009; Hursti 2001; Jiménez-Crespo 2012).

6.3.2 Qualitative Analysis

The next step in this analysis is to look at specific examples of the use of additions, omissions, and substitutions. First, an introductory example that shows the extent of variation in news translation by the Japanese newspapers is presented to demonstrate the difference between individual journalators in their selection of translation strategies. A subsection is then dedicated to examples of omission, followed by subsections on addition and substitution.

The first example (ST1) is from President Obama's victory speech. The ST is followed by five different TTs representing the various translations by four of the six newspapers. The TTs are in Japanese, inside Japanese quotation marks "「」," and followed by their phonetic spellings and back-translations inside brackets.[9]

> **ST1:** And in the coming weeks and months, I am looking forward to reaching out and working with *leaders of both parties* to meet the challenges we can only solve together: (1) reducing our deficit; (2) reforming our tax code; (3) fixing our immigration system; (4) freeing ourselves from foreign oil.
>
> **TT1:** 「(1)財政や(2)税制、(3)移民の問題を解決するため、*民主、共和両党の指導者*と話し合うことが楽しみだ」 (*Yomiuri Shimbun*, November 8, morning edition, 1)
>
> ("(1) Zaisei ya (2) zeisei, (3) imin no mondai o kaiketsu suru tame, *Minshu, Kyōwa ryōtō no shidōsha* to hanashiau koto ga tanoshimida")
>
> [(I am) looking forward to talking with *leaders of both Democratic and Republican parties* in order to solve the problems of (1) public finance, (2) the tax system, and (3) immigration.]
>
> **TT2:** 「*（民主、共和）両党のリーダーたち*と、一緒に協力しなければ解決できない課題に取り組む」 (*Asahi Shimbun*, November 8, morning edition, 1)
>
> ("*(Minshu, Kyōwa) ryōtō no rīdā tachi* to, issho ni kyōryoku shinakereba kaiketsu dekinai kadai ni torikumu")
>
> [Together with *leaders of both (Democratic and Republican) parties*, (I) will tackle the issues that cannot be solved unless we work together.]
>
> **TT3:** 「近く*共和党の指導者ら*と(1)財政赤字削減や(2)税制改革など解決しなければならない問題を話し合いたい」 (*Tokyo Shimbun*, November 8, morning edition, 1)
>
> ("Chikaku *Kyōwatō no shidōshara* to (1) zaisei akaji sakugen ya (2) zeisei kaikaku nado kaiketsu shinakereba naranai mondai o hanashiaitai")
>
> [In the near future, (I) would like to talk with the *leaders of the Republican Party and others* on the problems we need to solve such as (1) fiscal deficit reduction and (2) tax reform.]

TT4:「党派を超え、(1)赤字削減や(2)税制改革、(3)移民制度の見直しに取り組んでいきたい」(*Tokyo Shimbun*, November 8, morning edition, 8)

("*Tōha o koe*, (1) akaji sakugen ya (2) zeisei kaikaku, (3) imin seido no minaoshi ni torikunde ikitai")

[*Crossing over party lines*, (I) want to work on (1) deficit reduction, (2) tax reform, and (3) immigration system review.]

TT5:「(1)債務削減、(2)税制改革、(3)移民改革、(4)石油の海外依存脱却」(*The Nikkei*, November 8, morning edition, 1)

((1) Saimu sakugen, (2) zeisei kaikaku, (3) imin kaikaku, (4) sekiyu no kaigai izon dakkyaku")

[(1) Deficit reduction, (2) tax reform, (3) immigration reform, (4) breakaway from foreign oil dependence]

The most noticeable difference among the TTs is the way "leaders of both parties" in ST1 has been translated. The italicized parts in the ST and TTs show the correspondence. For example, in TT1 the words "Democratic" and "Republican," which were not mentioned by President Obama, have been added. TT2 also added the same information, albeit parenthetically. TT3 substituted the same phrase with "leaders of the Republican Party and others," while TT4 substituted it with "crossing over party lines."

Omission is also evident. By focusing on the four challenges posed by President Obama, which are underlined and numbered in both ST1 and the TTs for easier comparison, it is clear that TT1, TT3, and TT4 omitted one or two challenges out of the four. TT2 excluded them all; the four challenges were listed outside the quotation marks instead, despite the fact that ST1 includes them all in the same sentence. On the contrary, TT5 lists nothing but the four challenges within the quotation marks, making it look more like a highlighted list than a direct quotation. The TTs in the example above are shown only to display how different the results can be depending on the newspaper and the journalator. The possible reasoning for such use of omissions is discussed in the next subsection.

Another interesting point regarding this example is that TT3 and TT4 appeared in the same newspaper on the same day, though on separate pages. The difference in translation can be explained by the fact that the two TTs were written by different journalators.[10] This fact supports the testimonies of the interviewees of the present study that correspondents are independently responsible for their own final translations. If the direct quotations were subject to multiple layers of editing or intervention like the other portions of the articles, the translations likely would have been identical because it is unprofessional to have more than one version of the same direct quotation.

From the readers' point of view, seeing two different versions of the same part of the speech could be confusing and undermine the authenticity of direct quotations as faithful reproductions of what the speaker actually said.

6.3.2.1   Omission as a Key Strategy

With the level of divergence between the TTs made clear in the first example, TTs with omission, addition, and substitution are analyzed below. First, TTs identified as using omission are analyzed in detail. The first example is from President Obama's inaugural address.

> **ST2:** For we, the people, understand that our country cannot succeed when a <u>shrinking</u> few do very well and a <u>growing</u> many barely make it.
>
> **TT6:** 「ごく少数が非常に成功する一方で大多数がぎりぎりの暮らしでは、国は成功しない」 (*Yomiuri Shimbun*, January 22, evening edition, 1)
>
> ("Goku shōsū ga hijō ni seikō suru ippō de daitasū ga girigiri no kurashi de wa, kuni wa seikō shinai")
>
> [A country cannot succeed when only a few are very successful and the majority barely make it.]
>
> **TT7:** 「より少数の者だけが栄え、生活していくのがやっとだという層が増える一方では、国家としての成功もない」 (*Yomiuri Shimbun*, January 23, morning edition, 7)
>
> ("Yori shōsū no mono dake ga sakae, seikatsu shite iku no ga yatto da to iu sō ga fueru ippō de wa, kokka toshite no seikō mo nai")
>
> [Neither can a state succeed when fewer people prosper and more people join the group of those who barely make it.]
>
> **TT8:** 「良い暮らしをする一握りの少数派が<u>減り続ける</u>一方で、かろうじて生活するような多数派が<u>増えている</u>状態では我が国は成功できない」 (*The Nikkei*, January 22, evening edition: 1)
>
> ("Yoi kurashi o suru hitonigiri no shōsūha ga <u>heritsuzukeru</u> ippō de, karōjite seikatsu suru yō na tasūha ga <u>fuete iru</u> jōtai de wa waga kuni wa seikō dekinai")
>
> [Our country cannot succeed in a situation where a handful of minorities who are well off <u>keeps on decreasing</u> while the majority of those who are barely making it <u>is increasing</u>.]
>
> **TT9:** 「一握りの少数派しか豊かさを享受できず、辛うじて生活する人々が増える状況で、米国が成功することはあり得ない」 (*The Nikkei*, January 23, morning edition, 9)
>
> ("Hitonigiri no shōsūha shika yutakasa o kyōju dekizu, karōjite seikatsu suru hitobito ga fueru jōkyō de, Beikoku ga seikō suru koto wa arienai")

[It is impossible for the United States to succeed when only a handful of minorities can enjoy affluence and people who are barely making it increase.]
TT10:「我が国は少数の成功者の上に成り立っているのではない」（*Asahi Shimbun*, January 22, evening edition, 1)
("Waga kuni wa shōsū no seikōsha no ue ni naritatte iru no de wa nai")
[Our country is not built on the successful few.]
TT11:「少人数が成功し、大多数がやりくりに苦労する国家では成功しない」
(*Mainichi Shimbun*, January 22, evening edition, 6)
("Shōninzū ga seikō shi, daitasū ga yarikuri ni kurō suru kokka de wa seikō shinai")
[A state will not succeed when only a few succeed and the majority have difficulty making it.]

Despite the noticeable variations in tone, the most evident feature in these examples is the use of omission. TT6 to TT11, except for TT8, all omitted the elements of "shrinking" and "growing" stated and underlined in ST2. This could be explained by the differences in grammatical structures between English and Japanese where a more faithful translation of these present participles would result in a translation significantly longer than ST2, as seen in TT8. Unless the journalator considers this a high-risk situation, they will choose to comply with the Japanese newspapers' journalistic convention of keeping articles as concise as possible (e.g., *Yomiuri Shimbun* 2017, 12). It is worth mentioning, however, that the progressive aspect, which has been lost in most of these TTs, may have been something that President Obama wanted to draw people's attention to.

Another point to be highlighted is that, based on the byline, the same *Nikkei* reporter translated both TT8 and TT9, producing different translations half a day apart. In simultaneous interpreting, which also has pressing time constraints, previous research such as Gile (1999) shows that if an interpreter interprets the same content twice, the second version will have fewer omissions because interpreters omit less and render more information when given a cognitive advantage. Although the cognitive challenges faced by the journalators differ from those of simultaneous interpreters, especially because the former can listen to or read the ST multiple times even under time constraints, it is interesting that the second version produced by the *Nikkei* reporter is shorter and less literal as a result of more omissions.

This may be because conciseness and directness are given priority over equivalence in news translation by Japanese journalators, especially when they are not pressed for time and are influenced more by institutional conventions. One might argue, however, that conciseness and directness of articles and accuracy of direct quotations are both "professional norms" (Chesterman 1997)

and that there is no apparent reason why the journalators should prioritize the former over the latter. However, this prioritization seems to be a consistent pattern in low-risk translingual quoting (and not so in monolingual quoting) which will be discussed in Chapter 7 (section 7.1.1). As Bielsa and Bassnett (2009) describe, "The news translator, unlike the literary translator, does not owe respect and faithfulness to the source text" because the main purpose of news articles is "to provide information of an event in a concise and clear way" (ibid., 65). In short, it is because translation is involved and possibly because the risk is low that the journalators opt for such omission.

Here is another example of similar uses of omission, also from President Obama's inaugural address.

> **ST3:** Some may still deny the <u>overwhelming</u> judgment of science, but none can avoid the <u>devastating</u> impact of <u>raging</u> fires and <u>crippling</u> drought and <u>more powerful</u> storms.
> **TT12:** 「火事、干ばつ、嵐などの壊滅的な打撃は誰も否定できないはずだ」 (*Asahi Shimbun*, January 22, evening edition, 2)
> ("Kaji, kanbatsu, arashi nado no kaimetsutekina dageki wa dare mo hitei dekinai hazu da")
> [None should be able to deny the catastrophic impact of fire, drought and storms]
> **TT13:** 「科学的な判断を依然として否定する人がいるが、山火事や干ばつ、嵐の影響からはだれも逃れることができない」 (*Asahi Shimbun*, January 23, morning edition, 12)
> ("Kagakutekina handan o izen to shite hitei suru hito ga iru ga, yamakaji ya kanbatsu, arashi no eikyō kara wa dare mo nogareru koto ga dekinai")
> [Some still deny the judgment of science, but none can escape from the impact of forest fire, drought, or storms.]

Again, the present participles are completely omitted and the TTs appear to be much more concise than the ST. As in the previous example, TT12 and TT13 are both from the same newspaper, but they appear in different editions and were written by different journalators. In addition to the present participles, TT12 omitted the sentence's initial clause but kept the first verb, "deny," and attached it to the latter part, replacing "avoid." By doing so, it has changed the meaning of President Obama's speech in a non-negligible manner. TT13 is a more faithful translation when compared to TT12, but it has nevertheless omitted "overwhelming," "devastating," "raging," "crippling," and "more powerful," all of which are qualifiers that added color, rhythm, and specific meaning to the original speech.

A similar type of omission can be found in the next example from President Obama's victory speech. This type of omission frequently appeared throughout the corpus. Since only one matching ST-TT pair is shown, the omissions are indicated by strikethroughs for easier comparison.

ST4: We ~~may have~~ battled fiercely, but it's only because we love this country ~~deeply~~, and we care ~~so strongly~~ about its future.
TT14: 「我々は激しく戦ったが、それはひとえにこの国を愛し、その未来を気に掛けているからだ」（*Asahi Shimbun*, November 8, morning edition, 1)
("Wareware wa hageshiku tatakatta ga, sore wa hitoeni kono kuni o ai shi, sono mirai o kinikakete iru kara da")
[We battled fiercely, but it's only because we love this country and we care about its future]

In most of the cases presented in this subsection, the omissions have changed the meaning of the original speech in a clearly noticeable manner. However, in spite of the possibility that this might have altered readers' perception, the political and diplomatic influence seems to remain relatively minor because the omissions do not deal with factual data. Although the impact such changes may have caused are non-negligible, since the speech event was broadcast live with simultaneous interpreting and repeatedly aired with subtitles, it seems safe to assume that the impression of President Obama would have been more strongly influenced by that footage rather than the texual changes observed. In addition, the reasons for these types of omission can be logically explained: some are due to time and/or space limitations and some to journalistic conventions dictating that Japanese newspapers prioritize clarity and conciseness.[11] However, omissions in the next few examples from President Obama's inaugural address, again indicated by strikethroughs, are much more difficult to explain.

ST5: Our journey is not complete until all our children, from ~~the streets of Detroit to the hills of Appalachia, to~~ the quiet lanes of Newtown, know that they are cared for and cherished and always safe from harm.
TT15: 「ニュータウンの静かな路地にいるすべての子供たちが、愛され、大切にされていると感じ、危害を加えられない安全な場所にいると常に思えるようになるまで、我々の旅は終わらない」（*Asahi Shimbun*, January 23, morning edition, 12)
("Nyūtaun no shizukana roji ni iru subete no kodomo tachi ga, aisare, taisetsu ni sarete iru to kanji, kigai o kuwaerarenai anzenna basho ni iru to tsuneni omoeru yō ni naru made, wareware no tabi wa owaranai")

[Our journey is not complete until all the children in the quiet lanes of Newtown feel that they are loved and cherished and will always think that they are in a safe place away from harm]

Two locations, "the streets of Detroit" and "the hills of Appalachia," are omitted in TT15. The most probable reason the ST mentioned Newtown, Connecticut, is that there was a shooting incident just a month before the inauguration ceremony, killing twenty children and six adults. If assuming that President Obama is giving examples of gun threats in the United States, "hills of Appalachia" could be a reference to the shooting at Virginia Polytechnic Institute in 2007, which killed thirty-two people and is remembered as having been at the time the deadliest shooting incident by a single gunman in America, a record which stood for more than nine years. As for Detroit, it is likely to have been chosen because the city has been challenged by the deterioration of public safety and an epidemic of gun violence.

Although the two journalators whose names appeared in the byline were not available for interviews, several interviewees who participated in the present study agreed that the most likely reason for omitting the two locations other than Newtown was because the references would be either too old or too foreign for the Japanese readers to recall. In that sense, it is understandable that each journalator was trying to make the quote as readily understandable as possible for their target audience, the average Japanese reader. The omission here is therefore considered a translation strategy based on editorial decision-making by the Japanese journalators.

However, the journalators interviewed also agreed that this type of omission within quotation marks would not be acceptable if the speech were in Japanese because direct quotations are supposed to be faithful reproductions of what the speaker said. They added that the standard approach would be to take away the quotation marks and treat the passage as indirect speech, which was not the protocol that this journalator followed.

Here is another example of a non-standard omission of factual data, again from President Obama's inaugural address. Underlines are used instead of strikethroughs to indicate the changed parts because there are several TTs and both omissions as well as substitutions are observed.

ST6: We will support democracy from Asia to Africa, <u>from the Americas</u> to the Middle East, because our interests and our conscience compel us to act on behalf of those who long for freedom.
TT16: 「アジア、アフリカ、中東にいたるまで、我々は民主主義を支援する」（*Asahi Shimbun*, January 22, evening edition, 1)

("Ajia, Afurika, Chūtō ni itaru made, wareware wa minshu shugi o shien suru")

[We (will) support democracy from Asia to Africa, and to the Middle East.]

TT17:「アジア、アフリカ、中東の民主主義を支援する」（*Tokyo Shimbun*, January 22, evening edition, 1)

("Ajia, Afurika, Chūtō no minshu shugi o shien suru")

[(We will) support democracy in Asia, Africa and the Middle East.]

TT18:「アジアからアフリカまで民主主義を支援する」（*The Nikkei*, January 23, morning edition, 9)

("Ajia kara Afurika made minshu shugi o shien suru")

[(We will) support democracy from Asia to Africa.]

TT19:「アジア、アフリカ、中南米、中東で民主主義を支援する」（*Yomiuri Shimbun*, January 22, evening edition, 1)

("Ajia, Afurika, Chūnanbei, Chūtō de minshu shugi o shien suru")

[(We will) support democracy in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East.]

Four papers quoted this portion of President Obama's inaugural address, but TTs 16 to 18 omitted "the Americas," which is the third region of the four he mentioned. The shortest and most literal translation for "the Americas" would be *"Beishū"* (米州) [States of the Americas] in Japanese, which could have been considered too formal or literary for the average Japanese newspaper reader. An alternative translation, *"Nanboku Amerika tairiku"* (南北アメリカ大陸) [South and North American continents] must have been rejected as being too long. TT18 did not include the Americas or the Middle East, but this can be explained as a partial quotation of the first part of ST6. However, to drop only the third region out of the four in a direct quotation is very uncommon, even by Japanese journalistic standards. Nevertheless, not one but two newspapers (TT16 and TT17) opted for this strategy. TT19 used substitution, another strategy which is further analyzed later in this chapter.

As mentioned earlier, previous research has already identified that "omission is a key strategy in the translation of news items" (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009, 8). This in itself is not surprising because, in general, time allowed for translation is dwindling in the internet era, and translators must adjust accordingly. This is not only limited to news translation as Cronin (2005, 111) described fifteen years ago:

Given time-space compression as a feature of the global age and the importance of time-to-market as a guiding principle of economic activity in the post-Fordist economy, the pressure is on translators to deliver translations

as quickly as possible, facilitating the global dissemination of goods and services.

News translation scholars seem to agree. Through his experience in Finnish newsrooms, Hursti (2001) discovered that, in the case of news translation carried out by the Finnish News Agency, omissions ranging from "complete paragraph[s]… to sentences to… individual lexical items" frequently occurred. From this observation, he concluded, "the decision to delete parts of the STs was the most frequently used gatekeeping operation in the TTs" (ibid., sec. 4, para. 4). Jiménez-Crespo (2012, 64) describes that in news translation, which is performed under the pressure of a deadline, omissions were more prevalent than other strategies such as addition. As Holland (2013, 336) suggests, "any analysis of translation in the news must take into account the hectic pace of news gathering, production and dissemination in general."

While some treat omission as error, others, such as Gile ([1995] 2009) points out that deliberate omission can be considered "tactics" and not errors. Dimitriu (2004, 163–164) also stresses that omission as a translation strategy can be effectively used for various purposes and should be differentiated from mere errors. However, questions still remain as to whether the use of omission by Japanese journalators can be justified given the fact that they have omitted parts of direct quotations which are presented as "the newsmaker's own words" (Bell 1991, 207).

The last two examples, ST5 and ST6 along with their corresponding TTs, indicate that the journalators—at least those of Japanese newspapers—tend to "meet their readers' needs and offer them what they are likely to consume" by not translating parts of the original (Dimitriu 2004, 174). This finding is explored in more detail in Chapter 7 in combination with first-hand accounts of the journalators regarding how risk might have affected their decision-making in translation.

6.3.2.2 Examples of Addition

As seen, omission was used in more than half of the TTs in this corpus, supporting the findings in prior research that omission is the dominant translation strategy in news translation. However, the other two strategies, addition and substitution, were also used, though less frequently. The remainder of this chapter provides some examples of the use of addition and substitution for comparison with the use of omission. The first example is from President Obama's victory speech. The parts that were added in the TTs are underlined for ease of reference.

ST7: Our economy is recovering. A decade of war is ending.
TT20:「経済は回復に向かっている。10年続いた<u>（イラクとアフガニスタンで）</u>戦争
は終わろうとしている」（*Mainichi Shimbun*, November 8, morning edition, 1)
("Keizai wa kaifuku ni mukatte iru. Jū nen tsuzuita <u>(Iraku to Afuganisutan
de)</u> sensō wa owarō to shite iru")
[The economy is recovering. A decade of war <u>(in Iraq and Afghanistan)</u>
is coming to an end]

The reason for this addition seems straightforward: average Japanese readers
might not understand which war(s) President Obama is referring to with
the phrase "a decade of war." Therefore, the journalator inserted additional
information in parentheses, which was thought to be implicit in the original.
This is a standard "elaboration addition" (Barik 1971, 202), prevalent in printed
news articles produced around the world. The next example contains the
same type of addition.

ST8: Our journey is not complete until our gay brothers and sisters are
treated like anyone else under the law.
TT21:「ゲイ<u>（同性愛）</u>の兄弟姉妹が法の下で平等に扱われるまで、我々の旅は
終わらない」（*Asahi Shimbun*, January 23, morning edition, 3)
("Gei <u>[dōseiai]</u> no kyōdai shimai ga hō no moto de byōdō ni atsukawareru
made, wareware no tabi wa owaranai.")
[Our journey is not complete until our gay <u>(homosexual)</u> brothers and
sisters are treated equally under the law.]

The only case of addition more difficult to explain came from President
Obama's victory speech.

ST9: Tonight, in this election, you, the American people, reminded us that
while our road has been hard, while our journey has been long, we have
picked ourselves up, we have fought our way back.
TT22:「この選挙は、道のりが険しくても、旅が長くても、苦労して<u>（経済が）</u>回
復してきたことを思い出させる」（*Yomiuri Shimbun*, November 8, morning
edition, 11)
("Kono senkyo wa, michinori ga kewashiku te mo, tabi ga nagaku te mo,
kurō shite <u>(keizai ga)</u> kaifuku shitekita koto o omoidasaseru")
[This election reminds us that while our road has been hard, while our
journey has been long, we have made great efforts and <u>(the economy has)</u>
recovered.]

Despite the fact that the subject has been changed from "the American people" to "this election," the first half of TT22 seems to reflect the original relatively faithfully. However, by inserting "the economy has" and changing the structure of the sentence towards the end, TT22 creates the impression that President Obama is talking about economic recovery alone.

6.3.2.3   Examples of Substitution

Compared to addition, which was used only in 10 percent of the TTs, substitution, which was used 31 percent overall, showed higher levels of manipulation. The following examples are both from the same edition of *Tokyo Shimbun*, but by different journalators on different pages. The first one was categorized as omission and addition, and the second as omission and substitution. The omitted parts in the STs (including the beginning of the sentence which was not included in the TTs) are indicated by strikethroughs, and the added or substituted parts are underlined.

> **ST10:** ~~We are greater than the sum of our individual ambitions, and~~ we remain more than a collection of red states and blue states. We are, ~~and forever will be,~~ the United States of America.
>
> **TT23:**「われわれは (共和党支持の) 赤い州と (民主党支持の) 青い州の寄せ集めでなく、アメリカ合衆国だ」(*Tokyo Shimbun*, November 8, morning edition, 3)
> ("Wareware wa [Kyōwatō shiji no] akai shū to [Minshutō shiji no] aoi shū no yoseatsume denaku, Amerika Gasshūkoku da")
> [We are more than a collection of red states (supporting the Republicans) and blue states (supporting the Democrats). We are the United States of America]
>
> **ST11:** ~~We are greater than the sum of our individual ambitions, and~~ we remain more than a collection of red states and blue states. ~~We are, and forever will be, the United States of America. And~~ together, ~~with your help, and God's grace,~~ we will continue ~~our journey~~ forward, ~~and remind the world just why it is that we live in the greatest nation on Earth~~.
>
> **TT24:**「民主党か共和党では区別できない一つの国があるだけ。共に前進しよう」(*Tokyo Shimbun*, November 8, morning edition, 8)
> ("Minshutō ka Kyōwatō de wa kubetsu dekinai hitotsu no kuni ga aru dake. Tomoni zenshin shiyō")
> [There is one country which cannot be distinguished solely by the Democratic Party or the Republican Party. Let us move forward]

The use of addition in TT23 seems to be in line with the previous examples of addition in which information implicit in the original was added for the convenience of the average Japanese reader, who might not understand what red states and blue states are. However, TT24 changes both the subject ("we" to "There is") and the structure of the sentence as a whole, making the back-translation completely different from the original speech.

The next example, also from President Obama's victory speech, goes even further. The substituted part is underlined.

> **ST12:** Tonight, <u>more than 200 years after a former colony won the right to determine its own destiny,</u> the task of perfecting our union moves forward.
> **TT25:**「完全な一つの連合体を形成するという<u>建国以来の</u>任務が今夜、前進した」(*Mainichi Shimbun*, November 8, morning edition, 7)
> ("Kanzenna hitotsu no rengōtai o keisei suru to iu <u>kenkoku irai</u> no ninmu ga kon'ya, zenshin shita")
> [Creating a perfect union, a task <u>since our founding</u>, moved forward tonight.]

TT25 took a long phrase from the original, "more than 200 years after a former colony won the right to determine its own destiny," and substituted it with "since our founding." The strategy has succeeded in shortening the sentence dramatically, but the TT no longer resembles the original words of President Obama.

The example below combines omission and substitution, resulting in a TT that appears to be a patchwork of President Obama's words rather than a direct quotation. Since there are so many omissions, indicated by the strikethroughs, and substitutions, indicated by double-underlines, it is easier to compare ST13 and TT26 by focusing only on the parts that are neither struck through nor underlined.

> **ST13:** <u>As it has for more than two centuries,</u> ~~progress will come in fits and starts. It's not always a straight line.~~ It's not always a smooth path. ~~By itself, the recognition that we have common hopes and dreams won't end all the gridlock, or solve all our problems, or substitute for the painstaking work~~ of building consensus, ~~and making the difficult compromises needed~~ <u>to move this country forward</u>.
> **TT26:**「<u>建国以来</u>、道のりは平坦 (へいたん) ではなかったが、米国は合意形成による<u>発展を成し遂げてきた</u>」(*Sankei Shimbun*, November 8, morning edition, 1)
> ("<u>Kenkoku irai,</u> michinori wa heitan de wa nakatta ga, Beikoku wa gōi keisei ni yoru <u>hatten o nashitogete kita</u>")

[Since its founding, the path has not been smooth, but America has achieved progress through consensus-building.]

The following three examples show significant changes in word order and structure, which seem to have resulted from the difficulty in converting grammatical structures and rendering idiomatic expressions from English to Japanese. Only the strikethroughs indicating the parts omitted are shown in the examples below.

> **ST14:** America has never been about what can be done for us. It's about what can be done by us, ~~together, through the hard and frustrating but necessary work of self-government~~.
> **TT27:** 「国が何をしてくれるかを問うのではなく、我々がともに何ができるかを問うのが米国らしさだ」(*Yomiuri Shimbun*, November 8, morning edition, 1)
> ("Kuni ga nani o shite kureru ka o tou no de wa naku, wareware ga tomoni nani ga dekiru ka o tou no ga Beikoku rashisa da")
> [Instead of asking the country what it can do for us, asking ourselves what we can do together is America-ness]

The expression "America's never been about" in ST14 does not have a ready equivalent in Japanese. Instead, TT27 came up with "America-ness" which can also be translated as "the American way" in order to compensate for the missed connotation. The Japanese version also seems to make an allusion to a famous phrase from former president John F. Kennedy's inaugural address in 1961: "Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country." The journalator translating President Obama's speech possibly had this well-known phrase in mind, although Obama's words did not bear a close resemblance to Kennedy's.

A similar pattern can be observed in the next example.

> **ST15:** [...] because our interests and our conscience compel us to act on behalf of those who long for freedom.
> **TT28:** 「自由を望む人々のために行動することは、国益でもあり我々の良心でもある」(*Mainichi Shimbun*, January 22, evening edition, 6)
> ("Jiyū o nozomu hitobito no tame ni kōdō suru koto wa, kokueki de mo ari wareware no ryōshin de mo aru")
> [...to act for those who long for freedom is our national interest and our conscience]

The subjects in ST15 (i.e., "our interests and our conscience") cannot naturally form a principal clause in Japanese writing. Therefore, the whole sentence structure needed to be changed, sacrificing faithfulness in meaning for naturalness in form.

The next example is a combination of drastic omission and substitution. The changes are too many to be indicated by underlines or strikethroughs.

ST16: It doesn't matter whether you're black or white, or Hispanic or Asian, or Native American, or young or old, or rich or poor, able, disabled, gay or straight, you can make it here in America if you're willing to try.

TT29: 「人種や貧富の差を乗り越え、成功することができるのが米国だ」(*Tokyo Shimbun*, November 8, morning edition, 8)

("Jinshu ya hinpu no sa o norikoe, seikō suru koto ga dekiru no ga Beikoku da")

[America is where one can overcome race and disparity in wealth and succeed]

As seen in TT29, most of the specifics listed in ST16 are lumped together into race and income inequality. If the journalator attempted to state all of these specific elements in Japanese, it would have become a very long and complicated sentence resulting in decreased readability or split into multiple sentences thereby taking up more space. However, this is another case in which the decision to retain the quotation marks is debatable.

The TTs for ST17 and ST18 below seem to indicate some desire by the journalators to adapt the speech so that the direct quotations would fit the structure of their article.

ST17: We cannot mistake absolutism for principle, substitute spectacle for politics, or treat name-calling as reasoned debate. We must act, knowing that our work will be imperfect.

TT30: 「非難合戦をしている場合ではない。行動の時だ」(*Yomiuri Shimbun*, January 22, evening edition, 1)

("Hinan gassen wo shite iru baai de wa nai. Kōdō no toki da")

[It is not a time for mutual criticism. It is time to act.]

For instance, TT30 above was accompanied by the reporting clause "*to kyōryoku o yobikaketa*" (と協力を呼びかけた) [called for cooperation] in the article, reflecting the intention of the journalator to make the message appear stronger and more appealing. However, the original wording and structure had been transformed in such a way that ST17 was identified as a direct

quotation only after discovering that the same phrase had been included in the summarized version of the entire speech which was translated and appeared on a separate page of the newspaper. Without additional clues in the article from the parts before and after the selected sentences, it would have been nearly impossible to pinpoint ST17 as the one corresponding with TT30. It is also important to note that this direct quotation was used again in the digest of the week's news four days later. This indicates that once a direct quotation is published and registered in the database, it can be reused without being verified against the original.

In the last example, ST18 has been transformed so drastically that the content of the message has changed and the identity of the people being discussed has broadened.

ST18: But while the means will change, our purpose endures: a nation that rewards the effort and determination of every single American.
TT31:「努力する全ての人が報われなければならない」(*The Nikkei*, January 23, morning edition, 9)
("Doryoku suru subete no hito ga mukuwarenakereba naranai")
[All people who try hard must be rewarded.]

Although it is possible to categorize these as errors or mistranslations, there seems to be a common thread or underlying reasoning behind such practices. Some of these unanswered questions are examined further in Chapter 7 through risk analysis and by coroborating these findings with the journalators' own accounts obtained through interviews.

Chapter 7
News Translation Practices in Various Genres

The previous chapter outlined the main shifts between the ST and the TT, most of which can arguably be identified as strategies used by the Japanese journalators. Although a certain level of logical explanation seemed possible in some cases, more than a few remained that could not be explained by analyzing the TTs alone. Moreover, some of the examples indicated that significant levels of manipulation took place for reasons not immediately evident to the reader, despite the fact that direct quotations are supposed to be faithful reproductions of the original speech. In order to provide reasons for these "unethical or non-standard practices" (Pym 2016, 247), this chapter aims to further analyze the TTs using risk management as a theoretical framework. First, some of the examples in the previous chapter that were difficult to explain by examining the TTs alone are reviewed and then re-analyzed by focusing on the effort and risks involved. Second, the findings are verified with personal accounts from the journalators to corroborate the text analysis. Third, preliminary conclusions are presented, which are tested against other news translation cases in Chapter 8.

7.1   Unethical and Non-Standard Practices

One of the most obvious examples of non-standard translation practices is seen in the translations of ST1 from President Obama's inaugural address.[1]

> **ST1:** We will support democracy from Asia to Africa, from the Americas to the Middle East, because our interests and our conscience compel us to act on behalf of those who long for freedom.
> **TT1:**「アジア、アフリカ、中東にいたるまで、我々は民主主義を支援する」(*Asahi Shimbun*, January 22, evening edition, 1)
> ("Ajia, Afurika, Chūtō ni itaru made, wareware wa minshu shugi o shien suru")
> [We (will) support democracy from Asia to Africa, and to the Middle East.]
> **TT2:**「アジア、アフリカ、中東の民主主義を支援する」(*Tokyo Shimbun*, January 22, evening edition, 1)

("Ajia, Afurika, Chūtō no minshu shugi o shien suru")

[(We will) support democracy in Asia, Africa and the Middle East.]

TT3:「アジアからアフリカまで民主主義を支援する」（*The Nikkei*, January 23, morning edition, 9)

("Ajia kara Afurika made minshu shugi o shien suru")

[(We will) support democracy from Asia to Africa.]

TT4:「アジア、アフリカ、<u>中南米</u>、中東で民主主義を支援する」（*Yomiuri Shimbun*, January 22, evening edition, 1)

("Ajia, Afurika, <u>Chūnanbei</u>, Chūtō de minshu shugi o shien suru")

[(We will) support democracy in Asia, Africa, <u>Latin America</u> and the Middle East.]

As seen in Chapter 6, four newspapers quoted this portion of President Obama's inaugural address with TTs 1 to 3 omitting "the Americas," which is the third region of the four he mentioned. Although some explanation, such as the necessity of saving space, is possible, omitting factual data in a direct quotation demands a more substantial justification since it violates standard journalistic practice. As seen previously, Reuters (2017, under "Quotations") clearly states in its *Handbook of Journalism*, "Quotes are sacred. Do not alter anything put in quotation marks." Although the same handbook places importance on readability when it comes to translated quotations by stating, "If a quote is translated into English from a foreign language, make sure it makes sense and reads well in English" (ibid.), this clearly does not mean that factual data can be omitted or changed.

7.1.1   Comparing Interlingual and Intralingual Practices

It is important to note that this degree of omission is not customary for Japanese newspapers when reporting in monolingual settings. As shown in the translations of ST2 below, when the same six newspapers covered Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's policy speech just a week after President Obama's inauguration, direct quotations appeared to be faithful reproductions of the original with only minor stylistic changes made. Text from the transcript of Abe's original speech is shown in the STs below, followed by "provisional translations" in English released by the Office of the Prime Minister. I made slight modifications when necessary to make it closely match the original wording (e.g., the "I" put in parentheses below). The TTs are direct quotations, which appeared in the newspaper articles covering the event. The underlining indicates the parts that differ between the ST and the TTs.

ST2: 大胆な金融政策、機動的な財政政策、<u>そして</u>民間投資を喚起する成長戦略<u>という</u>「三本の矢」で、経済再生を推し進め<u>ます。</u>

(Daitanna kin'yū seisaku, kidōtekina zaisei seisaku, <u>soshite</u> minkan tōshi o kanki suru seichō senryaku <u>to iu</u> "sanbon no ya" de, keizai saisei o oshisusume<u>masu.)</u>

[(I) will press forward with economic revival under the "three prongs" of bold monetary policy, flexible fiscal policy, and a growth strategy that encourages private sector investment.]

TT5: 「大胆な金融政策と機動的な財政政策、民間投資を喚起する成長戦略<u>の</u>『三本の矢』で経済再生を推し進め<u>る</u>」 (*Asahi Shimbun*, January 28, evening edition, 1)

("Daitanna kin'yū seisaku to kidōtekina zaisei seisaku, minkan tōshi o kanki suru seichō senryaku <u>no</u> 'sanbon no ya' de keizai saisei o oshisusume<u>ru</u>")

[(I) will press forward with economic revival under the "three prongs" of bold monetary policy, flexible fiscal policy, and a growth strategy that encourages private sector investment.]

TT6: 「大胆な金融政策、機動的な財政政策、民間投資を喚起する成長戦略という『３本の矢』で経済再生を推し進め<u>る</u>」 (*Asahi Shimbun*, January 29, morning edition, 2)

("Daitanna kin'yū seisaku, kidōtekina zaisei seisaku, minkan tōshi o kanki suru seichō senryaku to iu 'sanbon no ya' de keizai saisei o oshisusume<u>ru</u>")

[(I) will press forward with economic revival under the "three prongs" of bold monetary policy, flexible fiscal policy, and a growth strategy that encourages private sector investment.]

TT7: 「大胆な金融政策、機動的な財政政策、民間投資を喚起する成長戦略<u>の</u>『三本の矢』で経済再生を<u>進める</u>」 (*Mainichi Shimbun*, January 28, evening edition, 1)

("Daitanna kin'yū seisaku, kidōtekina zaisei seisaku, minkan tōshi o kanki suru seichō senryaku <u>no</u> 'sanbon no ya' de keizai saisei o <u>susumeru</u>")

[(I) will <u>promote</u> economic revival under the "three prongs" of bold monetary policy, flexible fiscal policy, and a growth strategy that encourages private sector investment.]

As indicated by underlines both in the Japanese original and its romanized versions, the changes made are minor, which can be seen just by looking at the number of characters replaced. In the case of TT5 and TT6, the differences are limited to cosmetic changes in the use of conjunctions and the elimination of the suffix "*masu*" (ます) at the end, which is an honorific used in Japanese grammar to show politeness. Such practice is considered standard in Japanese news writing (Satoh 2001). As a result, the back-translations for

TTs 5 and 6 turned out to be exactly the same as the official translation for ST2. TT7 shortened the last verb "*oshisusumeru*" (推し進める) [press forward] to "*susumeru*" (進める) [promote] for brevity, producing only a subtle change in meaning.

The fact that ST2 is quoted almost verbatim by multiple newspapers as seen here suggests that Davis's (1985, 47) finding that "the higher the status of a speaker, the more direct the presentation" is also applicable in the case of direct quotations by Japanese newspapers (i.e., how the quote is presented within the quotation marks). This makes it even more difficult to provide a logical explanation for the non-standard omission in the case of President Obama, whose speech deserves the same treatment given his high status.

It can still be argued, however, that such verbatim quotation was possible in the case of ST2 in part because it was structured so simply and concisely. Therefore, it is worth examining a more complex example, such as the translations of ST3, which are shown below.

> **ST3:** 私が<u>何故</u>、数ある課題のうち<u>経済の再生</u>に最もこだわるのか。<u>それは、長引</u>くデフレや円高が<u>、</u>「頑張る人は報われる」という社会の信頼の基盤を根底から揺るがしている<u>と考える</u>から<u>です</u>。
> (Watashi ga <u>naze</u>, kazu aru kadai no uchi <u>keizai no saisei</u> ni mottomo kodawaru no ka. <u>Sore wa</u>, nagabiku defure ya endaka ga, "ganbaru hito wa mukuwareru" to iu shakai no shinrai no kiban o kontei kara yurugashite iru <u>to kangaeru</u> kara <u>desu</u>.)
> [Of the numerous issues (Japan faces), <u>why</u> do I insist on <u>reviving the economy</u> most of all? It is because <u>(I) consider</u> prolonged deflation and the appreciation of the yen to be shaking from their very base the foundations of trust in society that "those who work hard shall be rewarded."]
> **TT8:** 「私がなぜ、数ある課題のうち<u>経済再生</u>に最もこだわるのか。長引くデフレや円高が『頑張る人は報われる』という社会の信頼の基盤を根底から揺るがしているから<u>だ</u>」（*Asahi Shimbun*, January 29, morning edition, 2)
> ("Watashi ga naze, kazu aru kadai no uchi <u>keizai saisei</u> ni mottomo kodawaru no ka. Nagabiku defure ya endaka ga 'ganbaru hito wa mukuwareru' to iu shakai no shinrai no kiban o kontei kara yurugashite iru kara <u>da</u>")
> [Of the numerous issues (Japan faces), why do I insist on <u>economic revival</u> most of all? It is because prolonged deflation and the appreciation of the yen is shaking from their very base the foundations of trust in society that "those who work hard shall be rewarded."]

This is a long quotation with a relatively complicated sentence structure, but apart from the cosmetic changes similar to those seen in the previous example

in this subsection, such as removing a punctuation mark and an honorific at the end, only three other minor changes were made. First, the Chinese characters for "*naze*" (何故) [why] were replaced by the Japanese *hiragana* characters "*naze*" (なぜ) because using Chinese characters such as "何故" that are less commonly used goes against the typographical conventions of newspaper writing in Japan (e.g., *Asahi Shimbun* 2019). Second, "*keizai no saisei*" (経済の再生) [revival of the economy] has been changed to "*keizai saisei*" (経済再生) [economic revival] by eliminating the particle "*no*" (の) in between the two nouns, thus forming a single compound noun instead of a noun phrase. Third, "*to kangaeru*" (と考える) [(I) consider] has been omitted, seemingly for brevity, but the deletion does not alter the sense of the quote and thus seems acceptable. Other than these minor changes, ST3 has been closely represented in TT8.

The *Yomiuri Shimbun*'s rendition shown in TT9 also quoted the latter half of this portion in a similar manner, with the only change being the omission of "*to kangaeru kara desu*" (と考えるからです) [It is because (I) consider].

> **TT9:** 「長引くデフレや円高が、『頑張る人は報われる』という社会の信頼の基盤を根底から揺るがしている」 (*Yomiuri Shimbun*, January 29, morning edition, 1)
> ("Nagabiku defure ya endaka ga, 'ganbaru hito wa mukuwareru' to iu shakai no shinrai no kiban o kontei kara yurugashite iru")
> [Prolonged deflation and the appreciation of the yen is shaking from their very base the foundations of trust in society that "those who work hard shall be rewarded."]

In contrast, ST4 is much longer and therefore more words are omitted from its corresponding TTs than in ST3 example above. However, the tone of the original speech as well as its central message is much better preserved in each of the TTs when compared to direct quotations from President Obama's speeches. The part in ST4 omitted in both TT10 and TT11 is indicated by strikethrough instead of underline, which is used for other changes.

> **ST4:** 私は、かつて病のために職を辞し、大きな政治的挫折を経験した人間です。国家の舵取りをつかさどる重責を改めてお引き受けするからには、過去の反省を教訓として心に刻み、丁寧な対話を心掛けながら、真摯に国政運営に当たっていくことを誓います。
> (Watashi wa, katsute yamai no tame ni shoku o jishi, ōkina seijiteki zasetsu o keiken shita ningen desu. ~~Kokka no kaji tori o tsukasadoru jūseki o aratamete ohikiuke suru kara ni wa,~~ kako no hansei o kyōkun toshite

kokoro ni kizami, teineina taiwa o kokorogake nagara, <u>shinshi ni</u> kokusei
un'ei ni atatte iku koto o <u>chikaimasu</u>.)

[I am someone who has suffered a major political setback, as I have <u>once</u>
resigned from this position due to illness. ~~Having once again accepted the~~
~~heavy responsibility of presiding over the steering of the nation,~~ <u>(I) vow</u>
to manage national policy <u>in a sincere manner</u>, taking to heart reflections
and lessons from the past while keeping in mind the importance of careful
dialogue.]

TT10：「私は、かつて病のために職を辞し、大きな政治的挫折を経験した人間<u>で</u>
<u>す</u>。過去の反省を教訓として心に刻み、丁寧な対話を心がけながら国政運営にあた
っていくことを<u>誓います</u>」（*Asahi Shimbun*, January 29, morning edition, 2)

("Watashi wa, katsute yamai no tame ni shoku o jishi, ōkina seijiteki zasetsu
o keiken shita ningen desu. Kako no hansei o kyōkun toshite kokoro ni
kizami, teineina taiwa o kokorogake nagara kokusei un'ei ni atatte iku
koto o chikaimasu")

[I am someone who has suffered a major political setback, as I have once
resigned from this position due to illness. (I) vow to manage national
policy, taking to heart reflections and lessons from the past while keeping
in mind the importance of careful dialogue.]

TT11：「私は大きな政治的挫折を経験した人間<u>だ</u>。過去の反省を教訓として心に
刻み、<u>真摯（しんし）に</u>国政運営にあたっていく」（*Asahi Shimbun*, January 28,
evening edition, 1)

("Watashi wa ōkina seijiteki zasetsu o keiken shita ningen <u>da</u>. Kako no hansei
o kyōkun toshite kokoro ni kizami, <u>shinshi ni</u> kokusei un'ei ni atatte iku")

[I am someone who has suffered a major political setback. (I) will manage
national policy in a sincere manner, taking to heart reflections and lessons
from the past while keeping in mind the importance of careful dialogue.]

TT10 and TT11 are both from the *Asahi Shimbun*, but were published half a
day apart. When the evening edition was being edited on January 28, the
policy speech had not yet been delivered, as indicated by the future tense of
"Prime Minister Abe will give his policy speech today" and "Prime Minster
Abe will deliver […]" which appeared repeatedly in all the evening editions
of the newspapers selected. This means that the journalists were working
from "embargoed material" (Bielsa 2007, 149) made available by the Office
of the Prime Minister, which is often the case with scheduled public speeches
from high ranking officials (Farhi 2013). The morning edition, which was
published on January 29, quotes the actual speech as it was delivered live by
Prime Minister Abe at around 2 p.m. (JST) on January 28 (at which point
the deadline for the previous evening edition had already passed).

This partially explains why the direct quotation in the evening edition (TT11) was shorter (i.e., the article was only reporting what was scheduled to occur) and did not include as much detail of the actual speech as the morning paper published the following day (TT10), which was very detailed, even to the point of retaining the honorifics. Nevertheless, TT10 and TT11 both represent the original speech almost verbatim, although in both cases, "*kokka no kaji tori o tsukasadoru jūseki o aratamete ohikiuke suru kara ni wa*" (国家の舵取りをつかさどる重責を改めてお引き受けするからには) [Having once again accepted the heavy responsibility of presiding over the steering of the nation] was omitted, as indicated by strikethrough text in ST4. This is understandable given the sheer length of ST4 and also the fact that this phrase only restates why Abe was giving his speech.[2] The only meaningful word omitted in TT10 was "*shinshi ni*" (真摯に) [in a sincere manner], which is written using difficult Chinese characters and thus, based on the *Asahi*'s internal rule (*Asahi Shimbun* 2019),[3] would need to be accompanied by phonetic characters if retained, as seen in TT11.

The other newspapers also quoted the same portion of the Prime Minister's speech. The *Yomiuri Shimbun* (TT12) did so almost verbatim, including the retention of the verb-ending honorifics, while the other newspapers used briefer quotations (TTs 13 to 15).

> **TT12:** 「私は大きな政治的挫折を経験した人間です。過去の反省を教訓として心に刻み、丁寧な対話を心掛けながら、真摯（しんし）に国政運営に当たっていくことを誓います」(*Yomiuri Shimbun*, January 29, morning edition, 3)
> ("Watashi wa ōkina seijiteki zasetsu o keiken shita ningen desu. Kako no hansei o kyōkun toshite kokoro ni kizami, teineina taiwa o kokorogake nagara, shinshi ni kokusei un'ei ni atatte iku koto o chikaimasu")
> [I am someone who has suffered a major political setback. (I) vow to manage national policy in a sincere manner, taking to heart reflections and lessons from the past while keeping in mind the importance of careful dialogue.]
> **TT13:** 「病のために職を辞し、政治的挫折を経験した。過去の反省を教訓として心に刻み、丁寧な対話を心掛けながら国政運営に当たる」(*Sankei Shimbun*, January 29, morning edition, 3)
> ("Yamai no tame ni shoku o jishi, seijiteki zasetsu o keiken shita. Kako no hansei o kyōkun toshite kokoro ni kizami, teineina taiwa o kokorogake nagara kokusei un'ei ni ataru")
> [(I) suffered a major political setback for resigning from this position due to illness. (I) will manage national policy, taking to heart reflections and lessons from the past while keeping in mind the importance of careful dialogue.]

TT14: 「過去の反省を教訓として心に刻み、丁寧な対話を心がけながら<u>真摯に</u>国政にあたることを誓う」 (*The Nikkei*, January 28, evening edition, 1)
("Kako no hansei o kyōkun toshite kokoro ni kizami, teineina taiwa o kokorogake nagara <u>shinshi ni</u> kokusei ni ataru koto o chikau")
[(I) vow to manage national policy in a sincere manner, taking to heart reflections and lessons from the past while keeping in mind the importance of careful dialogue.]

TT15: 「過去の反省を教訓として心に刻み、<u>真摯（しんし）に</u>国政運営に当たっていくことを誓う」 (*Mainichi Shimbun*, January 28, evening edition, 1)
("Kako no hansei o kyōkun toshite kokoro ni kizami, <u>shinshi ni</u> kokusei un'ei ni atatte iku koto o chikau")
[(I) vow to manage national policy in a sincere manner, taking to heart reflections and lessons from the past.]

A final example (ST5) is taken from the portion of Prime Minister Abe's policy speech wherein he outlines the concrete measures he intends to take as part of his economic policy. Five out of the six newspapers quoted this part of his speech.

ST5: 日本銀行において二％の物価安定目標をできるだけ早期に実現することを含め、政府と日本銀行がそれぞれの責任において、共同声明の内容をきちんと実行していくことが重要であり、政府と日本銀行の一層の緊密な連携を図ってまいります。
(Nippon ginkō ni oite ni pāsento no bukka antei mokuhyō o dekirudake sōki ni jitsugen suru koto o fukume, seifu to nihon ginkō ga sorezore no sekinin ni oite, kyōdō seimei no naiyō o kichinto jikkō shite iku koto ga jūyō deari, seifu to Nippon Ginkō no issō no kinmitsuna renkei o hakatte mairimasu.)
[It is important that the government and the Bank of Japan each faithfully carry out the contents of the joint statement within their respective areas of responsibility, including the Bank of Japan bringing a 2% price stability target into reality within the earliest possible time. The government and the Bank of Japan will engage in even closer cooperation (in the future).]

TT16: 「2％の物価安定目標をできるだけ早期に実現することを含め、それぞれの責任できちんと実行していくことが重要」 (*Mainichi Shimbun*, January 28, evening edition, 1)
("Ni pāsento no bukka antei mokuhyō o dekirudake sōki ni jitsugen suru koto o fukume, sorezore no sekinin de kichinto jikkō shite iku koto ga jūyō")
[It is important that each faithfully carry out (the content of the joint statement within) their respective areas of responsibility, including (the Bank of Japan) bringing a 2% price stability target into reality within the earliest possible time.]

TT17: 「政府と日銀がそれぞれの責任で声明の内容をきちんと実行していくこと
が重要だ」 (*The Nikkei*, January 28, evening edition, 1)

("Seifu to nichigin ga sorezore no sekinin de seimei no naiyō o kichinto
jikkō shite iku koto ga jūyō da")

[It is important that the government and the Bank of Japan each faithfully
carry out the content of the statement within their respective areas of
responsibility]

TT18: 「政府と日銀がそれぞれの責任で共同声明を実行していくことが重要だ」
(*Tokyo Shimbun*, January 28, evening edition, 2)

("Seifu to nichigin ga sorezore no sekinin de kyōdō seimei o jikkō shite
iku koto ga jūyō da")

[It is important that the government and the Bank of Japan each carry out
the joint statement within their respective areas of responsibility]

TT19: 「できるだけ早期に実現することを含め、それぞれの責任で実行していくこ
とが重要だ」 (*Sankei Shimbun*, January 29, morning edition, 3)

("Dekirudake sōki ni jitsugen suru koto o fukume, sorezore no sekinin de
jikkō shite iku koto ga jūyō da")

[It is important that each carry out their respective areas of responsibility,
including (the Bank of Japan) bringing (a 2% price stability target) into
reality within the earliest possible time.]

TT20: 「政府と日本銀行の一層の緊密な連携を図っていく」 (*Yomiuri Shimbun*,
January 29, morning edition, 1)

("Seifu to Nippon Ginkō no issō no kinmitsu na renkei o hakatte iku")

[The government and the Bank of Japan will engage in even closer coopera-
tion (in the future).]

Due to the fact that Japanese allows for null subjects, some of the TTs did
not contain explicit subjects. In these cases, the implied subjects have been
added in parentheses to the back-translations for clarity. As shown, omission
is used at some level in all of these cases (TTs 16 to 20). Nevertheless, the parts
not included in the direct quotations were mostly explained outside of the
quotation marks; thus, no factual data was lost. Considering that Japanese
readers would better understand the political issues in Japan mentioned in
Prime Minister Abe's speech than the issues of the U.S. which appear in
President Obama's speeches, addition rather than omission would be more
likely to happen in the translation of the latter because more elaboration
tends to be required when the topic is foreign to the reader. However, this
was not the case, as seen in Chapter 6. By looking at the examples above,
there seems to be a clear difference in the way Japanese newspapers quote
Prime Minister Abe and the way they quote President Obama, even though

they are both political leaders of very high status whose speeches should be reported in an equally faithful manner.

7.1.2   Applying a New Concept

As seen in the previous section, although omissions can be observed in the direct quotations of Prime Minister Abe's speech as well, the level of omission used in the case of President Obama's speeches was much more significant, with factual data lost and the meanings changed in a noticeable manner. In order to provide a logical explanation for such a degree of omission—which seems to happen only when interlingual translation is involved—the present study uses risk management as a theoretical framework.

In Pym (2005b, 72), omission is stated as "a common enough strategy, especially in low-risk situations." Using this idea as a guideline, it can be hypothesized that the reason omission was used in 53 percent of the TTs was that translating President Obama's speech was considered a low-risk task by the Japanese newspapers in question, although it may feel intuitively contradictory. Following the same logic, the fact that Prime Minister Abe's speeches were quoted almost verbatim indicates that quoting from Prime Minister Abe's speech was thought to involve higher risk than quoting from President Obama's speeches. Although one might argue that quoting from a source text within the same linguistic and cultural setting (i.e., Japanese newspapers quoting Prime Minister Abe's speech) cannot be directly compared with translated quotations, such comparison nevertheless has merit when considering direct quotations in a monolingual setting a form of "intralingual translation" (Jakobson [1959] 2012, 127).

Based on this logic, the decision-making process of the journalators can be explained using the concept of risk management. In order to analyze the Japanese newspapers' news translation practices using this concept, the present study focuses on the four types of strategies: risk avoidance, risk transfer, risk-taking, and risk mitigation. As introduced in Chapter 4, Akbari (2009), one of the key researchers in this field, initially came up with four possible types of risk management in translation:

a)   risk avoidance (avoiding or eliminating the risk)
b)   risk reduction/mitigation (reducing or mitigating the risk)
c)   risk transfer (outsourcing or transferring the risk)
d)   risk retention (accepting the risk and budgeting for it) (ibid., 514)

Pym (2015) adopted (a) and (c) above, and added risk-taking. Building on Pym (ibid.), Pym and Matsushita (2018) defined risk mitigation differently from Akbari (ibid.), who listed "transliteration" as one typical example of risk reduction/mitigation. Instead, Pym and Matsushita (2018) defined risk mitigation as "a disposition in which the translator incurs one kind of risk in order to reduce another," similar to how a sprinkler system causes water damage in the process of extinguishing a fire. This has been added as the fourth category in analyzing news translation practices by Japanese newspapers.

Regarding the analysis of the risks themselves, the three main categories discussed in Chapter 5—source-oriented risks, target-oriented risks, and general risks—are used. Source-oriented risks include receiving complaints or losing trust from the speaker (i.e., Prime Minister Abe or President Obama) and related parties (i.e., the Japanese or U.S. Government represented respectively by the Prime Minister's Office and the White House). Target-oriented risks stem from the readership. Readers expect newspaper articles to be simultaneously accurate and readable, which, in turn, requires additional features such as clarity, comprehensibility and coherence. Mismanaging this type of risk can lead not only to complaints, but also to a decrease in subscriptions (and, potentially, to downsizing). General risks include exposure to criticism from the public and loss of social influence. As mentioned earlier, general risks are too broad to manage by translation strategies alone, so only the first two categories are analyzed. As discussed in Chapter 5, the risks are measured by the level of impact, probability, proximity, and immediacy.

In terms of source-oriented risk, both Prime Minister Abe and President Obama are government leaders, thus any mistranslation could have a detrimental impact. Both cases can therefore be considered high-impact risk situations. Regarding the second element for risk analysis, which is probability, the two cases differ significantly. It is natural to assume that, for the journalators working for Japanese newspapers, the potential criticism that could arise from misquoting their political leader who is presumed to read Japanese newspapers every day—or at least have someone to infom him of any misquotation on a daily basis—carries higher risk in terms of probability. Failure in managing this risk can lead to high-risk consequences, such as complaints from the Office of the Prime Minister, official comments from the Prime Minister himself criticizing the paper, and the suspension of access to future press conferences.

On the other hand, mistranslating parts of President Obama's speeches poses lower risk in this respect, simply because he is not in Japan and he cannot read Japanese newspapers.[4] Moreover, the risk of receiving complaints or inviting criticism differs significantly between the two cases in terms of

proximity and immediacy. Although the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo monitors news articles by the Japanese media on a regular basis, in order for the embassy to contact the Japanese media to complain, they would first have to consult with the White House and the Department of State,[5] and the exchange between Tokyo and Washington can take many hours if not days given the thirteen- to fourteen-hour difference in time zones. The reason addition and substitution, which require greater effort than omission, were used much less can be explained by the concept of risk management if the overall risk of translating President Obama's quotations was identified as relatively low by the Japanese journalators.

The second type of risk to keep in mind is that of the target audience: Japanese newspaper readers in this case. As seen in the translation of the four regions in ST1, "the Americas" was substituted with "*Chūnanbei*" (中南米) [Latin America] in TT4. Assuming that this was not a simple error but an intentional choice of translation strategy, it is possible to surmise that *Chūnanbei*, a relatively common word, was chosen instead of the uncommon *Beishū* as a way to manage target-oriented risk because using *Beishū* risks non-comprehension by the average reader.

Most Japanese newspapers have reporter handbooks with guidelines containing instructions not to use words or Chinese characters that are too formal or literary. For example, the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, which produced TT4, states the following as one of the basic rules of news writing: "the readers should be able to read the article effortlessly and the content must be understood immediately" (*Yomiuri Shimbun* 2017, 12). The *Yomiuri*'s decision to substitute "the Americas" with "*Chūnanbei*" seems rational from a risk-mitigation perspective. By opting for this strategy and translating "the Americas" as "Latin America," TT4 ignores the United States and Canada, which is a factual error and carries risks of its own. Even so, since President Obama is discussing his country's intention to "support" democracy in other parts of the world, and given that Canada is already an established democracy, the risk associated with the exclusion of the United States and Canada in this context can be considered lower than omitting "the Americas" altogether or of using its unfamiliar equivalent, "*Beishu*."

The next example can be explained by another type of risk management strategy: risk avoidance. Omissions are indicated by strikethrough.

ST6: Our journey is not complete until all our children, from ~~the streets of Detroit to the hills of Appalachia, to~~ the quiet lanes of Newtown, know that they are cared for and cherished and always safe from harm.

TT21:「ニュータウンの静かな路地にいるすべての子供たちが、愛され、大切にされていると感じ、危害を加えられない安全な場所にいると常に思えるようになるまで、我々の旅は終わらない」(*Asahi Shimbun*, January 23, morning edition, 12)
("Nyūtaun no shizukana roji ni iru subete no kodomo tachi ga, ai sare, taisetsu ni sarete iru to kanji, kigai o kuwaerarenai anzenna basho ni iru to tsuneni omoeru yō ni naru made, wareware no tabi wa owaranai")
[Our journey is not complete until all the children in the quiet lanes of Newtown feel that they are loved and cherished and will always think that they are in a safe place away from harm]

As seen in Chapter 5, two locations, "the streets of Detroit" and "the hills of Appalachia," are omitted in TT21. This can be explained as a risk-avoidance strategy used by journalators in order to prevent unfamiliar information from confusing their readers, a strategy not seen in the case of quoting Prime Minister Abe. Although readers "should be able to assume that *every word* between quotation marks is what the speaker or writer said" (New York Times Company 2008, under "Quotations"), if there is a higher risk of causing frustration among the readers (i.e., decreased readability), the journalators might opt for omission as a risk-avoidance strategy. As Cheesman and Nohl (2011, 228) points out, such deletion "is another way of ensuring a meaningful text, reporting on apparently meaningful action." Although it cannot be said that risk alone is the determining factor for the journalators' choice of translation strategies in the above cases, it is worth noting that such options becomes more acceptable when they consider the risk involved in their decision-making.

There seems to be good enough reason for Japanese newspapers to opt for such a strategy, given that the impact of mismanaging target-oriented risk can be significant, especially in Japan. This is because Japanese newspapers rely heavily on subscriptions—as of 2008, more than 60 percent of their revenue came from monthly subscription fees, the highest among the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries.[6] It is a highly probable risk as well, considering that reader dissatisfaction of all kinds has led to a continuous decrease in subscriptions since 1997.[7] In addition, more than 95 percent of Japanese newspapers are home-delivered,[8] which makes these target-oriented risks both proximate and immediate because readers can simply cancel their subscription by picking up the phone or going online. As Bani (2006, 42) explains, "in order to sell, the newspaper must be readily comprehensible and make the reader feel at ease."

So far, the concept of risk management offers a level of rational explanation for the use of translation strategies by the Japanese newspapers, thus supporting the hypothesis set forth in the beginning of this chapter. However, further

explanation seems necessary as to why a substantial level of manipulation occurs even in the case of direct quotations, which media organizations themselves deem "sacred" (Reuters 2017).

One possible explanation can be drawn from the idea of "reward" in translation. As seen in Chapter 4, risk management deals with both positive and negative consequences, and this is equally true concerning translation. For example, Pym (2008b, 325) asserts that, "if translators are going to be rewarded (financially, symbolically or socially) for taking risks, then they are likely to take risks," in which case, they "may then have an interest in breaking all the maxims, norms, laws or universals." Pym (2005a, 41) also states that if translators "are *not* rewarded for taking risks in order to achieve values beyond cooperation, then they will logically tend to be risk-averse." Reward is not clearly defined in either reference, but, based on the examples provided, it includes positive recognition and/or professional advancement (Pym 2005b, 2008b).

In general, none of these rewards exist for the Japanese journalators featured in the present study because they already have stable jobs (all of them were fully employed by their respective organizations confirmed by interviews). Nor are they likely to enjoy better recognition because readers in Japan are accustomed to only remembering the name of the publication and not the name of the journalist.[9] However, other ways of using direct quotations can reward the journalator. As Bell (1991, 207) describes, a direct quotation "is valued as a particularly incontrovertible fact" in news production because it adds "plausibility, truthfulness and accuracy" (Vuorinen 1999, 76) to the news article. Considering this as a reward illuminates the rationale behind retaining quotation marks even in cases where the words of the original speech have largely been lost or manipulated. It also seems to fall under Hui's definition of risk-taking (2012, 36): "the adoption of a procedure through which the translator aims to obtain potential benefits even though they are not sure how great the probability of success is." Pym (2015, 71) also suggests that risk-taking is "an active *positive* option, corresponding to possible enhanced social *rewards*."

Take, for example, the case of substitution in the translation of ST7, which also appeared in Chapter 6.

ST7: America's never been about what can be done for us. It's about what can be done by us ~~together through the hard and frustrating, but necessary work of self-government~~.

TT22: 「国が何をしてくれるかを問うのではなく、我々がともに何ができるかを問うのが米国らしさだ」 (*Yomiuri Shimbun*, November 8, morning edition, 1)

("Kuni ga nani o shite kureru ka o tou no de wa naku, wareware ga tomoni
nani ga dekiru ka o tou no ga Beikoku rashisa da")
[Instead of asking the country what it can do for us, asking ouselves what
we can do together is America-ness.]

The expression "*Beikoku rashisa*" (米国らしさ) does not have a directly cor-
responding phrase in English, but can be translated as "America-ness" or "the
American way." This phrase has been inserted as a substitution for "America
has never been about," as explained in Chapter 6. Although this substitution
might be legitimized in other settings, the use of quotation marks[10] makes it
seem like the words of President Obama himself. However, if the journalator
had decided to write this as indirect speech, it would have looked unnatural
because "America-ness" is not a common phrase for a newspaper reporter to
use in a news article. It is not a literal translation, but, by presenting it as a
direct quotation, the TT brings the desired effect of bringing liveliness and
authenticity to the article.

In the example of ST8 shown below, the original speech, which consisted
of two full sentences, has been condensed significantly, making TT23 "brief"
and "pithy" (Bell 1991, 209), qualities which direct quotations are expected
to bring to news articles.

ST8: We cannot mistake absolutism for principle, or substitute spectacle
for politics, or treat name-calling as reasoned debate. We must act, knowing
that our work will be imperfect.
TT23:「非難合戦をしている場合ではない。行動の時だ」(*Yomiuri Shimbun*,
January 22, evening edition, 1)
("Hinan gassen wo shite iru baai de wa nai. Kōdō no toki da")
[It is not a time for mutual criticism. It is time to act.]

By manipulating the original (ST8) in this way, the quotation became catchier.
This explains why it was used as part of the headline "*Obama daitōryō 'kōdō
no toki'*" [President Obama (says), "time to act"] and was repeated in the
same newspaper some days later as part of the weekly news digest. It is
unlikely that the journalator would have seen any of these "rewards" (i.e.,
being highlighted in a headline or being used repeatedly) had the ideas been
presented in the form of indirect speech. Therefore, it is possible that the
journalator opted for a risk-taking strategy (manipulating the TT in such a
way that it no longer represented the original speech faithfully) because of
the desired reward.

7.2   How Risk Affects the Translator's Decision-Making Process

In the previous section, attempts were made to assign reasons to the use of particular translation strategies in the TTs by applying the concept of risk management. However, the findings from text analysis alone would remain speculative if not corroborated by other means. Therefore, in this section, the hypotheses that arose through text analysis are held up against first-hand accounts from journalators from each of the six newspapers.

Seven of the eight journalators interviewed for the present study were still working for their respective organizations at the time of their interviews and asked not to be identified in the present study by name or by organization. One interviewee, Keiichi Shirato, a former *Mainichi* correspondent who left the paper in the spring of 2014, agreed to be named. All the anonymous interviews were recorded, transcribed, and translated by the author in the same manner as Shirato's account. Shirato's background information is provided below. His profile is representative of all the journalators included in the present study, whose careers followed more or less parallel paths.

7.2.1   Journalator Profile: Keiichi Shirato

Born in 1970, Shirato joined the *Mainichi Shimbun* in 1995 as a staff writer. He worked at the Kagoshima Bureau and at the Fukuoka General Bureau (both on Japan's southwestern island of Kyushu). He was transferred to the Tokyo office in 2002 where he was assigned to the international news section. After six months of working as a Tokyo-based international news reporter, Shirato was assigned to the political news section where he covered Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the next one-and-a-half years. Following these initial two years of being based in Tokyo, he went on to serve as the Johannesburg Bureau Chief in South Africa in April 2004. He stayed in Johannesburg until the end of March 2008, returning to Japan to cover domestic politics until March 2010. One month later, he rejoined the international news section and spent a year reporting on international news from Tokyo. His second opportunity to report from overseas came in April 2011, when he was dispatched to the U.S. as the correspondent covering U.S. diplomacy in Washington, D.C. He stayed there for three years, during which he covered the 2012 U.S. presidential campaign as one of the main writers. In March 2014, while still in the United States, he decided to leave the company to work for the Mitsui Global Strategic Studies Institute, a Japanese think tank. In April 2018, he

became a professor of international relations at Ritsumeikan University in Kyoto, Japan.

7.2.2   Accuracy in Translation

The examples examined thus far in this chapter have indicated that President Obama's speeches were inaccurately translated in a significant number of cases but were nevertheless presented as direct quotations. In order to discover why, the interviewees were asked to look at the various examples shown above and to suggest possible explanations. Some were asked about translations they had done themselves, while others who were not part of the team of reporters that covered the 2012 U.S. presidential election were asked to provide their opinions as journalators regarding the translations. Since it is necessary that the interviewees' identities remain anonymous, their answers are presented below in an aggregated manner. Where the comments of specific interviewees are cited, they are referred to as Interviewee A, Interviewee B, and so on to retain their anonymity. Only Shirato's comments are indicated as his own. As mentioned earlier, I conducted all the interviews in Japanese and translated the content into English.

Most of the interviewees stressed the importance of accuracy in news translation, especially in the case of direct quotations. When asked Question 11 from Table 2, "Is there anything that you are mindful of when translating?" Interviewee A responded, "To be accurate. This is a must." Interviewee B said that the translation of direct quotations needs to be "word-for-word" and "nothing should be left out." Interviewee C agreed that, with high-ranking officials, word-for-word translation is "necessary" while additional information should be put in parentheses or placed outside of the quotation marks, if needed, in order to present the quotation as close to verbatim as possible. Interviewee D said, "Nothing other than the speaker's own words should be added within the quotation marks," and also proposed the use of parentheses when adding information. Others, such as Interviewee E, suggested that the grammatical structure should also be retained when possible, even if it might lead to unnatural phrasing in Japanese. "I think we should try to preserve the flavor of the original phrase," he said, and pointed out that readers seem to appreciate some level of foreignness when it comes to translations of words that were uttered in a foreign language.

On the other hand, some mentioned that "fluency" of translation is also important. Interviewee F admitted that, in some cases, "free translation" was necessary in order to make the translated Japanese text readily understandable

to the reader. However, Interviewee C stressed that when translating parts of a speech to be presented as a direct quotation, extra care should be given so that the TT reflects the content of the original speech as precisely as possible, even if it leads to some awkwardness in the wording. As he described:

> When translating direct quotations, I want to make them as close to the original wording as possible. As a result, the fluency tends to be lost, but we have to accept it. Sometimes, the editor would ask me "Can I change it this way?" but I would respond by saying "No, because that is not how the speaker said it." (Interviewee C, personal communication, September 17, 2014)

Overall, there was a consensus among the journalators that whatever is contained within quotation marks needs to be either preserved or changed only when there is an exceptionally good reason to do so. For example, Interviewee B, who has experience as an editor for the international news section, stressed that whenever something unnatural or contradictory in a direct quotation was found, he would ask the journalator to tell him what the original phrase was. In such cases, if official transcripts or relevant news articles released by international wire services were available, he said that he would have them printed out to cross-reference and confirm whether the direct quotation was faithful to the original or not. This also seems to be a common practice in news agency newsrooms such as that of the AFP, especially when translating direct quotations, where "the desk can ask a reporter or producer to obtain original quotes when they are in a different language to that of the report" (Bielsa 2007, 149).

Interviewee D, who also has experience as an international news editor, explained that he would have international news reporters in Tokyo check the translations done by other media outlets, as well as local news reports coming out of the region where the speech event had taken place, in order to detect possible mistranslations. However, when it comes to editing content within quotation marks, he said that consultation with the journalator was necessary. This understanding of the necessity for consultation with the original author of the article (i.e., the journalator) was shared by Interviewee C who also has experience both as a Washington correspondent and as an international news editor in Tokyo. He described the process in the following manner:

> In the case of direct quotations, I always try to ask the reporter directly when there are some things that need to be clarified. As you know, we have a time difference [between Japan and the respective overseas bureaus], so

I would not wake the reporter up [in the middle of the night] if the changes I want to make were cosmetic such as changes in post-positional particles. In those cases, I would go ahead and make the necessary changes but would send the galley proof with a note asking the reporter to check the changes carefully. I would also call the reporter up in the morning to make sure. If there is something clearly wrong about the direct quotation, I will call the reporter immediately even if it means waking him or her up. I do not want to go ahead and make changes on my own, especially if it is a direct quotation, because, in the case of an exclusive interview, for example, the interviewer is the only person who knows what has actually been said. (Interviewee C, personal communication, September 17, 2014)

7.2.3   Time and Space Limitations

If both the journalators and editors are so cautious about making major changes to the original wording when translating and quoting directly within quotation marks, there must be substantial reasoning behind significant manipulations such as the ones examined in this chapter and in Chapter 6. According to the interviewees, time and space limitations are crucial factors in determining how these translations were manipulated.

Interviewee D explained that news translation is a balancing act between three competing interests: speediness, accuracy, and conciseness.

We want to achieve all three at the same time. However, when you try to translate speedily, accuracy can be jeopardized. Space limitations can also lead to inaccuracy. In the practice of news translation, it is always a challenge for us to be accurate when there are such restrictions. (Interviewee D, personal communication, November 19, 2014)

Interviewee D claimed that what is most difficult in news translation for Japanese newspapers is how to work within the limited space. His comment reflects the fact that even major Japanese newspapers only publish one bundle of up to thirty to forty pages on average,[11] unlike traditional Western broadsheets which publish multiple sections (e.g., Business, International, National, Art, and Sports) in separate bundles. As Interviewee D described, "It would be ideal to translate everything, but translated contents tend to become too long because, in many cases, the context needs to be explained." He added that he thinks of news translation as something distinctively different from literary translation in the sense that space and time are both limited.

Interviewee B used the term "compromise" to explain the relationship between accuracy and limitations of time and space. He said that journalators spend all the time available "thoroughly reading the whole transcript and looking in the article database to see how the word or phrase has been translated in the past, and asking around for suggestions" when confronted with translation problems. However, he explained that there are situations wherein journalators are only given a short amount of time to produce an article, in which case they would have to compromise. Interviewee B also agreed that space limitations were a challenge because, even if the journalator wanted to maintain the same word order as the original, it could lead to significantly longer sentences and therefore would not be feasible. "There is a clear difference between ordinary translation and news translation in this sense," he explained.

Shirato, who was involved in news translation for a total of ten years, including seven as a foreign correspondent, articulated the situation using stronger language: "The direct quotations taken from foreign language speeches and presented by the Japanese newspapers are inaccurate," he said, because they can be mistranslated not only as a result of misunderstanding, but also because of the limitations that exist in the translation process as seen above. "Translated contents in Japanese newspapers cannot be treated as facts. They are simply not correct," he stressed.

He also explained that Japanese newspaper reporters in general are taught to write sentences in simple structures, which can become an obstacle when trying to provide literal translation. In addition, he said that Japanese newspapers are bound up by the notion that all translations need to make sense both contextually and grammatically. "Rather than focusing on the accuracy of the translation, they tend to put more weight on the clarity and grammatical correctness of the Japanese phrase." This tendency to prioritize the overall quality of the newspaper language over accuracy was confirmed by several interviewees.

Shirato's views coincide with findings by Korpal (2012), who legitimizes deliberate omission in interpreting, at least to a certain degree. Korpal (ibid., 105) states that it is possible for interpreters to omit elements of the source speech "in order to make the rendition more concise and coherent, devoid of superfluous digressions and message redundancy, as well as to dispose of information that is implicitly present in the speech and, thus, irrelevant to the delegates." The correspondence between Shirato and Korpal seems to support the idea that physical limitations such as time and space can be a decisive factor in the selection of translation strategies by journalators and interpreters alike, especially in the case of omission.

7.2.4   Effects of Risk

Although it seems clear that time and space limitations have a crucial impact on how Japanese newspapers are conducting news translation, it still remains unclear why the content of direct quotations tends to undergo significantly more manipulation in the case of translingual quoting rather than monolingual quoting. Regarding this point, several journalators pointed to the difference in risk.

When asked why Prime Minister Abe's speech was quoted almost verbatim and President Obama's was not, Interviewee B simply said, "Because Obama would not complain." Despite the likelihood that the U.S. embassy in Japan routinely checks Japanese newspaper articles, especially when the U.S. President is being quoted, Interviewee B thinks that the level of monitoring is not as high compared to that of the Japanese Prime Minister's Office checking direct quotations of Prime Minister Abe; thus, reporters tend to pay less attention to the accuracy of the quotations of foreign-language speakers. In addition, Interviewee B assumed that, when sending translations of Japanese newspaper articles back home, the quoted parts were more likely to be replaced by the original wording rather than embassy staff doing a back-translation because they know that doing so would inevitably generate content that would be quite different from the original.

Several interviewees supported this view. Interviewee A also explained, "I think there are many reporters who do not care about the accuracy of the translation simply because they assume nobody is checking." Interviewee A admitted that there is a double standard when it comes to direct quotations: when quoting a speech in Japanese, journalists make sure that the original words used are accurately reproduced, but, when it comes to quoting words in a foreign language, they become negligent.

Shirato also agrees that there is a double standard between translingual and monolingual quoting. As he describes:

> When newspapers quote the Prime Minister of Japan, accuracy becomes most important even in cases where the quote itself does not make sense. I think this has to do with the fact that newspaper companies want to avoid receiving complaints later on. Complaints can come from the speaker but also from the public saying that the nuance [of the original] was not captured in the quote. (K. Shirato, personal communication, October 10, 2014)

According to Shirato, this situation, which he describes as "degradation of journalism," is caused by the fact that Japanese newspapers are not being read

by people outside of Japan. He compares the situation with that of the English language press, whose products can be read throughout the world and would thus be more exposed to criticism. In his view, having such pressure would lead journalators to pay more attention to the accuracy of translation, but this is not the case in Japan. He gave an example based on his experience as the bureau chief in Johannesburg, when he would occasionally write about poverty in Africa.

> Whenever I wrote "the poor people of Africa" in my article, every editor would accept the phrase and publish it without a problem. However, when I came back and wrote the same phrase regarding a specific region in Japan, the editor deleted the phrase. This is because such phrasing can be perceived as inappropriate and possibly invites complaints from the Japanese readers. However, when it comes to the African people, editors assume that no one there would have access to a Japanese newspaper let alone read it themselves, and, therefore, there is no risk of complaints. This is the double standard that the Japanese newspapers have. (K. Shirato, personal communication, October 10, 2014)

Shirato explained that, among Japanese readers, it is very rare that they would check both the source material and the translated article. As Interviewee A pointed out, "It is only when we become aware that someone is checking the translation that we start translating more seriously." Interviewee D explained that journalators do feel pressure from readers regarding the accuracy of their translations but more so regarding the readability and comprehensibility of their articles. He said that readers tend to complain when newspapers use words that are difficult to understand.

This is an example that he gave: President Obama frequently used the word "rebalance" to explain his country's diplomatic policy to increase its focus on Asia, but the direct translation, "*saikinkō*" (再均衡), concerned the interviewee because average Japanese readers might not understand this relatively uncommon word in Japanese. He said that he would either rephrase it with a more comprehensible word or elucidate its meaning by adding information within parentheses.

Similar explanations were repeated by the interviewees when asked about the omission of "the Americas" in the case of TTs 1 to 3, which were presented at the beginning of this chapter. Interviewee D, who was also a correspondent based in Washington, D.C., at the time of the 2012 U.S. presidential election, explained that the literal translation *Beishū* is "not a general term" and thus would be a difficult option to choose. Interviewee G also agreed that *Beishū*

would be an unlikely option for the same reason. This confirms the earlier finding signaling that the risk of incomprehensibility by the average reader (i.e., target-oriented risk) often overrides the risk of being untrue to the speaker (i.e., source-oriented risk) when the speaker is a foreign national unlikely to check the written article directly or immediately. Japanese journalators, by avoiding or mitigating risk, can be described as acting rationally in the given risk environment.

However, this does not mean that the process of translating and quoting words rendered in foreign languages is always low risk. For example, when President Obama visited Japan in the spring of 2014 and held a joint press conference with Prime Minister Abe, his speech was interpreted and heavily quoted by the Japanese media. As it turned out, in one of President Obama's quotations in which he said it would be "a profound mistake" to continue to see increased tension between Japan and China on territorial issues, the phrase was interpreted as "*tadashiku nai*" (正しくない) [not right] by an NHK interpreter during a live broadcast of the press conference. Several newspapers used "not right" in their reporting and were later criticized for publishing the mistranslation instead of the more accurate rendition by the official interpreter on site.[12]

Another mistranslation happened during a live broadcast of the joint press conference held by President Obama and Prime Minister Abe during Abe's visit to the White House in April 2015. On the topic of the realignment of U.S. forces in Japan, which is a very controversial issue in both countries, Obama said, "With regard to the realignment of U.S. forces in Japan, including the transfer of U.S. Marines in Okinawa to Guam and relocation of the Futenma Air Station, we would make steady progress on this front." However, NHK's broadcast interpreter interpreted this as, "*Okinawa no Futenma kichi no iten ni tsuite, yori jūnan ni taiō shitai*" (沖縄の普天間基地の移転について、より柔軟に対応したい) [(We) want to respond more flexibly to the relocation of Okinawa's Futenma Air Station]. Again, several newspapers wrote articles based on what the interpreter said and later made corrections. These examples explain why Interviewee B stressed that the most important thing when performing news translation is "not to mistranslate."

According to Interviewee G, omission is a way to avoid risk:

If you put something that did not exist in the original, it can be called mistranslation. However, one cannot be held responsible for mistranslation for parts that were not included. This is one of the reasons why omission as part of the editing process exists in news translation.[13] (Interviewee G, personal communication, November 7, 2014)

These interviewee testimonies suggest that journalators are aware of the various risks surrounding news translation. Whether risk management plays a central part in their decision-making invites examination—possibly through experiments, which would be beyond the scope of the present study. The important finding here is that risk management plays a part in the journalators' decision-making and that it explains some of their non-standard translation practices.

Another interesting point is that two of the four journalators with experience as international news editors expressed that direct quotations needed to be appealing or attractive to be used as headlines. For example, Interviewee C said, "the ideal quote is one that can also be used as a headline." Interviewee B was more direct: "I always tell reporters 'don't quote unless the quote is good enough to be a headline.'" He gave President Obama's "Yes We Can" and "Change" as examples of impactful words and phrases worth quoting. The opinions of these two former editors indicate that reporters are encouraged to look for brief yet impactful words from newsmakers. If reporters are able to find such a quote, they will be rewarded by it making a headline and thus drawing readers' attention to their work. Based on this understanding, it can also be hypothesized that this incentive can be the reason behind some of the substantial omissions and substitutions found in the previous examples, which produced quotations that were pithy yet inaccurate. In other words, the journalators are willing to take risks for perceived and obtainable rewards.

7.3   Preliminary Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, examples of "unethical or non-standard" (Pym 2016, 247) news translation practices by the Japanese newspapers have been examined and explained using the concept of risk management. The key findings were verified against personal accounts from journalators to determine whether they hold true from practitioners' perspectives. As a result, preliminary conclusions have emerged which are presented below. In Chapter 8, the validity of these preliminary conclusions is empirically tested against news translation cases other than those of the 2012 U.S. presidential election.

One of the key findings from this analysis is that many of President Obama's speeches, which appeared as direct quotations in Japanese newspapers, were inaccurately translated. Although the majority of the journalators interviewed considered it necessary to quote newsmakers as verbatim as possible, especially when the speaker is a high-ranking official, this general rule seems to be bent in cases where literal translations can lead to long sentences, awkward phrasing, or unfamiliar wording. In many such cases, journalators opted for omission of

unfamiliar parts in order to avoid or mitigate the risk of making the translation difficult to understand. In addition, they took the risk of possibly misquoting the subject by keeping the translated part within quotation marks—even when facts or meaningful details were removed from the direct quotation—so that they could retain the reward of perceived authenticity and catchiness.

The reason for selecting such a translation strategy can be explained by the different levels of risk involved. For journalators working at Japanese newspaper companies, there are two main sources of risk: the speaker (producing source-oriented risk) and the reader (producing target-oriented risk). Some of the omissions and substitutions analyzed in this chapter seem significant enough for President Obama or his staff to complain if they were to access the Japanese newspapers that published them and were able to read their content. However, the journalators considered that a low-probability scenario. Their decisions were based on the assumption that there is little incentive for the staff at the U.S. embassy in Japan to check Japanese newspaper articles meticulously for inappropriate translations unless there happened to be a serious mistranslation that could negatively affect the national interests of the United States. This makes translation of any foreign national a low-risk situation for journalators, and allows for the use of omission because it is a low-effort strategy that saves time and space.

Although prior studies, such as Schäffner (2008, 20), have already pointed out that news translations "are not straightforward and faithful reproductions of their source texts, as often assumed by lay-people," the findings in the present study show that this is true even in direct quotations which are supposed to be translated literally. Moreover, the case study of the 2012 U.S. presidential election revealed that, even when the speaker is a high-ranking official, the direct quotations could be manipulated significantly when translated. This not only contradicts Davis's (1985, 47) finding that "the higher the status of a speaker, the more direct the presentation," but also implies that an even greater degree of manipulation might be expected when the speaker is lower in social status (e.g., in the case of comments made by ordinary citizens on the street).

Another interesting finding is that, when the source-oriented risk is higher, different risk management strategies tend to be chosen. For example, in the case of Prime Minister Abe's policy speech, he was quoted almost verbatim because he (or his staff) is presumed to be checking Japanese newspapers every day. Although the possible impact of the risk can be comparably high in the cases of Prime Minister Abe and President Obama, the probability, proximity, and immediacy of the risk seem to have been estimated as much lower in the case of President Obama.

Regarding target-oriented risk, journalators frequently opt for translations that lead to better readability (an important aspect of client satisfaction) even if it causes inaccuracy. If the words they use are too difficult, the phrasing too complicated, or the context too foreign, readers might complain or even cancel their subscription. There remains, of course, the risk that readers would complain about an inaccurate translation. A reader capable of understanding both English and Japanese with the motivation and time to compare the original against the direct quotation might discover a discrepancy and complain. However, based on the interviews, the journalators seemed to consider this less probable than readers complaining about incomprehensible words or phrases. This finding provides a convincing explanation as to why cases of risk avoidance (omission of unfamiliar words) or risk mitigation (substitution of a more familiar word) were observed.

In reporting on Prime Minister Abe's speech and on President Obama's speech, the impact, proximity, and immediacy of the risk (e.g., criticism from readers, loss of subscriptions) appear to be the same. However, the probability of the risk differs significantly. This difference in risk seems to have resulted in the selection of translation strategies for Obama's speeches that prioritize readability—such as omission of difficult words or incomprehensible parts—over translation inaccuracy. In some cases, journalators opted for risk-taking strategies in high-risk situations. However, their decisions can be justified by the fact that a "brief" and "pithy" quotation (Bell 1991, 209) can make it to the headlines and thus satisfy the editor and probably the reader as well.

Journalators are aware of the fact that news translation needs to be accurate, especially in the case of direct quotations. Still, these findings seem to point out that they will compromise faithfulness for readability. It has also been shown that news translation is considered to be of relatively low risk by Japanese newspapers because journalators assume that their sources will not be reading their translations, let alone back-translating them for verification. This explains why omission, which Pym (2005b, 72) calls a "common enough strategy" in low-risk situations, has been used in more than half of the direct quotations analyzed.

Throughout this chapter, examples of news translation practices involving significant levels of manipulation for reasons not immediately evident to the reader were examined. By applying the concept of risk management as a theoretical framework for analysis, plausible explanations for the journalators' decision-making were found. Next, in Chapter 8, several cases of news translation involving different levels of risks are examined in order to test the preliminary conclusion detailed above. Based on the results of the present study, implications for future research are presented.

Chapter 8
News Translation and the Changing Media Environment

The previous chapters mainly focused on a single case study, the 2012 U.S. presidential election, using the concept of risk management to analyze news translation practices by Japanese journalators. In this chapter, some of the key findings from the case study are verified by investigating news translation in other contexts. The examples chosen reflect the recent changes in the media environment resulting from the increased flow of information over the internet. For instance, news audiences in the internet age have easy access to source materials available online, such as videos and audio recordings, as well as official transcripts in the case of major speech events. In addition, the flow of information itself has been accelerated by the introduction of new technologies, enabling both news stories and source materials to be disseminated immediately.

According to a 2018 survey on global technology trends, smartphone ownership among adults reached a median of 59 percent globally, led by 94 percent in South Korea (Pew Research Center 2019). Although the Japanese ownership of smartphones is relatively lower compared to its neighbour (59 percent), it has increasingly become the primary tool for accessing information—including the news—especially among the younger generation. Social networking services (SNS) such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and the Japan-born LINE, which are mainly used via smartphones in Japan, have increasingly become the mainstream of online communication (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications 2018b).

The trend above indicates that reactions to news reports from the audience and the general public can now be expressed easily and immediately online, resulting in an increase in both positive and negative feedback. Most of these changes have confronted journalators with more risks than they faced a couple of decades ago. If news translation indeed involves risk management through the deliberate selection of translation strategies, as seen in the case of the 2012 U.S. presidential election, then changes in risks should bring about changes in the choice of strategies used to manage those risks. This chapter examines this correspondence.

8.1   New Types of Risks and Coping Methods

News translation in this era of increased globalization entails greater risks, especially in terms of impact. Newsworthy events are impactful by nature, and mistakes in the news reporting process, including translation, can invite serious and far-reaching consequences. As seen in Chapter 7, however, when these risks are not highly probable, proximate, or immediate, journalators tend to opt for a low-effort strategy such as omission, thereby increasing the maximum profit as described in Levý's "minimax strategy" (Levý [1967] 2000) of exerting minimal effort to attain maximum *journalistic* effect.

If such risk management is presumably being exercised in the practice of news translation, it can also be assumed that changes in the risk environment may trigger different coping methods. Some of these risk management strategies have already been observed in the ways the journalators attempted to manage risks when translating President Obama's quotations, as examined in Chapter 7. This chapter also makes use of the same four categorizations (risk avoidance, risk transfer, risk-taking, and risk mitigation), when applicable, in explaining the risk management strategies selected.

8.1.1   Managing Risk in a Press Conference

The first example of a different type of news translation is a press conference. As Bell (1991, 204) rightfully states, "Much of news is talk." It has been pointed out that 70 percent of the news that lands on the front page of *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* are from press conferences and hearings (ibid., 205). Although journalators themselves can and will do their own translation in many cases, interpreters are typically also present at these press events. Of all possible agents of news translation, media interpreters, especially those who interpret press conferences, are the ones who perform in environments carrying the highest levels of risk, especially in terms of proximity and immediacy (i.e., any misinterpretation can be pointed out on the spot or spread around the world immediately). There are many examples of interpreters being censured or even scapegoated because of their performance at such events, some of which were presented in Chapter 7 (e.g., the NHK broadcast interpreters).

Another example involves an interpreter who came under fire after interpreting for Prime Minister Abe in January 2014 at a press conference at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland. According to the *Asahi Shimbun*, the interpreter was hired externally by the Japanese Foreign Ministry

(Maegawa and Hoshino, 2014). As Prime Minister Abe answered questions from approximately thirty senior representatives from major media organizations, the interpreter interpreted his responses from Japanese into English. The Prime Minister made a comment in response to a question from a columnist from the *Financial Times* asking whether a war between Japan and China was "conceivable" (Rachman 2014). The actual words Abe said in Japanese, as reported by the *Asahi Shimbun,* are shown below in ST1, followed by their English translation as provided by *Asahi*'s English website "Asia & Japan Watch (AJW)" (Asia & Japan Watch 2014). The portion of the interpretation of Abe's response that drew so much criticism is shown underlined.

> **ST1**: 日本と中国の間においてですね、軍事的な衝突になればですね、両国にとってそれは大変なダメージになるわけであります。地域や世界にとっても極めて大きい影響があると、日本も中国も指導者はよく理解していると思います。また中国にとってもですね、経済成長していくことはですね、中国の共産党政府においても、中国をいわばコントロールしていく上で絶対的に必要な条件なんですね。日本と武力衝突が起こったら、その条件は吹っ飛んでしまうということは、十分に理解しているんだろうと思います。しかし、大切なことはですね、偶発的な衝突が起こらないようにしていくことが私は重要だと思っています。<u>今年は第1次世界大戦から１００年目であってですね、イギリスもドイツも経済的には依存度が高かった最大の貿易相手国だったが、戦争が起こった。</u>ですから大切なことはコントロールすることであって、私は中国に対してですね、偶発的な事故あるいは衝突が起こらないようにですね、軍同士、あるいは防衛当局同士のですね、コミュニケーションチャンネルを作るべきだということを、これは随分前なんですが、申し入れをしています。（*Asahi Shimbun*, January 25, 2014, morning edition, 2）
> (Nippon to Chūgoku no aida ni oite desu ne, gunjitekina shōtotsu ni nareba desu ne, ryōkoku ni totte sore wa taihenna damēji ni naru wake de arimasu. Chiiki ya sekai ni totte mo kiwamete ōkii eikyō ga aru to, Nippon mo Chūgoku mo shidōsha wa yoku rikai shite iru to omoimasu. Mata Chūgoku ni totte mo desu ne, keizai seichō shite iku koto wa desu ne, Chūgoku no kyōsantō seifu ni oite mo, Chūgoku wo iwaba kontorōru shite iku ue de zettaiteki ni hitsuyōna jōken nandesu ne. Nippon to buryoku shōtotsu ga okottara, sono jōken wa futtonde shimau to iu koto wa, jūbun ni rikai shite irundarō to omoimasu. Shikashi, taisetsuna koto wa desu ne, gūhatsutekina shōtotsu ga okoranai yō ni shite iku koto ga watashi wa jūyō da to omotte imasu. <u>Kotoshi wa dai ichiji sekai taisen kara hyaku nenme deatte desu ne, Igirisu mo Doitsu mo keizaiteki ni wa izondo ga takakatta saidai no boueki aitekoku dattaga, sensō ga okotta.</u> Desukara taisetsuna koto wa kontorōru suru koto deatte, watashi wa Chūgoku ni taishite desu ne, gūhatsutekina jiko aruiwa shōtotsu ga okoranai yō ni desu ne, gun dōshi, aruiwa bōei

tōkyoku dōshi no desu ne, komyunikēshon channeru o tsukurubeki da to iu koto o, kore wa zuibun mae nandesu ga, mōshiire o shite imasu.)

TT1: What I would call a military encounter between Japan and China would deal great damage to both countries. Its regional and global impact would be extremely large. Both Chinese and Japanese leaders understand that. For China, economic growth is an absolute requisite for the Communist Party to govern China, to keep China under control. I believe it is well understood that a military clash with Japan would wipe that requisite away. But I believe the important thing is to make sure that no accidental military encounter would take place despite that understanding. <u>This year marks the centenary of World War I. Britain and Germany were highly (inter)dependent economically. They were the largest trade partners (to each other), but the war did break out.</u> The essential thing is to keep (the situation) under control. I have proposed setting up channels of communication between our armed forces and our trade authorities so as to prevent accidents. (AJW, January 24, 2014)

The interpreter's actual renderings of Abe's response have not been disclosed, but according to the AJW article, following Prime Minister Abe's comment regarding the relationship between Britain and Germany before the First World War, the interpreter added, "I think we are in the similar situation," in an effort to clarify the connection to the question asked about the Japan-China relationship. However, after the *Financial Times* columnist wrote the following article,[1] what may have been a risk mitigation strategy by the interpreter (i.e., trying to make the comment comprehensible to the reporters by adding the context) backfired.

> [Abe] drew an explicit comparison between his nation's rivalry with China and that which existed between Britain and Germany before the first world war. The extensive trade between the two European powers had not prevented them coming to blows, he said, adding that China and Japan were now in a "similar situation." (*Financial Times*, Jan. 24, Leader sec., 8)

The BBC and some other media outlets also reported on Prime Minister Abe's comments in a similar manner, which led the Japanese Government to release a summary of his "actual" comments in Japanese and blame the interpreter publicly for "mistranslation." The interpreter's name was not disclosed, but she was widely criticized, not so much by the mass media in Japan which understood her intent to a certain degree, but more so by the general public through blogs and SNS postings (Mason 2014). Since the press

conference was made available only to selected media organizations, further investigation was not possible for the present study. However, this example clearly illustrates that media interpreters are indeed exposed to very high risks.

Next, I would like to examine one more example of a press conference interpreter in a very high-risk situation—this time, in Japan. Unlike in the previous example, this press event offered more material for analysis because it was webcast live via the internet and the interpreter, who performed consecutive interpreting between English and Japanese, also appeared on camera. This example is given to show the specific risks involved in news translation in the internet age, and how these risks seem to be managed by the interpreter through conscious decision-making and selection of translation strategies.

The press conference was held at the Foreign Correspondents' Club of Japan (FCCJ) in Tokyo on May 27, 2013. The speaker was Toru Hashimoto, then-Mayor of Osaka, the second largest city in Japan. Mayor Hashimoto's purpose was to make an appeal to the international media that earlier reports on his remarks regarding the issue of so-called "comfort women"[2] during WWII were not what he intended. Weeks earlier, he was quoted by multiple media outlets—mainly domestic, but some international—as saying that comfort women, frequently referred to in the Western world as sex slaves, were "necessary" to reward the soldiers. The mayor was also criticized for comments he made during his visit to Okinawa to inspect the U.S. Marine Corps Futenma Air Station earlier that year. He reportedly asked a senior U.S. military officer based there to let the marines actively use the local "*fūzoku*" (風俗) [adult entertainment services] as a way to "release their sexual energy" (Slavin 2013), diverting them from raping or sexually abusing local women. The mayor gave a two-and-a-half-hour press conference through an interpreter who performed consecutive interpreting between Japanese and English in both directions.

In addition to the fact that the press conference was dealing with a very sensitive and political issue which could directly and negatively affect Japan's relationship with neighboring Asian countries as well as the United States, there were several other factors which added more difficulty for the interpreter. First, the mayor brought with him parliamentarian Fumiki Sakurauchi, a graduate of Harvard Kennedy School. Sakurauchi's role was to monitor[3] the accuracy of the interpreting. Second, the mayor prepared an English translation for his initial twenty-minute statement. He gave the statement in Japanese with no interpretation, and the non-native Japanese reporters attending the press conference were told to read the translation. These two measures were taken in order to avoid "misinterpretation" and "mistranslation," which the mayor suspected was the reason he came under fire in the

first place. The measures also served as ways to put pressure on the interpreter by sending a clear message that they were carefully monitoring her renditions. Furthermore, the press conference was webcast live by "niconico," a commercial video streaming and sharing service. The interpreter appeared in the frame of the video and the moderator identified the interpreter by name at the beginning of the press conference.[4]

The interpreter was faced with several specific risks that were readily identifiable. First, the correction of any error or inappropriate interpretation detected by Mayor Hashimoto (who showed by nodding occasionally some comprehension of the English interpretation) or the monitor could lead to mistrust not only from the speaker (source-oriented risk), but also from the audience (target-oriented risk). In this situation, the audience—the foreign correspondent members of the FCCJ—was also her client, resulting in an even greater level of risk. In theory, failing to manage the target-oriented risk of the situation could lead to her losing her job or "not getting paid" (Pym 2005a, 34). In this particular case, however, the interpreter was an honorary member of the FCCJ, having interpreted there for over a decade, so it was unlikely that she risked losing her employment over her performance. Yet she would likely have been left with a feeling that the purpose of the interpretation had not been fulfilled if she could not satisfy both the speaker and her client.

Second, she was faced with the risk of reporters misunderstanding her interpretation, and, as a result, writing something that the mayor did not say or expressed differently (another source-oriented risk). Although this happens frequently in monolingual situations as well, when interpreting or translation is involved, it is the mediator who is blamed, as seen in the example of Prime Minister Abe's interpreter discussed earlier. This can start a chain of mistrust among all the participants, resulting in negative consequences. Third, because the press conference was webcast live (and made available for replay on YouTube and other video sites), the interpreter was exposed to possible criticism from those who were not participating in the actual event (general risk). More importantly, as a result of all these risks which could lead to further misunderstandings, there was the possibility that tension would build up even more between Japan and the countries concerned, thus defeating the very purpose of the press conference.

In order to cope with these high risks, the interpreter opted for high-effort strategies such as addition and substitution. For example, when the mayor made excuses regarding how his remarks were initially misunderstood, he simply said "*hitotsu no wādo ga nukitorarete hōjirareta*" (ひとつのワードが抜き取られて報じられた) in Japanese. A literal translation would be "one word was extracted and reported." However, the actual rendition by the interpreter

was, "one phrase, one word, was cut out of a longer explanation and those words which were taken out of context or cut out or cut off from the original has been reported throughout the world." This can be categorized as either "elaboration addition" or "substantial phrasing change," which is a type of substitution in Barik's (1971) terms. Regardless of the categorization, the high level of effort put into the interpretation is clear just by looking at the increase in the number of words she used: nearly five times more than the original.

Several examples of strategies used by the interpreter are presented below. STs 2 to 11 show the original words spoken by Mayor Hashimoto with the key word(s) underlined, followed by back-translations provided by myself. TTs 2 to 11 show the English renderings made by the interpreter with additions (elaborations) and substitutions shown underlined.

ST2: 「報道の自由こそが権力を<u>チェック</u>する」
("Hōdō no jiyū koso ga kenryoku o <u>chekku suru</u>")
[It is the freedom of the press that <u>checks</u> power]
TT2: "I believe that the freedom to report is a very, very valuable concept because that is the only way that one can <u>check</u> or <u>curb</u> or <u>put restraints</u> on state power."

ST3: 「ここが、韓国との間の一番の核心的な<u>論点</u>です」
("Koko ga, Kankoku to no aida no ichiban no kakushintekina <u>ronten</u> desu")
[This is the main and core <u>point of dispute</u> between (Japan and) South Korea.]
TT3: In other words, this is the heart of the debate, the <u>difference of opinion</u>, the <u>difference of stances and thinking</u> between the Japanese and the South Korean governments.

ST4: 「この国家の意思として、組織的に女性を拉致した、国家の意思として組織的に人身売買をしたという点が、おそらく世界のみなさんから、日本は<u>特有だ</u>と非難される理由になってるかと思います」
("Kono kokka no ishi toshite, soshikiteki ni josei o rachi shita, kokka no ishi toshite soshikiteki ni jinshin baibai o shita to iu ten ga, osoraku sekai no minasan kara, Nihon wa <u>tokuyū da</u> to hinan sareru riyū ni natte ru ka to omoimasu")
[I think the reason why people around the world criticize Japan as being <u>peculiar</u> is because it was the will of the State to systematically abduct women; it was the will of the State to systematically commit human trafficking.]

TT4: "The reason I am spending so much time on this point is that it is this argument that Japan, in Japan's case, it was the will of the State to deliberately and organizationally and systematically engage in the abduction of women and the human trafficking of women. It is this point that seems, I think, in the eyes of the people of the world to separate Japan from all of the other nations and all of the other peoples of the world. It is the area that Japan is considered to be <u>unique</u> and <u>peculiar</u> and <u>odd</u> and <u>different</u> from everyone else."

In some portions of the mayor's speech, the interpreter presented the original word in Japanese as spoken by the mayor and then interpreted it in multiple ways afterwards, as seen in the examples below.

ST5: 「ただ、この慰安婦問題に関して、<u>不合理</u>な議論はもう<u>終止符</u>を打つべき だと思っています」
("Tada, kono ianfu mondai ni kansite, <u>fugōrina</u> giron wa mō shūshifu o utsubekida to omotte imasu")
[However, I think that we should put an end to such <u>irrational</u> debate regarding this comfort women issue]
TT5: "Having said all of this however, I believe that we have now reached a point in time where we should perhaps put an end to what I would call *fugori* is the word that the mayor is using… perhaps <u>irrational</u>, or <u>unreasonable</u> arguments or debates."

The Japanese word "*kanri*" (管理) shown in ST6 below posed a major translation challenge, not because an equivalent word does not exist in the target language, but because there are many acceptable options, each suggesting a different degree of responsibility. As a result, the interpreter was forced to change her initial choice in response to complaints from the monitor, Mr. Sakurauchi. The way the interpreter struggled with her renderings of STs 6 to 10 clearly shows the risks involved in news translation and the ways in which news translators invest various efforts to manage them. ST6 to ST10 were rendered in sequence.

ST6: 「先ほど記者からご質問ありましたが、日本の慰安所は軍が<u>管理</u>していた ことは間違いありません」
("Sakihodo kisha kara goshitumon arimashita ga, Nihon no iansho wa gun ga <u>kanri</u> shite ita koto wa machigai arimasen")
[In response to a previous question from a reporter, it is undeniable that Japanese comfort stations were <u>managed</u> by the military.]

TT6: "In response to a previous question from the floor, I mentioned a few moments ago that there is no doubt but that these facilities—which were called comfort stations in Japanese—there is no doubt that they were <u>run</u> by the government."

ST7: 「これは様々な理由がありますが、これは、歴史的な、歴史学者にゆだねたいと思います」
("Kore wa samazamana riyū ga arimasu ga, kore wa, rekishitekina, rekishigakusha ni yudanetai to omoimasu")
[There are many reasons for this, but I would like to leave it up to history or the historians.]
TT7: "Excuse me, and the interpreter would like to correct her choice of words because it is very sensitive issue. They were <u>managed</u>. *Kanri* is the word that he was using, by the government."

ST8: 「ただ軍が<u>管理</u>していた、この日本の施設も」
("Tada gun ga <u>kanri</u> shite ita, kono Nihon no shisetsu mo")
[However, these facilities which were <u>managed</u> by the military,]
TT8: "But in regard to these facilities which were <u>managed</u> by the military,"

ST9: 「民間業者が<u>管理</u>している施設も」
("Minkan gyōsha ga <u>kanri</u> shite iru shisetsu mo")
[and those that were <u>managed</u> privately,]
TT9: "whether they were <u>managed</u> … Mr. Sakurauchi doesn't seem to like the word <u>managed</u>. [whispering in Japanese] *Sokomade itteinai* … [that's going a bit too far …]. So, excuse me, this is a very, very delicate and sensitive issue. The original word that is being used is *kanri*, which can be translated as <u>being in charge of</u> or being… <u>looking after</u> the facility. But it can also be used as, interpreted to mean <u>operate</u>, which Mr. Sakurauchi feels is an inappropriate word. But <u>manage</u> in terms of the facility is being looked after by the military, that has been acknowledged, but whether it was the military that has been involved in this or whether it was a private broker that was involved in this."

ST10: 「その施設の中で行われている現状は、大変不幸なことであることに変わりはありません」
("Sono shisetsu no naka de okonawarete iru genjō wa, taihen fukōna koto dearu koto ni kawari wa arimasen")
[It remains true that what occurred in those facilities was very unfortunate.]

TT10: "The point that I'm making is that whether it was <u>managed</u> or <u>looked after</u> by military organization or by private person or organization, the point is, what happened in those facilities was… were things that were very, very tragic and full of great suffering."

The interpreter was repeatedly interrupted by the monitor who questioned the way she chose to interpret the word "*kanri*" (管理). Since neither the monitor nor the speaker provided any solution, the interpreter tried five alternatives—*run, manage, be in charge of, look after,* and *operate*—in the course of her rendition. Such a level of elaboration, addition, and substitution is definitely a high-effort strategy in terms of—but not limited to—the amount of time invested, which was one reason the press conference ended up being so long. Later, in a retrospective interview conducted on November 9, 2014, for the present study, the interpreter gave a first-person account of the risks she felt and her reasoning for choosing specific strategies to manage the risks. The interview was conducted in English and transcribed by the author of the present study with the help of an external service provider.

> Risk management, I am always very, very aware of. Which is why I throw out so many different translations so that I can satisfy everybody who might be listening. Absolutely. And I always try, first of all, to give the official translation first, and then to make the people who think that's not good enough or that doesn't explain enough [satisfy], then I always get… throw out these others, and I always try to make sure I don't go too far […] I always apologize from time to time if I see that maybe I have gone too far or gotten something wrong so that people develop a feeling of trust for the interpreter. (Personal communication, November 9, 2014)

It is hard to tell which category of risk management strategies she was applying in this situation—probably a combination of all four categories—just by analyzing her responses in the interview. However, her recollections of what she was trying to do during the press conference clearly show that extra effort in some form is invested when interpreters (and translators) feel the pressure of a high-risk situation.

This interpreter is not the only one who invests high effort to manage risk. It seems to be a common strategy in high-risk situations such as press conferences held by political leaders. For example, Schäffner (2012a) conducted an extensive analysis of a corpus she created from numerous press conferences held by political leaders, and came up with some interesting findings. Contrary to the fact that prior studies on consecutive interpreting

have shown that interpreter renditions tend to be shorter than original speeches because of memory constraints, Schäffner (ibid.) found that the interpreter's output was noticeably longer in the case of a press conference by then-U.S. President Bush and German Chancellor Merkel, which took place in 2008 in Meseberg, Germany. She states that this was not an exception, but in fact proved true "independent of the direction of interpreting, and independent of the language pair" (ibid., 75). According to Schäffner (ibid., 76), this is because the interpreter tries "to be as close as possible to the original words." She further explains that this is an indication of interpreters being "aware of the high level of political talks, of the sensitivity of word choice for diplomacy, and of the potential consequences of a misleading formulation" (ibid.).

In addition to the situation being high risk from the start, the risks have been increasing as technical developments enable access to interpreted speech events online. Although the International Association of Conference Interpreters (AIIC) proposes a "no recording" principle as one of their professional standards (AIIC 2014, Article 2), the taping of interpreters and use of the recordings without prior consent are becoming more common. Mayor Hashimoto's interpreter, who said that half of her assignments are media-related at the time of the interview, agreed that she was feeling this growing pressure.

> This whole thing about interpreters being put on the media like that, that's just horrible. And I think interpreters have fought it for a very long time and we can no longer fight it. They used to be that they would [want to] record us in a booth and interpreters would always say no, because we do our best but we are human beings. (Personal communication, November 9, 2014)

The interpreter shared an experience where she was interpreting a live-streamed press conference when, while she was on stage, a staff member brought her a memo that pointed out a mistake she had made earlier. The staff member said that a webcast viewer had called to ask for the correction. The interpreter recollected that she was interpreting for a councilwoman from the Tokyo Metropolitan Assembly, and she misheard the speaker say "*judō kitsuen*" (受動喫煙) [passive smoking] as "*jidō kitsuen*" (児童喫煙) [child smoking]. The two words in Japanese sound very similar. As she explained:

> The people listening on YouTube, they get perfect digital sound, and even if we are sitting next to a person, depending on the timbre of his voice and where he is facing, sometimes you can't 100% hear, but we are expected to be

like robots, it is just horrible […] Every now and then, I look on the internet and there is criticism. You can't please everybody […] I am interpreting fundamentally for the people that are paying me, and I am not interpreting for the general public. (Personal communication, November 9, 2014)

On top of the risk of losing trust from the speaker (source-oriented risk) and also from the internet audience (target-oriented risk), an additional risk of which she is aware is the increased possibility of the foreign media quoting her words as direct quotations, a risk unique to media interpreting. For example, in the case of Mayor Hashimoto's press conference, a Tokyo correspondent for *The Australian* quoted her words instead of translating Mayor Hashimoto's original words (ST11) himself. This resulted in a direct quotation quite different from the original as shown below. TT11 is the rendition of the interpreter and TT12 is the direct quotation that appeared in *The Australian* (Wallace 2013):

> **ST11:** 「過去を直視しなければ、未来を語る事はできません」
> ("Kako o chokushi shinakereba, mirai o kataru koto wa dekimasen")
> [Unless one confronts the past, one cannot talk about the future]
> **TT11:** "I believe that as human beings, unless one directly faces one's past, one confronts one's harsh and unpleasant past, you cannot think and talk about and plan for the future."
> **TT12:** "Unless one confronts one's harsh or unpleasant past, how can you plan for the future?" (*The Australian*, May 28, 2013, World section, 7)

The interpreter, based on her more than ten years of experience interpreting for the FCCJ, explained that this has happened from time to time and has been unavoidable. As she recalls:

> I remember the first time I did something directly for the FCCJ was [a press conference for] the head of Resona Bank. […] I remember seeing a *Financial Times* article the next day and it said, "Mr. Hosoya said something-something" and it was all in quotation marks and I thought, "That's not right, that's not factually correct, that was what the interpreter said." It might have been through the interpreter that's what he said, but he didn't directly say it, it shouldn't have been in quotation marks, I thought. […] Several decades ago, if Khrushchev [for example] said something it was always attributed to the interpreter, and nowadays people don't do that. And it's the same with the Japanese media. […] It

gives people a false understanding of things. (Personal communication, November 9, 2014)

The interpreter's own account coincides with Schäffner's (2012a, 82) observation of the Western press in which she posits, "journalists do not indicate that they use the words as uttered by the interpreter."

The interpreter's concerns also seem legitimate considering the very sensitive nature of the subjects she was interpreting. In November 2014, the *Yomiuri Shimbun* publicly apologized for "inappropriate" translation of the word "*jūgun ianfu*" (従軍慰安婦) [comfort women] in their English paper, *The Japan News* (formerly named *The Daily Yomiuri*). The apology, as it appeared in *The Japan News*, is shown below.

> An in-house review has found that The Daily Yomiuri (hereafter referred to as the DY, and now The Japan News) used "sex slave" and other inappropriate expressions in a total of 97 articles from February 1992 to January 2013 in its reporting on the issue of so-called comfort women. The Japan News apologizes for having used these misleading expressions and will add a note stating that they were inappropriate to all the articles in question in our database […] The Yomiuri Shimbun (Japanese edition) likewise expressed an apology in its Friday edition. Among articles related to the comfort women issue—those translated from Yomiuri Shimbun stories and DY original stories—there are 85 articles in which "sex slave" and other words with the same meaning were used in an inappropriate manner. The expression "comfort women" was difficult to understand for non-Japanese who did not have knowledge of the subject. Therefore the DY, based on an inaccurate perception and using foreign news agencies' reports as reference, added such explanations as "women who were forced into sexual slavery" that did not appear in The Yomiuri Shimbun's original stories. (*The Japan News*, November 28, 2014)

Unlike the previous example, this was a case of in-house translation. Collectively, these examples indicate how much risk is involved in news translation, especially in controversial cases with conflicting political views. In such situations, risk management becomes crucial to effective news translation, yet extremely difficult, because "the business of news translation involves constant tensions between more accurate representation of the source culture and more effective communication with the target audience—tensions that the translator must commonly resolve at high speed" (Holland 2013, 340).

8.1.2   Managing Risk through Double-Presentation

As seen in the previous example, news translation involves high levels of risk intensified by the recent changes in the media environment. These risks are not unique to interpreters. Due to the decrease in time allowed to produce translated texts, what happens in news translation is becoming closer and closer to "what happens in interpreting, where the goal of the translation is more important than any sense of equivalence" (Schäffner and Bassnett 2010, 9). Although conventional media outlets such as the newspaper still tend to underestimate the risk involved in news translation and opt for traditional, low-effort solutions as illustrated in the case study of President Obama's speeches, some attempts to manage new risks seem to be emerging.

Years ago, journalists had exclusive access to source materials. Nowadays, newspaper readers and television viewers are able to access source materials online through live webcasts, audiovisual footage, and transcripts (official, unofficial, and combined). This also means that the target-oriented risks for journalators are increasing, because capable readers or viewers are able to compare their translations against the original easily and almost immediately. If indeed interpreters and translators are managing risk by conscious decision-making, which seems to be the case based on the examples presented thus far, this change in the risk environment should affect the journalators' translation strategy in some way.

One such attempt can be seen in the way several newsapapers published the full transcript of President Obama's inaugural address along with the Japanese translation—side-by-side—in 2013. This "double-presentation" (Pym 2010, 80) is a high-effort strategy, in terms of both time invested and space used. In all cases, a full page was dedicated to the original speech and its translation. Considering that the newspapers have websites where they can easily post the original transcript, this seems to be an unusual strategy, especially for daily newspapers with strict space limitations.

In response to email inquiries by the author of the present study in February 2013, it was confirmed that *Yomiuri Shimbun* was the first to introduce this practice of showing the Japanese translation in parallel with the original transcript in English when President Obama was inaugurated in 2009. According to email responses from the *Yomiuri Shimbun*'s customer relations division, the double-presentation was invented as a way to introduce a new style to international news reporting, and President Obama's first inauguration was chosen as the ideal occasion because it caused such a sensation in Japan. The double-presentation has been well received by readers, the *Yomiuri*

Shimbun said, quoting a male reader in his 50s who mentioned, "By reading the original, the president's opinion became very clear" (email communication, February 22, 2013).

Both the *Asahi Shimbun* and *The Nikkei* introduced the double-presentation style on the occasion of President Obama's first inauguration in 2009, although their versions appeared two days after *Yomiuri Shimbun*'s. *The Nikkei* also responded to the author's email inquiry via email. According to the paper's customer relations division, they had already been publishing full transcripts of important English speeches in their digital version; however, since there seemed to be such positive reaction from readers towards the English transcript of President Obama's inaugural address, they decided to publish both the transcript and the translation in print as well. The response from readers shared by *Nikkei*'s representative were similar to that of *Yomiuri*, indicating that there are certain readers who feel satisfaction in reading the original content in English rather than only reading the translated version. The *Asahi Shimbun* also published a similar page.

Double-presentation as a strategy seems to have gained momentum, and other newspapers have also begun adopting it. For example, when Pakistani activist Malala Yousafzai gave her Nobel Peace Prize acceptance speech in Oslo in December 2014, not only did the *Asahi Shimbun* publish a full-page transcript of her speech along with the translation in print using a layout similar to the one used for President Obama's speeches, but the *Mainichi Shimbun* and the *Tokyo Shimbun* also quoted several sentences from her speech in English accompanied by their Japanese translations, a shorter form of double presentation which will be discussed later. This practice has been replicated since by major newspapers for important speeches delivered in English, including President Trump's inaugural address in 2017, which was given even more space than President Obama's speeches.

The use of double-presentation in this case can be categorized as risk mitigation. By opting for this strategy, the risk of receiving complaints regarding word choice or readability (target-oriented risk) can be mitigated—accurate information is presented no matter what the translation says—although it also brings about a new risk: the risk of competent readers checking the journalators' translations. In fact, the translated version of President Obama's inaugural address published by the *Yomiuri Shimbun* in January 2013 was later corrected because a mistranslation was found. Insiders say that it was most likely in response to a reader complaint, which is understandable because newspaper readers tend to "write to signal mistakes, inaccuracies or ameliorations regarding the translation" (Bani 2006, 41).

This example shows that risk mitigation always entails other risks, although there is often a good reason to believe that the original risk is higher than the new one, which explains the prevelance of double-quotations in Japanese newspapers.

Since double-presentation has become common, partly thanks to the popularity of President Obama's speeches, the use of this strategy seems to be increasing in other occasions in shorter forms as we have seen in the case of Malala Yousafzai. For example, in a press conference on Japan-U.S. relations given at the Japan National Press Club in July 2013, the *Asahi Shimbun* used this strategy when quoting Kurt Campbell, former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State, who was one of the two speakers at the event. At the press conference, Mr. Campbell revealed an exchange between President Obama and President Xi Jinping of China during the U.S.-China summit meeting which had taken place a month earlier. In quoting President Obama's words, which Mr. Campbell reproduced from memory, a web article of the *Asahi Shimbun* included the original line he spoke in English along with the Japanese translations.

According to Mr. Campbell, President Obama said, "Let me stop you here," "Japan is an ally, a friend and a democracy," and "You need to understand that very clearly" in response to a comment from President Xi criticizing how Japan has become increasingly conservative regarding territorial issues. The three sentences were presented in English followed by their Japanese translations in the web article. However, only the English sentence in the first line made it to the final edition of the day's morning paper, most likely for brevity, as shown in Figure 2.

Although only a part of the English text was retained in the printed version, this example shows the Japanese newspaper's willingness to opt for high-effort strategies if they deem the situation high risk, as in this case which deals with secondhand information regarding a highly politicized issue. Added to the high-risk situation was the likelihood that Mr. Campbell would check the Japanese newspapers immediately either with or without help, since he participated in the press conference with the intention of being quoted (source-oriented risk).

日本批判「ここまでにしよう」

「Let me stop you here（ここまでにしよう）」──。6月の米中首脳会談でオバマ大統領が、日本への懸念を語る習近平国家主席を遮って反論したやりとりを、キャンベル前米国務次官補が16日、日本記者クラブでの会見で明かした。

オバマ氏、習主席に
キャンベル氏が明かす

キャンベル氏によれば、オバマ氏は「日本は同盟国で、友人で、民主主義国だ」と語り、習氏に「はっきりわかってもらわないと」と伝えたという。

会談で習氏は沖縄県の尖閣諸島の領有権を主張し、対立する日本を右傾化していると批判。これに対し、オバマ氏は尖閣問題で日本との対話を求めつつ、習氏が唱える日本への懸念を共有することは避けた形だ。

一方、知日派としてともに会見したグリーン元米国家安全保障会議（NSC）日本・韓国部長は「日韓関係がここまで悪化したことを警戒する」と苦言。「台頭する中国への対応に不可欠な日本、韓国の姿勢を弱めるもので、米国として困った状態だ」と述べた。

Figure 2. Sample of in-text double-presentation. Reprinted by permission from the *Asahi Shimbun* (July 17, 2013, morning edition, 4). © 2019 by the *Asahi Shimbun*.

Another example was found in *The Nikkei* published June 20, 2013. The paper quoted Ben Bernanke, then-Chair of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System (FRB), speaking at a press conference given in Washington, D.C. According to the byline, a foreign correspondent based in Washington wrote the article. In the press conference, Mr. Bernanke talked about the downside risks to the outlook for the economy and the labor market, and said that the risks "have diminished since the fall." *The Nikkei*'s correspondent quoted this part both in Japanese and in English as seen in the fourth tier in Figure 3.

米緩和縮小「年内から」

景気の改善が前提

資産購入 来年半ばにも終了

FRB議長会見

バーナンキ議長が示した量的緩和の縮小シナリオ

月額850億ドルの国債など購入

- インフレ率が2%に近づく
- 経済指標が持続的に改善

2013年内
(later this year) 緩やかに縮小

その後も経済が予測通り回復

14年前半
(first half of the year) 購入額、さらに縮小

失業率、7%に改善

14年半ばごろ
(around midyear) 購入を停止

Figure 3.   Sample of in-text double-presentation. Reprinted by permission from *The Nikkei* (June 20, 2013, evening edition, 4). © 2019 by *The Nikkei*.

In the quotation, the Japanese translation "*sakushū kara gentai shita*" [declined from last fall] (昨秋から減退した) appears first, followed by "diminished" in parentheses, both enclosed in Japanese quotation marks. Since "diminished" can be translated in multiple ways and the intended level of decline is both difficult and risky to speculate, it can be assumed that the journalator tried to mitigate the source-oriented risk (of mistranslation) by including the actual English word so that readers could decide for themselves what the word means. This approach incurs less risk of the journalator's words being "mistaken as an authoritative pronouncement" (Pym and Matsushita 2018, 7). This case can also be categorized as an instance of risk transfer because "If the prediction is wrong, then the fault will lie with Bernanke and those who interpret his words" and not with the journalator "who self-consciously here offers no more than a version" (ibid.).

Similarly, in regard to Mr. Bernanke's comments on the monthly asset purchase program of $40 billion in agency mortgage-backed securities and $45 billion in Treasury securities, *The Nikkei* decided to double-present the possible time schedule for making changes to the program. According to the FRB (2013), Mr. Bernanke said the following:

> If the incoming data are broadly consistent with this forecast, the Committee currently anticipates that it would be appropriate to moderate the monthly pace of purchases <u>later this year</u>. And if the subsequent data remain broadly aligned with our current expectations for the economy, we would continue to reduce the pace of purchases in measured steps through the first half of next year, ending purchases <u>around midyear</u>.

The underlined text was included in *The Nikkei*'s article as "*nennai*" (年内) [within this year] and "*rainen nakaba atari*" (来年半ばあたり) [around midyear next year] as seen in the sixth tier of the article shown in Figure 3. This can be explained by the journalator's intention to avoid being held responsible for market reactions since whatever the Chairman of the FRB says can directly influence financial markets around the world, including Japan, especially when he is talking about possible future actions with a timeline. The word "*nennai*" literally means "within this year" rather than what Mr. Bernanke said, which was "later this year." The same applies to "*rainen nakaba atari*" which means "around midyear next year" when the actual words by Mr. Bernanke was just "around midyear." The addition of "next year" makes logical sense given that the preceding part of the sentence was "we would continue to reduce the pace of purchases in measured steps through the first half of next year" immediately followed by "ending purchases around midyear" which was partially quoted.

However, *The Nikkei* only wanted to quote the part that indicated when the purchase would be completed. It is highly likely that, in order to make sure the direct quotation accurately reflects what the speaker meant, *The Nikkei* opted for double quotation. Furthermore, the impact can be especially large when quotations are being used in a headline (a *journalistic* reward), as was the case in this article: "*nennai*" (年内) [within this year] is being used in quotation marks, justifying the high-effort risk management strategy.

In the case of these two press conferences presented above, the translation itself would not have been an issue because both the meaning and the structure of the original sentences were clear and straightforward. The fact that the Japanese newspapers opted for the high-effort strategy of double-presentation seems explainable, however, by the high risk the journalators must have sensed of both mistranslating the newsmaker (source-oriented risk) and inviting possible misunderstanding from their readers (target-oriented risk) because of their translation. By showing both the original and the Japanese translation, the above risks can be mitigated because the readers can verify the necessary information regardless of the translation. Of course, there remains a possibility that the translation can become a target of criticism. However, the risk of being criticized for inaccurate translation can be considered lower than that of inaccurate presentation of what the speaker actually meant. Therefore, in this sense, the strategies taken by the two respective newspapers in the examples above can be justified in terms of risk management and categorized as a combination of risk transfer (making the speaker directly responsible for whatever happens in reality) and risk mitigation (bearing the risk of mistranslation in exchange for the higher risk of being criticized for misreporting FRB's intention).

8.1.3   Managing Risk through Increased Visibility

The next example shows a case in which both risk-avoiding and risk-taking strategies are at work. In this example, the translator is made visible as part of risk management. This practice is unconventional because interpreters and translators in news translation are known to be nearly invisible. As Schäffner (2012a, 82) notes:

> Although it is a common practice that direct quotations are embedded in the news articles, which may involve some further linguistic amendment to the actual words uttered, journalists do not indicate that they use the words as uttered by the interpreter.

In many cases of news translation, it remains unclear if the journalists actually attended the press conference, recorded the interview and translated it themselves, or just used the rendition of the interpreter without mentioning it (ibid., 79). This situation is gradually changing, however, which can be explained by the concept of risk management.

For example, in May 2013, the *Asahi Shimbun* published partial translations of Haruki Murakami's contribution to the American magazine *The New Yorker*, titled "Boston, from one citizen of the world who calls himself a runner" as a message to the victims of the Boston Marathon Bombing (Manabe 2013). The Japanese article which appeared in the *Asahi Shimbun* clearly stated, "The contribution was originally written in Japanese and translated into English. The excerpts which appear in this article are translations of the reporter," followed by the byline of the New York correspondent who wrote the article. This was a rare case in which the newspaper had to do in-house back-translation in order to report about Murakami's article in *The New Yorker*. Knowing that there are many Murakami fans in Japan who would most likely detect any unfamiliar wording caused by the back-translation, the newspaper made the journalist-translator visible so that the risk of the company receiving complaints could be possibly mitigated. As Pym and Matsushita (2018, 13) explain, "This particularly honest form of visibility mitigates the risk of readers being outraged by a false presentation of a very popular novelist even as it incurs the lesser risk of compromised media impact: this is what Murakami contributed, even though these are not his actual words." However, from the journalator's point of view, this can also be considered a risk-taking strategy since he would be the one blamed for mistranslation should any reader be unsatisfied.[5]

Cases of increased journalator visibility as a result of risk management by media organizations seems to be becoming more common, at least in the context of Japanese newspapers. In the previous example of double-presentation in which the *Yomiuri Shimbun* published the original transcript and the translation side-by-side, the *Yomiuri Shimbun* included a single sentence disclaimer which read "*Yomiuri Shimbun kokusai-bu ga hon'yaku shimashita*" (読売新聞国際部が翻訳しました) [Translated by the Yomiuri Shimbun International News Department].

One of the intentions behind the introduction of such practice could be to avoid risk—the readers now know that they are reading translated material and are less likely to be frustrated by uncommon uses of words, for example. However, the risk involved in news translation cannot be fully avoided by making translation visible. As seen earlier, a mistranslation was found later which led them to publish a correction in print

and to correct their database, a risk invited by a risk mitigation strategy (double-presentation).

This example shows that increased feedback can invite higher target-oriented risks. More than half a century ago Berlo (1960, 114) observed that "public media (newspaper, television, magazines, etc.) have minimum opportunities for feedback," because "the source and the receiver are separated in time and space." This no longer seems to be the case in today's world where interactions between the source and the target are immediate and often proximate.

This change in the relationship between the media and news consumers seems to have accelerated since the inauguration of Donald Trump as the new U.S. President in 2017. President Trump is known for his round-the-clock tweets, which often get picked up by the media. Translation obviously has a major role to play in disseminating his words around the world, enabling people to respond immediately via Twitter and other SNS. The mainstream media also pay close attention to these comments, sometimes criticizing how President Trump's words have been translated. For example, when news broke in January 2018, regarding his unrecorded comments in the Oval Office in which he allegedly referred to African nations as "shithole countries,"[6] the Japanese media produced multiple versions of this phrase as it has no equivalent in Japanese. The focus of public attention in Japan then became which media had the best—and worst—translation, rather than whether President Trump actually used such a vulgar expression or not. This phenomenon is likely to continue, at least while President Trump is in office, increasing the pressure on journalators and the risk of mistranslation.

8.2   News Translation Research in an Advanced Information Society

Based on the examples examined in this chapter, the change in the risk environment of news translation has led to the employment of risk management strategies that require higher effort, thus suggesting that there is a certain correlation between risks and the efforts and strategies used to manage those risks. As we now live in an advanced information society, more changes are likely to occur, making research on news translation ever more important. In order to conduct further research in this field, a solid research methodology needs to be established. I hope this book will serve as a foundation for such development to happen in the near future.

As I have repeatedly mentioned throughout this book, risk management is not yet an established theory in Translation Studies and needs further empirical testing. Other possible risks need to be explored to compile a more comprehensive list of the types of risk involved in translation (and in news translation in particular). In addition, the relativity between the different risks and its effect on the translator's decision-making process need to be further explored. All of this can only be achieved by increasing the empirical data available for analysis, far beyond the data that a single endeavor such as the present study can provide.

Of the several areas that could be both meaningful and worthy of further investigation, the first would be audience perception, which was touched upon but not fully covered in the present study. Depending on the tone and content of the direct quotations, readers may receive "significantly different impressions" of the speech and the speaker (Holland 2006, 229), and these impressions can have "a wide range of potentially important social effects" in business, politics, and diplomacy (ibid., 251).

The present study did not address the issue of reader perception empirically due to various practical constraints. However, if, for example, the change in reader perception from different translations can be measured and presented, this could have a significant influence on news translation practices by the media as well as on news translation research. Possibly the simplest way to do this would be through reader surveys. The following are some of the questions that could be asked:

1. Does the difference in translation affect your perception of the news event or of the person being quoted?
2. When you read a direct quotation of a speech given in a language other than your own, what degree of accuracy do you expect?
3. What degree of trust do you have that direct quotations are being accurately translated in the news?

In order to obtain answers to these questions, reception studies can be conducted in several ways which can involve both experiments and surveys. One way would be to present the news audience with different translations and measure their response, for example by collecting written or verbal explanations of their preference. A similar approach would be to present multiple STs (e.g., parts of speeches by President Obama and President Trump) to the participants and ask them either to write down their impressions for each TT or to describe their understanding of the content of the original message based on the respective translations.

Another potential topic for further research in this field would be the use of multiple languages in the newsroom, a recent area of active exploration (e.g., Davier and Van Doorslaer 2018; Van Rooyen 2018). In the case of Japanese newspapers, they maintain a number of foreign bureaus in places where languages other than Japanese or English are spoken as working languages. According to some of the interviewees who have worked as correspondents in non-English speaking regions, news translation in such locations poses different challenges. In many cases, locally hired assistant reporters, most of whom have not completed any specific interpreter or translator training and do not consider translation to be their main responsibility (Palmer 2009, 187), translate or interpret from the local language into English, which becomes the basis for the correspondents to translate and write their article in Japanese. This means that translation must be done twice with an intermediary language in between (as in relay interpreting at international conferences), thus making the process highly complex.

Based on tradition (as confirmed by interviewees of the present study), Japanese newspapers expect their correspondents to be able to listen, speak, and read the local language at an intermediate level in countries such as China, South Korea, Russia, France, and Germany. This poses another challenge because the language proficiency level varies from correspondent to correspondent. In addition, study abroad programs that each newspaper company used to provide for prospective correspondents to help them prepare for their future assignments are being downsized or even eliminated due to financial difficulties, according to the interviewees. The issue of the lack of a specified language competence requirement and its impact on news translation, especially in languages other than English, could be a possible topic to explore in the future.

As seen above, although the present study seems to have made some contributions to news translation research and to Translation Studies, many questions remain to be asked, and many uncertainties remain to be explained. It is hoped, however, that it has laid the groundwork for further studies in news translation to flourish in Japan and beyond. Given the increasing interest in news translation and its potential growth as a field of research within and beyond Translation Studies, it would be a great achievement if the present study were to become one of the building blocks for future research. It would also be very rewarding for me, as a former newspaper reporter myself, if the present study lifts the curtain on these journalators working behind the scenes under pressure from multiple stakeholders to bring the news back home.

Afterword

Writing this book has been a long journey. I already had the basic concept in mind when I left the *Asahi Shimbun* in the summer of 2011, but I found I needed to continually adapt this original concept to keep it relevant. The media ecosystem was evolving at an unprecedented speed, creating a moving target for my research. The emergence of Donald Trump as an international news-maker also required me to rethink my research design and conduct additional analysis. What kept me going despite these challenges was the conviction that I was responsible for telling the story of my former colleagues—the hundreds of journalators still working at Japanese newspapers—and to analyze their practices objectively while drawing on my professional network and experiences in journalism and translation.

The motivation to conduct the present study also stemmed from the aware-ness that interest in the field of news translation, which has been largely ignored by existing fields of research, seemed to be growing worldwide, especially over the past decade. Since there had been little contribution from Japan to the research in this field, especially regarding news translation practices by the Japanese mainstream media, I felt drawn to filling this void.

The newspaper was chosen as the target of analysis not only because I used to work for one but also because it is still considered the most credible media in Japan and has managed to maintain a daily circulation of approximately forty million despite the trend of global newspaper sales declining drasti-cally. In order to ensure enough diversity in the present study, I chose the six top-selling newspapers published in Tokyo, which together represent a total circulation that accounts for more than half of the newspaper copies distributed around the country every day.

Regarding the case study, one of the most-covered international events reported on by the Japanese media—the U.S. presidential election—was chosen in order to secure enough textual data. As a result, 150 TTs were ex-tracted from forty-five articles and analyzed, despite the fact that the present study intentionally narrowed its scope by only selecting TTs from direct quotations embedded in the news articles. Focusing on direct quotations was an essential element because another key objective of the present study was to overcome the obstacles that have hampered news translation researchers, such as the ambiguity of the ST-TT relationship resulting from the complex and multifaceted nature of the international news production process.

Another hurdle that research in news translation has struggled to clear is the determination of a theoretical framework that can be applied to explain the unique characteristics of news translation. Attempts at meeting this need have been few, and nothing seems to have been established thus far. However, without a theoretical backbone, news translation research cannot expand or develop beyond mere aggregations of experiences and observations by media insiders. Therefore, the present study made an effort to apply risk management—an unconventional yet promising theoretical concept with an increasing presence in the field of Translation Studies—to explain certain practices that eluded conventional theories.

By presenting and explaining real examples of risk management strategy used by Japanese journalators through a blend of text analysis and interviews with news translation practitioners, I believe the present study has contributed towards the further development of news translation research in particular and Translation Studies as a whole. In relation to the various objectives that the present study initially set out, I believe that five key contributions have resulted.

First, the present study was able to contribute to news translation research in general by providing a comprehensive account of the news translation process carried out by Japanese newspapers, as well as by presenting qualitative analysis of their translated outputs. Since case studies from Japan, in particular those of the mainstream media, have been lacking in this field of research, it is hoped that the present study will serve as a stepping stone for more studies to follow, both in terms of news translation practices in Japan, as well as those between Japanese and other languages.

Second, the present study introduced a new and useful approach to news translation research by focusing on direct quotations. Using direct quotations as the target of analysis proved to be a practical method for bypassing the often overly complicated process of international news production, thereby enabling researchers to treat direct quotations embedded in news texts as TTs in the translational sense. Based on the outcome of the present study, I believe that this approach has the potential to be applied to news translation practices outside of Japan, and, with some modification, to various types of media other than newspapers.

Third, the present study has shown that not only CDA but also concepts developed within Translation Studies (such as risk management, as in this case) can be applied as a theoretical framework for analyzing news translation practices. Except for the rare attempt to apply the concept of localization to news translation, not much progress has been made in this respect, especially regarding the process of news translation. It is hoped that the present study

will encourage scholars to explore the possibility of applying theories and concepts developed within Translation Studies to various types of news translation analysis.

Fourth, the present study has provided empirical data needed for the theorization of risk management within Translation Studies. As Pym (2009, 28) posits, "the practice of translation exceeds its theory, thus requiring an ongoing empirical attitude." Since news translation is an emerging field of research with a practice adapting rapidly to globalization and technological advancement, there is great potential for more empirical research from different angles, which would hopefully accelerate the theorization of risk management.

Finally, the findings of the present study contribute to the enhancement of media literacy among the news audience. As explained, readers of Japanese newspapers are mostly unaware of the various manipulations that occur during the news translation process; most are even unaware of the fact that they are reading a translated version of an original due to the invisibility of the translation process. It is therefore important to have readers acknowledge such realities not only when they read direct quotations but also when they come across translated news items by the Japanese and international media. In this sense, the present study could potentially contribute to the betterment of journalistic practices as a whole.

As a former journalator, it is my sincere desire that this book should make my former colleagues and journalators around the world realize that they are performing the act of translation, which could make them aware of their limitations and challenges, and invite rethinking on their part to improve their practices. Such awareness has the potential to change the media industry's approach towards news translation in general, including the development of necessary guidelines and training. By writing this book, I intend to set the stage for discussion between practitioners (e.g., journalists and translators) and news translation researchers, especially in areas outside of Europe where such opportunities have been scarce. This book marks my first step in this challenging yet meaningful endeavor.

Appendices

A. The White House Transcript of President Obama's Remarks on Election Night delivered November 7, 2012

McCormick Place, Chicago, Illinois   12:38 A.M. CST

THE PRESIDENT: Tonight, more than 200 years after a former colony won the right to determine its own destiny, the task of perfecting our union moves forward. (Applause.)

It moves forward because of you. It moves forward because you reaffirmed the spirit that has triumphed over war and depression; the spirit that has lifted this country from the depths of despair to the great heights of hope—the belief that while each of us will pursue our own individual dreams, we are an American family, and we rise or fall together, as one nation, and as one people. (Applause.)

Tonight, in this election, you, the American people, reminded us that while our road has been hard, while our journey has been long, we have picked ourselves up, we have fought our way back, and we know in our hearts that for the United States of America, the best is yet to come. (Applause.)

I want to thank every American who participated in this election. (Applause.) Whether you voted for the very first time or waited in line for a very long time—(applause)—by the way, we have to fix that. (Applause.) Whether you pounded the pavement or picked up the phone—(applause)—whether you held an Obama sign or a Romney sign, you made your voice heard, and you made a difference. (Applause.)

I just spoke with Governor Romney, and I congratulated him and Paul Ryan on a hard-fought campaign. (Applause.) We may have battled fiercely, but it's only because we love this country deeply, and we care so strongly about its future. From George to Lenore to their son Mitt, the Romney family has chosen to give back to America through public service, and that is a legacy that we honor and applaud tonight. (Applause.)

In the weeks ahead, I also look forward to sitting down with Governor Romney to talk about where we can work together to move this country forward. (Applause.)

I want to thank my friend and partner of the last four years, America's happy warrior—(applause)—the best Vice President anybody could ever hope for—Joe Biden. (Applause.)

And I wouldn't be the man I am today without the woman who agreed to marry me 20 years ago. (Applause.) Let me say this publicly—Michelle, I have never loved you more. I have never been prouder to watch the rest of America fall in love with you, too, as our nation's First Lady. (Applause.) Sasha and Malia, before our very eyes, you're growing up to become two strong, smart, beautiful young women, just like your mom. (Applause.) And I'm so proud of you guys. But I will say that for now, one dog is probably enough. (Laughter.)

To the best campaign team and volunteers in the history of politics—(applause)—the best. The best ever. (Applause.) Some of you were new this time around, and some of you have been at my side since the very beginning. But all of you are family. No matter what you do or where you go from here, you will carry the memory of the history we made together, and you will have the lifelong appreciation of a grateful President. Thank you for believing all the way, through every hill, through every valley. (Applause.) You lifted me up the whole way. And I will always be grateful for everything that you've done and all the incredible work that you put in. (Applause.)

I know that political campaigns can sometimes seem small, even silly. And that provides plenty of fodder for the cynics who tell us that politics is nothing more than a contest of egos, or the domain of special interests. But if you ever get the chance to talk to folks who turned out at our rallies, and crowded along a rope line in a high school gym, or saw folks working late at a campaign office in some tiny county far away from home, you'll discover something else.

You'll hear the determination in the voice of a young field organizer who's worked his way through college, and wants to make sure every child has that same opportunity. (Applause.) You'll hear the pride in the voice of a volunteer who's going door to door because her brother was finally hired when the local auto plant added another shift. (Applause.) You'll hear the deep patriotism in the voice of a military spouse who's working the phones late at night to make sure that no one who fights for this country ever has to fight for a job, or a roof over their head when they come home. (Applause.)

That's why we do this. That's what politics can be. That's why elections matter. It's not small; it's big. It's important.

Democracy in a nation of 300 million can be noisy and messy and complicated. We have our own opinions. Each of us has deeply held beliefs. And when we go through tough times, when we make big decisions as a country, it necessarily stirs passions, stirs up controversy. That won't change after

tonight—and it shouldn't. These arguments we have are a mark of our liberty, and we can never forget that as we speak, people in distant nations are risking their lives right now just for a chance to argue about the issues that matter, the chance to cast their ballots like we did today. (Applause.)

But despite all our differences, most of us share certain hopes for America's future. We want our kids to grow up in a country where they have access to the best schools and the best teachers—(applause)—a country that lives up to its legacy as the global leader in technology and discovery and innovation, with all the good jobs and new businesses that follow.

We want our children to live in an America that isn't burdened by debt; that isn't weakened by inequality; that isn't threatened by the destructive power of a warming planet. (Applause.)

We want to pass on a country that's safe and respected and admired around the world; a nation that is defended by the strongest military on Earth and the best troops this world has ever known—(applause)—but also a country that moves with confidence beyond this time of war to shape a peace that is built on the promise of freedom and dignity for every human being.

We believe in a generous America; in a compassionate America; in a tolerant America, open to the dreams of an immigrant's daughter who studies in our schools and pledges to our flag. (Applause.) To the young boy on the South Side of Chicago who sees a life beyond the nearest street corner. (Applause.) To the furniture worker's child in North Carolina who wants to become a doctor or a scientist, an engineer or entrepreneur, a diplomat or even a President. That's the future we hope for. That's the vision we share. That's where we need to go. Forward. (Applause.) That's where we need to go.

Now, we will disagree, sometimes fiercely, about how to get there. As it has for more than two centuries, progress will come in fits and starts. It's not always a straight line. It's not always a smooth path. By itself, the recognition that we have common hopes and dreams won't end all the gridlock, or solve all our problems, or substitute for the painstaking work of building consensus, and making the difficult compromises needed to move this country forward. But that common bond is where we must begin.

Our economy is recovering. A decade of war is ending. A long campaign is now over. (Applause.) And whether I earned your vote or not, I have listened to you. I have learned from you. And you've made me a better President. With your stories and your struggles, I return to the White House more determined and more inspired than ever about the work there is to do, and the future that lies ahead. (Applause.)

Tonight, you voted for action, not politics as usual. (Applause.) You elected us to focus on your jobs, not ours. And in the coming weeks and months, I

am looking forward to reaching out and working with leaders of both parties to meet the challenges we can only solve together: reducing our deficit; reforming our tax code; fixing our immigration system; freeing ourselves from foreign oil. We've got more work to do. (Applause.)

But that doesn't mean your work is done. The role of citizen in our democracy does not end with your vote. America has never been about what can be done for us. It's about what can be done by us, together, through the hard and frustrating but necessary work of self-government. (Applause.) That's the principle we were founded on.

This country has more wealth than any nation, but that's not what makes us rich. We have the most powerful military in history, but that's not what makes us strong. Our university, culture are the envy of the world, but that's not what keeps the world coming to our shores.

What makes America exceptional are the bonds that hold together the most diverse nation on Earth—the belief that our destiny is shared; that this country only works when we accept certain obligations to one another, and to future generations; that the freedom which so many Americans have fought for and died for comes with responsibilities as well as rights, and among those are love and charity and duty and patriotism. That's what makes America great. (Applause.)

I am hopeful tonight because I have seen this spirit at work in America. I've seen it in the family business whose owners would rather cut their own pay than lay off their neighbors, and in the workers who would rather cut back their hours than see a friend lose a job.

I've seen it in the soldiers who re-enlist after losing a limb, and in those SEALs who charged up the stairs into darkness and danger because they knew there was a buddy behind them, watching their back. (Applause.)

I've seen it on the shores of New Jersey and New York, where leaders from every party and level of government have swept aside their differences to help a community rebuild from the wreckage of a terrible storm. (Applause.)

And I saw it just the other day in Mentor, Ohio, where a father told the story of his eight-year-old daughter, whose long battle with leukemia nearly cost their family everything, had it not been for health care reform passing just a few months before the insurance company was about to stop paying for her care. (Applause.) I had an opportunity to not just talk to the father, but meet this incredible daughter of his. And when he spoke to the crowd, listening to that father's story, every parent in that room had tears in their eyes, because we knew that little girl could be our own. And I know that every American wants her future to be just as bright.

That's who we are. That's the country I'm so proud to lead as your President. (Applause.) And tonight, despite all the hardship we've been through, despite all the frustrations of Washington, I've never been more hopeful about our future. (Applause.) I have never been more hopeful about America. And I ask you to sustain that hope.

I'm not talking about blind optimism—the kind of hope that just ignores the enormity of the tasks ahead or the roadblocks that stand in our path. I'm not talking about the wishful idealism that allows us to just sit on the sidelines or shirk from a fight. I have always believed that hope is that stubborn thing inside us that insists, despite all the evidence to the contrary, that something better awaits us, so long as we have the courage to keep reaching, to keep working, to keep fighting. (Applause.)

America, I believe we can build on the progress we've made, and continue to fight for new jobs, and new opportunity, and new security for the middle class. I believe we can keep the promise of our founding—the idea that if you're willing to work hard, it doesn't matter who you are, or where you come from, or what you look like, or where you love—it doesn't matter whether you're black or white, or Hispanic or Asian, or Native American, or young or old, or rich or poor, abled, disabled, gay or straight—you can make it here in America if you're willing to try. (Applause.)

I believe we can seize this future together—because we are not as divided as our politics suggest; we're not as cynical as the pundits believe; we are greater than the sum of our individual ambitions; and we remain more than a collection of red states and blue states. We are, and forever will be, the United States of America. (Applause.) And together, with your help, and God's grace, we will continue our journey forward, and remind the world just why it is that we live in the greatest nation on Earth. (Applause.)

Thank you, America. God bless you. God bless these United States. (Applause.)

<div align="center">END</div>

<div align="right">(White House, 2012)</div>

B. The White House Transcript of President Obama's
Inaugural Address delivered January 21, 2013

United States Capitol   11:55 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Vice President Biden, Mr. Chief Justice, members of the United States Congress, distinguished guests, and fellow citizens: Each time we gather to inaugurate a President we bear witness to the enduring strength of our Constitution. We affirm the promise of our democracy. We recall that what binds this nation together is not the colors of our skin or the tenets of our faith or the origins of our names. What makes us exceptional—what makes us American—is our allegiance to an idea articulated in a declaration made more than two centuries ago: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Today we continue a never-ending journey to bridge the meaning of those words with the realities of our time. For history tells us that while these truths may be self-evident, they've never been self-executing; that while freedom is a gift from God, it must be secured by His people here on Earth. (Applause.) The patriots of 1776 did not fight to replace the tyranny of a king with the privileges of a few or the rule of a mob. They gave to us a republic, a government of, and by, and for the people, entrusting each generation to keep safe our founding creed.

And for more than two hundred years, we have.

Through blood drawn by lash and blood drawn by sword, we learned that no union founded on the principles of liberty and equality could survive half-slave and half-free. We made ourselves anew, and vowed to move forward together.

Together, we determined that a modern economy requires railroads and highways to speed travel and commerce, schools and colleges to train our workers.

Together, we discovered that a free market only thrives when there are rules to ensure competition and fair play.

Together, we resolved that a great nation must care for the vulnerable, and protect its people from life's worst hazards and misfortune.

Through it all, we have never relinquished our skepticism of central authority, nor have we succumbed to the fiction that all society's ills can be cured through government alone. Our celebration of initiative and enterprise, our

insistence on hard work and personal responsibility, these are constants in our character.

But we have always understood that when times change, so must we; that fidelity to our founding principles requires new responses to new challenges; that preserving our individual freedoms ultimately requires collective action. For the American people can no more meet the demands of today's world by acting alone than American soldiers could have met the forces of fascism or communism with muskets and militias. No single person can train all the math and science teachers we'll need to equip our children for the future, or build the roads and networks and research labs that will bring new jobs and businesses to our shores. Now, more than ever, we must do these things together, as one nation and one people. (Applause.)

This generation of Americans has been tested by crises that steeled our resolve and proved our resilience. A decade of war is now ending. (Applause.) An economic recovery has begun. (Applause.) America's possibilities are limitless, for we possess all the qualities that this world without boundaries demands: youth and drive; diversity and openness; an endless capacity for risk and a gift for reinvention. My fellow Americans, we are made for this moment, and we will seize it—so long as we seize it together. (Applause.)

For we, the people, understand that our country cannot succeed when a shrinking few do very well and a growing many barely make it. (Applause.) We believe that America's prosperity must rest upon the broad shoulders of a rising middle class. We know that America thrives when every person can find independence and pride in their work; when the wages of honest labor liberate families from the brink of hardship. We are true to our creed when a little girl born into the bleakest poverty knows that she has the same chance to succeed as anybody else, because she is an American; she is free, and she is equal, not just in the eyes of God but also in our own. (Applause.)

We understand that outworn programs are inadequate to the needs of our time. So we must harness new ideas and technology to remake our government, revamp our tax code, reform our schools, and empower our citizens with the skills they need to work harder, learn more, reach higher. But while the means will change, our purpose endures: a nation that rewards the effort and determination of every single American. That is what this moment requires. That is what will give real meaning to our creed.

We, the people, still believe that every citizen deserves a basic measure of security and dignity. We must make the hard choices to reduce the cost of health care and the size of our deficit. But we reject the belief that America must choose between caring for the generation that built this country and investing in the generation that will build its future. (Applause.) For we

remember the lessons of our past, when twilight years were spent in poverty and parents of a child with a disability had nowhere to turn.

We do not believe that in this country freedom is reserved for the lucky, or happiness for the few. We recognize that no matter how responsibly we live our lives, any one of us at any time may face a job loss, or a sudden illness, or a home swept away in a terrible storm. The commitments we make to each other through Medicare and Medicaid and Social Security, these things do not sap our initiative, they strengthen us. (Applause.) They do not make us a nation of takers; they free us to take the risks that make this country great. (Applause.)

We, the people, still believe that our obligations as Americans are not just to ourselves, but to all posterity. We will respond to the threat of climate change, knowing that the failure to do so would betray our children and future generations. (Applause.) Some may still deny the overwhelming judgment of science, but none can avoid the devastating impact of raging fires and crippling drought and more powerful storms.

The path towards sustainable energy sources will be long and sometimes difficult. But America cannot resist this transition, we must lead it. We cannot cede to other nations the technology that will power new jobs and new industries, we must claim its promise. That's how we will maintain our economic vitality and our national treasure—our forests and waterways, our crop lands and snow-capped peaks. That is how we will preserve our planet, commanded to our care by God. That's what will lend meaning to the creed our fathers once declared.

We, the people, still believe that enduring security and lasting peace do not require perpetual war. (Applause.) Our brave men and women in uniform, tempered by the flames of battle, are unmatched in skill and courage. (Applause.) Our citizens, seared by the memory of those we have lost, know too well the price that is paid for liberty. The knowledge of their sacrifice will keep us forever vigilant against those who would do us harm. But we are also heirs to those who won the peace and not just the war; who turned sworn enemies into the surest of friends—and we must carry those lessons into this time as well.

We will defend our people and uphold our values through strength of arms and rule of law. We will show the courage to try and resolve our differences with other nations peacefully—not because we are naïve about the dangers we face, but because engagement can more durably lift suspicion and fear. (Applause.)

America will remain the anchor of strong alliances in every corner of the globe. And we will renew those institutions that extend our capacity to

manage crisis abroad, for no one has a greater stake in a peaceful world than its most powerful nation. We will support democracy from Asia to Africa, from the Americas to the Middle East, because our interests and our conscience compel us to act on behalf of those who long for freedom. And we must be a source of hope to the poor, the sick, the marginalized, the victims of prejudice—not out of mere charity, but because peace in our time requires the constant advance of those principles that our common creed describes: tolerance and opportunity, human dignity and justice.

We, the people, declare today that the most evident of truths—that all of us are created equal—is the star that guides us still; just as it guided our forebears through Seneca Falls, and Selma, and Stonewall; just as it guided all those men and women, sung and unsung, who left footprints along this great Mall, to hear a preacher say that we cannot walk alone; to hear a King proclaim that our individual freedom is inextricably bound to the freedom of every soul on Earth. (Applause.)

It is now our generation's task to carry on what those pioneers began. For our journey is not complete until our wives, our mothers and daughters can earn a living equal to their efforts. (Applause.) Our journey is not complete until our gay brothers and sisters are treated like anyone else under the law—(applause)—for if we are truly created equal, then surely the love we commit to one another must be equal as well. (Applause.) Our journey is not complete until no citizen is forced to wait for hours to exercise the right to vote. (Applause.) Our journey is not complete until we find a better way to welcome the striving, hopeful immigrants who still see America as a land of opportunity—(applause)—until bright young students and engineers are enlisted in our workforce rather than expelled from our country. (Applause.) Our journey is not complete until all our children, from the streets of Detroit to the hills of Appalachia, to the quiet lanes of Newtown, know that they are cared for and cherished and always safe from harm.

That is our generation's task—to make these words, these rights, these values of life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness real for every American. Being true to our founding documents does not require us to agree on every contour of life. It does not mean we all define liberty in exactly the same way or follow the same precise path to happiness. Progress does not compel us to settle centuries-long debates about the role of government for all time, but it does require us to act in our time. (Applause.)

For now decisions are upon us and we cannot afford delay. We cannot mistake absolutism for principle, or substitute spectacle for politics, or treat name-calling as reasoned debate. (Applause.) We must act, knowing that our work will be imperfect. We must act, knowing that today's victories will be

only partial and that it will be up to those who stand here in four years and 40 years and 400 years hence to advance the timeless spirit once conferred to us in a spare Philadelphia hall.

My fellow Americans, the oath I have sworn before you today, like the one recited by others who serve in this Capitol, was an oath to God and country, not party or faction. And we must faithfully execute that pledge during the duration of our service. But the words I spoke today are not so different from the oath that is taken each time a soldier signs up for duty or an immigrant realizes her dream. My oath is not so different from the pledge we all make to the flag that waves above and that fills our hearts with pride.

They are the words of citizens and they represent our greatest hope. You and I, as citizens, have the power to set this country's course. You and I, as citizens, have the obligation to shape the debates of our time—not only with the votes we cast, but with the voices we lift in defense of our most ancient values and enduring ideals. (Applause.)

Let us, each of us, now embrace with solemn duty and awesome joy what is our lasting birthright. With common effort and common purpose, with passion and dedication, let us answer the call of history and carry into an uncertain future that precious light of freedom.

Thank you. God bless you, and may He forever bless these United States of America. (Applause.)

<div align="center">END</div>

<div align="right">(White House, 2013)</div>

Notes

Preface

1. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/01/business/media/new-york-times-earnings-subscribers.html
2. Data as of 2018 according to the Japan Newspaper Publishers & Editors Association. https://www.pressnet.or.jp/english/data/circulation/circulation01.php
3. Based on the Survey on Telecommunication Media Usage and Information Behavior published by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications in July 2018. http://www.soumu.go.jp/main_content/000564530.pdf
4. The Japanese name is *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*, but this book uses its official English name, *The Nikkei.*

Chapter 1

1. This approach was proposed at the panel on news translation titled "News Translation: Subverting the Discipline?" during the Seventh Congress of the European Society for Translation Studies in 2013.
2. For example, local newspaper articles picked up and translated by global news agencies (text-to-text), speeches by global leaders reported by local newspapers (speech-to-text), and various types of documents (e.g., written statements, draft legislations) broadcast by TV or radio in another language (text-to-oral reproduction).
3. This category has been recognized as a field separate from news translation. For details, see Van Doorslaer (2009, 84).
4. There is no clear definition of "hard news" either. In newsrooms, it is often considered to include important, serious news items that must be reported immediately. Its opposite is "soft news" or "features" which include profiles of known individuals and human-interest stories with longer deadlines. For details, see Bell (1991, 14).
5. This includes wire services, newspapers, TV and radio broadcasters, news magazines, and major internet news providers.
6. Data as of 2018, according to The Japan Newspaper Publishers & Editors Association. http://www.pressnet.or.jp/data/circulation/circulation01.php
7. Data as of December 2018, according to the Japan Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC).
8. Data as of January 2019, according to Statista. https://www.statista.com/statistics/184682/us-daily-newspapers-by-circulation/
9. Most of the national newspapers in Japan publish different editions for each of the main four regions of Japan. This book chose the Tokyo edition for consistency.
10. Chunichi Group publishes four general newspapers in different regions by sharing content. Its total circulation is approximately three million. The *Tokyo Shimbun*, the one published in Tokyo, is the second largest of the four.
11. In journalism, when referring to literal reproduction of what someone said, the terms "direct quotation" or "direct quote" are used instead of "direct speech." Following the journalistic practice in newspaper writing, direct quotations in the present study refer to part(s) of utterances enclosed in quotation marks. For more detail on the features and functions of direct quotations, see section 2.2.1.

Chapter 2

1.   See Valdeón (2015b) among others in the special issue of *Perspectives* on "Culture and News Translation" for a detailed overview of the development of research in this field, especially since the turn of the century.
2.   Fujii (1988, 35) explains that English language newspapers published by the big dailies such as the *Asahi Shimbun* inevitably rely on the parent newspaper for domestic news and thus it is "much easier for an outsider to trace the original-translation relationship."
3.   Translingual quoting is defined in Haapanen and Perrin (2019, 16) as the "process of news-writing in which the original discourse is translated during quoting."
4.   Even the top selling English language newspaper has a circulation of only 20,000 as of December 2018, according to Japan Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC), which releases newspaper circulation figures every six months.
5.   MEMRI is "a neo-conservative media institute which specializes in translating selected Arabic documents for Western consumption" (Baker 2006, 333).
6.   Religious groups such as Soka Gakkai and political parties such as the Japan Communist Party publish their own daily newspapers for their constituencies, but their influence on the general public is limited.

Chapter 3

1.   Citations are intentionally avoided for historical facts confirmed by multiple sources to enhance readability, but are provided regarding specific details only mentioned in one or a limited number of studies.
2.   http://gallery.lb.nagasaki-u.ac.jp/nsla/index.html
3.   Different English spellings for each word such as "Kwanpan," "Batabiya," and "Shinbun" exist.
4.   According to the Japan Commercial Broadcasters Association. https://j-ba.or.jp/category/english/jba101018
5.   https://j-ba.or.jp/category/english/jba101018
6.   https://www.pressnet.or.jp/english/data/circulation/circulation01.php
7.   Chunichi Group publishes four general newspapers in different regions by sharing content. In the case study of this book, *Tokyo Shimbun*, the one published in Tokyo, is analyzed.
8.   *Sankei Shimbun* stopped publishing its evening paper in Tokyo in 2002, but it continues to publish its evening edition in Osaka. However, this edition was not included in the analysis in order to ensure regional consistency among the targeted samples.
9.   As of October 2018, according to The Japan Newspaper Publishers & Editors Association.
10.   http://www.guinnessworldrecords.com/world-records/highest-daily-newspaper-circulation-/
11.   Better known by its shorter name, *Nippon Series* [the Japan Series], it is the annual championship series between the winning clubs of the Central League and the Pacific League.
12.   During the trial, the public prosecutors accused him of obtaining the document through an "inappropriate relationship" with a female official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
13.   Major Korean newspapers translate their articles into Japanese and post them on their Japanese website. In the report, *Sankei* cited an article by *Chosun Ilbo*, a Korean daily, which claimed that President Park was secretly meeting with a former aide during the sinking of the ferry, MV Sewol.
14.   https://www.j-ba.or.jp/category/english
15.   The company changed its name to *HuffPost* in 2017.

16.   For more details, see the websites for Kyodo News (http://www.kyodonews.jp/english/
        about/) and Jiji Press (https://www.jiji.com/c_profile/about_us.html).

17.   The questions were prepared and asked in Japanese. The English translations are provided
        by the author.

Chapter 4

1.   Hui (2012, 23) provides a list of scholars who have explored the possibility of applying the
        concept of risk management to the field of translation and Pym and Matsushita (2018)
        introduces more recent research in this field.

2.   Known as the "Problem of Points," this is a classic puzzle posed by a Franciscan Monk, Luca
        Pacioli, in the fifteenth century.

3.   Pym prefers to use the term "start text" rather than the more prevalent "source text" for
        technical reasons. For details, see Pym (2015, 68). ST and TT in this book refer to source
        text and target text unless otherwise specified.

4.   Pym (2005) cited in Pym (2014) is the same article as Pym (2005b) cited in the present
        study.

5.   The order of risks described in this chapter does not reflect the order as presented in Pym
        (2015).

6.   http://www.theguardian.com/world/video/2008/jun/11/afghanistan.johndmchugh

7.   This is indicated by the fact that the interpreter says, "I can only speak Pashto" (Pym 2016,
        254).

8.   As explained in Chapter 3, a former Seoul bureau chief of the *Sankei Shimbun* was indicted
        in South Korea for defamation in November 2014. He wrote an article about the South Ko-
        rean president which included rumors circulating at that time in the South Korean media
        that she was absent for seven hours during the catastrophic ferry disaster because she was
        with a man (a former aide). After being barred from leaving the country for several months,
        the journalist was ultimately found innocent by the Seoul Central District Court.

9.   The survey was conducted for the present study in September and October 2014. There
        were seventeen responses altogether, but some did not name the country in which their
        organization was based.

10.   For an example, see the code of ethics of the Australian Institute of Interpreters and Trans-
        lators (AUSIT). http://ausit.org/AUSIT/About/Ethics____Conduct/Code_of_Ethics/
        AUSIT/About/Code_of_Ethics.aspx

Chapter 5

1.   The handbook is only available to *Asahi* reporters. The version I have was published in
        2011.

2.   All reporters whose names appeared in the bylines were identified by the interviewees of
        each newspaper as full-time employees. In general, Japanese newspapers do not use free-
        lance writers or stringers for their daily news reporting.

3.   Inclusion of spatial and temporal elements can also be seen in research on ethical decision-
        making (e.g., Jones 1991) in which "temporal immediacy" and "proximity" play an equally
        important role as "probability of effect" and "magnitude of consequences."

4.   Scare quotes are quotation marks used to draw attention to a word or phrase, often to show
        doubt or disdain toward it. An example is provided in Bell (1991, 208).

5.   The same type of usage can be seen in Japanese newspapers using Japanese quotation marks (「」).
6.   Barik (1971, 204) explains that although "a substitution necessarily represents a combination of omission and addition" it is considered as a category "independent of these events."
7.   Pym (2005b, 73) lists time, hardship, technology costs, and interpersonal exchanges as possible ways of measuring effort.

Chapter 6

1.   Confirmed by the interviewees of the present study and by my own experience.
2.   Data as of December 2018.
3.   U.S. presidents are inaugurated on January 20 and the hundredth day is April 29. However, due to the time difference, Japanese newspapers' coverage of the new administration starts on January 21 and special coverage summarizing the first hundred days is typically published on May 1.
4.   This article was included in the corpus because the contents of the utterances by Jim Mattis and President Trump were confirmed by other sources and the Reuters article was accessible online (e.g., video footage).
5.   In order to prevent one newspaper from getting an unfair advantage over its competitors, major Japanese newspapers have agreed not to push back a deadline without prior agreement.
6.   This does not mean that President Obama's words from the two speeches were not included in subsequent editions. The morning edition of January 23, 2013, was included because morning editions are considered more informative, with page counts double those of their evening counterparts.
7.   As mentioned in Chapter 5, Barik does not use the word "strategy," and calls omission, addition, and substitution "departures of translation" (Barik 1971, 200).
8.   For example, Vinay and Darbelnet ([1958] 1995, 342) defines explicitation as "a stylistic translation technique which consists of making explicit in the target language what remains implicit in the source language because it is apparent from either the context or the situation" (original emphasis removed).
9.   For purposes of comparison, the back-translations, underlines, italics, strikethroughs, and phonetic spellings of the Japanese texts are provided by the author of this book. The numbers in parentheses are also provided in cases where lists of items are presented.
10.   These articles had bylines that made it clear who wrote them.
11.   For example, *Asahi*'s handbook instructs reporters to write articles in a clear, short, and easy-to-understand manner.

Chapter 7

1.   The STs and TTs are given new numbers in each chapter even when they are presented for a second time.
2.   Prime Minister Abe took office for the second time on December 26, 2012, following the general election of the House of Representatives ten days before. This was his first address in the plenary session of the Lower House.
3.   Each newspaper company has different guidelines. In the case of these Chinese characters, only *The Nikkei* used them without phonetic characters in this specific case.
4.   President Obama's only known foreign language skills are beginner-level Spanish, Swahili and Indonesian, as reported by multiple U.S. media during his presidential campaigns.

5. The U.S. Embassy in Japan has a website which explains their roles and responsibilities. https://jp.usembassy.gov/ja/embassy-consulates-ja/tokyo-ja/

6. According to OECD's calculations based on data from the World Association of Newspapers as of 2008.

7. According to data published by The Japan Newspaper Publishers & Editors Association.

8. Ibid.

9. The press code, developed by The Japan Newspaper Publishers & Editors Association in 1946 based on lessons learned from World War II, stated that, "Personal opinion of the individual reporter should never be inserted into news reporting." Japanese newspapers have long restricted the use of bylines until the mid-1990s when some newspapers such as the *Mainichi Shimbun* started a campaign to increase the number of bylined articles (*Mainichi Shimbun* 2018).

10. In newspaper journalism, writers are more likely to remove quotation marks (e.g., change to reported speech or paraphrase) if they decide to make alterations to the wording of the original quote (e.g., New York Times Company 2008, under "Quotations"). Accounts by the journalators interviewed for this study also confirm the existence of such practice in Japan (see section 7.2.1).

11. According to the Japan Newspaper Publishers & Editors Association. https://www.press-net.or.jp/

12. The official interpreter said "*hijō ni konomashiku nai ayamachi*" (非常に好ましくない過ち) [a very undesirable mistake]. Retrieved from http://nettv.gov-online.go.jp/prg/prg9734.html

13. I would categorize this as risk mitigation (Pym & Matsushita 2018) since there still remains a risk that the journalator be criticized for the omission instead, but the risk of mistranslation is considerably higher.

Chapter 8

1. The article first appeared on the paper's website, FT.com, and immediately attracted wide attention from the international media. It was later printed in the actual paper cited on this page. The original article can be found at http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/7d713b60-8425-11e3-b72e-00144feab7de.html#axzz3nYJArHF4

2. A euphemism used for women who were providing sexual services to the soldiers of the Imperial Japanese Army. Whether or not the government forced the servitude has been a controversial topic in Japan and in its neighboring countries.

3. Takeda (2008) provides a detailed analysis of the role and effect of monitors during interpreting.

4. The interpreter is kept anonymous in the present study to prevent her from any further inconvenience.

5. See Pym and Matsushita (2018) for further analysis of this case and the relationship between translator visibility and risk.

6. President Trump denied the allegation.

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