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by

Kayo MATSUSHITA

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Abstract

Until a decade ago, the important role translation plays in the practice of journalism—commonly referred to in recent studies as *news translation*—had been largely ignored by existing fields of research despite its visible and growing presence (Vuorinen, 1999, p. 61-62; Holland, 2013, p. 334). Scholars of Translation Studies had viewed news translation as belonging in the hands of journalists and not translators (Bielsa, 2007), and the complex nature of international news production involving multiple sources and multiple players had made it difficult to treat the practice of news translation as “‘translation proper’ or ‘translation-as-generally-understood’” (van Doorslaer, 2010, p. 182). Scholars of Media Studies tended to focus on monolingual cases only, paying little attention to news production in interlingual settings.

However, this situation began to change in the mid-2000s. Stimulated by the increased demand for international news in a globalized world, some scholars, mainly from Translation Studies, began to pay more attention to the unique role translation plays in the international dissemination of news. Triggered by University of Warwick’s “Translation in Global News” project (Bielsa, 2007; Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009; Conway & Bassnett, 2006), a number of case studies have been carried out in the past decade regarding various news translation practices. Reflecting the fact that international news agencies are still key producers of international news texts, initial research was focused in Western countries where major news agencies are located. It later expanded to other regions; nevertheless, contributions to this research from Japan have remained limited. This is especially
the case with research regarding news translation practices by the mainstream media, partly because news translation practices are normally conducted by journalist-translators with no or limited translator training.

The key objective of the present study is to fill this research void. Another important objective is to contribute to the development of news translation research in general, which still remains a relatively new field of research. In order to fulfill these objectives, both the case study and the targets for text analysis were carefully selected so that this study would be representative of Japan’s news translation practices by the mainstream media. As a result, a major international news event—the U.S. presidential election of 2012—and six top-selling commercial newspapers in Japan with a total circulation of approximately 25 million, were chosen. First, the news coverage of the presidential election by the Japanese newspapers was analyzed and their news translation practices were examined. Then, the key findings were validated against a wider range of news translation cases.

In order to analyze news translation from a Translation Studies perspective, the relationship between the source text (ST) and target text (TT) needed to be clearly identified. Therefore, this study chose to focus only on direct quotes (i.e., utterances enclosed in quotation marks) which, by journalistic standards, are presented as faithful reproductions of the original speech (The New York Times, 2008; Reuters, 2008). As the main case study, 45 newspaper articles containing quotes from President Obama’s victory and inauguration speeches were selected and 150 direct quotes were extracted as TTs and were analyzed. Comparisons were made between the STs and the TTs, and the translation strategies adopted by the newspapers were identified and examined.

This first stage of analysis revealed that omission was used in 53% of the TTs, making it the dominant translation strategy. This finding itself is not new
since omission was previously identified in prior news translation studies as a “key strategy” because of its time-bound nature (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009, p. 8) and in the case of print media, space limitations (ibid.; Jiménez-Crespo, 2012, p. 64). However, a closer analysis showed that in the case of news translation by the Japanese newspapers, factual data and specific details were often omitted, which were difficult to explain by these time or space limitations alone. Moreover, even in cases where large parts of a ST were omitted, the TTs were nevertheless presented as direct quotes as if nothing had been removed or modified.

In order to understand the reasoning behind these significant levels of manipulation, which goes against the standard journalistic practice of quoting sources verbatim, this study applied the concept of risk management. This relatively new concept in Translation Studies was chosen as the theoretical framework for the analysis of this study, because unlike most of the other forms of translation, news translation is mainly conducted by journalist-translators with little or no translator training, and conventional norms and ethics discussed in Translation Studies are not always applicable. As a result, cases of extreme manipulation are evident in news translation for which no valid explanation seemed possible by alternative theories and concepts in Translation Studies. This study aims to explain such cases by using the concept of risk management, because, as the leading translation theorist in the conceptualization of risk management, Anthony Pym, states, this concept is expected to provide rational reasoning to various translation practices which would “otherwise simply be unethical or non-standard” (Pym, 2014b, p. 1).

According to Pym (2005b), some elements in a translation are high risk while others are low risk and “most of the real world lies at various stages in between” (p. 70). Translation strategies are “different ways of expending effort to manage risk” and the translator’s efforts “should ideally correlate with degrees of risk” (p. 73). Using these findings by Pym as a guideline, some of the examples of news
translation practices that initially seemed unexplainable were analyzed to investigate whether the non-standard use of translation strategies, such as significant omissions of factual data in direct quotes, could be logically explained by using the concept of risk management. Another reason why this concept was chosen was because news translation in general is a risky business in which translators and interpreters are constantly faced with two main risks: the risk towards the newsmaker (i.e. source-oriented risk), and the risk towards the news audience (i.e. target-oriented risk), both of which are likely to have a significant influence on their decision-making.

The fact that omission was used in more than half of the TTs analyzed in the case study pointed to the possibility that Japanese newspapers did not perceive translating President Obama’s speeches as being high risk. This is because from a risk management perspective, the frequent use of omission by the journalist-translators (i.e. low-effort strategy) even in cases where they did not have obvious time or space limitations can only be justified in low-risk situations. In order to examine this possibility, interviews were conducted with Japanese journalist-translators to include their point of view into the analysis.

These interviews revealed that journalist-translators are generally aware of the negative impact misquoting political leaders can cause. Through qualitative text analysis, cross-examined by journalist-translators’ own accounts, it was confirmed that there were at least four risk factors which seemed to have affected their decision-making: impact, probability, proximity, and immediacy of the risk in question. In the case of the Japanese newspapers’ coverage of the U.S. election, it was clearly understood by the journalist-translators that misquoting President Obama could lead to serious consequences (i.e., high impact in terms of risk). However, they considered the probability, proximity, and immediacy of that risk to be relatively low given the fact that President Obama (or his representatives) would be unlikely to
meticulously check for any mistranslation by the Japanese media. The above finding was corroborated by the fact that different translation strategies were applied when quoting Prime Minister Abe in Japanese (intralingual translation) where even long and complicated phrases were quoted almost verbatim.

The results of the text analysis, combined with interviews with journalist-translators from all six newspapers, also revealed that journalist-translators were more conscious of the risk of inviting misunderstanding from their domestic readers if the words or phrases actually said by President Obama were translated word-for-word. For example, some of the words that President Obama used were too formal or literary for the average Japanese newspaper reader if translated literally; in other cases, the examples he presented were unfamiliar to them. In order to manage this target-oriented risk, journalist-translators seemed to have opted for not only omission of the parts that might not be comprehended by the reader, but also for other translation strategies requiring higher effort, such as addition and substitution.

The motive for the Japanese newspapers to retain quotation marks even after significantly manipulating a TT was also explainable by the relationship of “reward” and “risk-taking” in translation; translators and interpreters would be willing to take risks if they could be rewarded in some way (Pym, 2008b, p.325). In newspaper writing, using direct quotes can bring value such as authenticity and liveliness (Bell, 1991; Vuorinen, 1999), and because of these “rewards,” direct quotes are often repeated in headlines to invite greater attention from readers. Through analysis, it was revealed that this could be one of the reasons why journalist-translators tend to keep quotation marks even in cases where the words of the original speaker are changed in a noticeable manner.

The validity of the findings above and the applicability of the concept of risk management as a theoretical framework were empirically tested by examining
other news events to see whether a change in the risk environment would affect the journalist-translator’s selection of news translation strategies. Cases of risk management by media interpreters in press conferences and risk management strategies by journalist-translators in high-risk situations were analyzed. In one case of media interpreting at a highly political press conference, the interpreter opted for high-effort strategies, such as giving alternatives to a certain translated word or adding extra words or phrases to elaborate on what the original speaker meant, in order to manage the risk of being held accountable for not conveying the intended message. In another example, a press conference given by a former U.S. diplomat and known Japan expert, the risk situation appeared to be higher than when quoting President Obama’s victory and inaugural speeches because the speaker was physically present in Japan and he had immediate access to Japanese newspapers. This led the journalist-translators to present his speech in its original English alongside its Japanese translation (i.e., double-presentation), which is a high-effort, time/space-consuming strategy.

Despite the fact that some level of correlation between risk, effort and the use of translation strategies were confirmed and the possible influence of the four risk factors in the decision-making by the Japanese journalist-translators were brought to light, this study faced many obstacles. For example, the types of risks as they apply to news translation as well as the relationships between each of them were difficult to systematically categorize because the methods for risk analysis within the still-developing theoretical framework have not yet been rigorously defined. Another major limitation was the fact that the interviewees were not selected at random but were limited to those within the author’s personal network. However, by presenting various examples of risk management strategies used by Japanese journalist-translators and using a combined approach of text analysis (product-oriented approach) and interviews of practicing journalist-translators
(process-oriented approach), it is hoped that this paper is able to provide valuable insight into the practice of news translation in Japan and to contribute to the further development of news translation research worldwide.

**Key Words:** news translation, Japanese newspaper, direct quotation, political discourse, risk management, journalist-translator
要旨

本研究は、国際報道の現場で日常的に行われているながら、これまで十分な学術的研究が行なわれてきたとは言い難い訳出行為（ニュース・トランスレーション）を翻訳通訳研究の視点から捉えなおし、国際ニュースの制作過程において訳出行為を担うジャーナリストらの意思決定プロセスの解明を目的としたものである。

具体的には、日本の主要6紙による2012年の米大統領選報道を主要な事例として取り上げ、新聞記者のニュース・トランスレーション実践をテクスト分析と記者インタビューによって考察し、さらに考察の結果を複数の事例に当てはめて検証した。

テクスト分析では、当選したオバマ大統領の発言を引用符付きで直接引用した部分（計150箇所）を抽出し、訳出方略を調べた。その結果、全体の53%において情報の「省略」が見られたほか、節や文レベルの「置き換え」、暗示されていない情報の明示的な「付加」などの操作が行われていることが分かった。

新聞報道における直接引用は、話し手の発話を極力そのまま再現することが前提とされており、日本の新聞においても、言語間翻訳を伴わない事例（例えば安倍首相の発言の直接引用）では、上記のような操作は見られなかった。そこで、本研究では、翻訳通訳研究において理論化が進められている「リスク管理」の概念を理論的枠組みとして用いてさらなる考察を行った。

翻訳通訳におけるリスク管理の概念とは、翻訳者・通訳者が訳出を行う際、起点テクストと目標テクストがいかに等価性を持つかといった観点だけではなく、どのような訳出が最もリスクが高いか、という判断を踏まえて意思決定を行っているとする考え方である。先行研究においては、翻訳者・通訳者は特定の訳出行為のリスク度合いに応じて訳出方略を選択しているのみならず、リスクの高いものにはより多くの努力を費やすなどのリスク管理を行っていることが指摘されてきた。
米大統領選報道において、分析事例の半数以上に、努力量の比較的少ない訳出方略である「省略」が見られたことで、日本の新聞がオバマ大統領の演説を訳出し、直接引用することを比較的低リスクだと捉えている可能性が浮かび上がってきた。そこで、全6紙の米国特派員経験者にインタビューを実施し、分析結果と照らして検証を行った結果、リスクの度合いと訳出方略、訳出に費やされる努力の三者の間には、一定の相関関係があること、また記者自身もリスクを意識した訳出を行っていことが明らかになった。この相関関係は、記者会見における通訳者の訳出など、担い手の異なる複数の事例においても確認された。

これまで十分に明らかにされてこなかった、報道現場におけるジャーナリストらによる訳出行為を可視化するとともに、ニュース・トランスレーションに特有とみられてきた事象のいくつかは、リスク管理の概念を用いることによって分析・検証可能であることを示したことが、本研究の貢献である。
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Author’s Declaration

I, Kayo Matsushita,


I confirm that:

・ this work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;

・ where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;

・ where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;

・ where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;

・ I have acknowledged all main sources of help;

・ where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;

・ parts of this work have been published as:

Matsushita, K. (2013) Obama daityōryō no enzetsu o Nihon no shinbun wa ikani hōjitaka: Chokusetsu inyō to shōryaku o meguru kōsatsu. [How President Obama’s speeches were translated by the Japanese newspapers: A discussion on direct quotation and omission]. *Media, English and


Signed:

Date: January 18th, 2016
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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background

In this era of increased globalization, more and more news stories are 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, p. 125). In most cases, these translation activities are performed by journalist-translators, that is, international news reporters for whom translation is only a minor part of their job description (Bielsa, 2007; Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009).

Until a decade ago, however, the important role translation plays in the practice of journalism—commonly referred to as news translation—had been largely ignored in existing fields of research, including Translation Studies, despite its visible and growing presence (Vuorinen, 1999, pp. 61-62; Holland, 2013, p. 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” (p. 135). On the other hand, research in Media Studies, including studies on journalism, has “focussed on single language cases, and has paid scant attention to interlingual transactions” (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009, p. 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” (p. 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’” (p. 182). Because of its unique characteristics, news translation has posed challenges to “traditional categories in the field of translation studies” (Holland, 2013, p. 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 & Bassnett, 2009; Conway & Bassnett, 2006), a number of case studies have been carried out regarding various news translation practices; these case studies were first begun in Western countries and then were expanded to other regions. Second, the field of Translation Studies itself is evolving. As Pym (2014a) illustrates, translation theories took shape in the latter half of the 20th century, during which the focus of research gradually shifted from equivalence (equal value between the 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. It is worth noting, however, that news translation research is still in its infancy and the term “news translation” does not yet have a clear definition. Researchers therefore must clarify their definition of this term before discussing the specifics of their research. Based on key research on this topic (see Chapter 2), this study defines “news translation” as translation that (a) occurs when news organizations report on events happening in a foreign language setting; (b) is typically performed by journalist-translators with limited or no specific translator training; and (c) the central focus is on “hard news” reported by the mainstream media. It includes various forms of translation, including text-to-text, speech-to-text and text-to-oral reproduction, but excludes audiovisual translation such as voiceover, dubbing, and subtitling.

As far as research on news translation by this definition is concerned, there has been little contribution from Japan to date, especially regarding news translation practices by the Japanese mainstream media. There are multiple reasons for this. First, the details of news production processes in major Japanese news organizations are considered trade secrets and therefore they are difficult to investigate without the rare cooperation of insiders. Second, because of the fact that most Japanese media generally serve only domestic audiences, less attention is paid to “research that uses surveys similar to other countries, or work that places Japanese news media in an

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1 This approach was proposed at the panel on news translation titled “News Translation: Subverting the Discipline?” during the 7th Congress of the European Society for Translation Studies in 2013.
2 There is no clear definition of “hard news.” 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, p. 14).
3 This includes wire services, newspapers, TV/radio broadcasters, news magazines, and major internet news providers.
4 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).
5 This category has been acknowledged to be a field separate from news translation. For details, see van Doorslaer (2009, p.84).
international context” (Oi, 2012, p. 79). Moreover, ever since Japan’s economic slowdown began in the 1980s, research in Japan on international news coverage in general has lost popularity (Takeichi & Hara, 2003, p. 113). Nevertheless, Japan is still the world’s third largest economy, and the international news delivered by the Japanese media to approximately 120 million people in Japan and beyond should be worthy of attention from the global community.

1.2 Research Objective

In order to make a meaningful contribution to news translation research from Japan, this study aims to examine 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. According to a national survey, the newspaper still ranks highest in terms of trustworthiness among the major news media outlets. In addition, Japan has one of the largest newspaper readerships in the world with more than 100 companies publishing a total of 45 million copies daily. Second, and more importantly, is because the author of this study worked for a leading Japanese newspaper, the Asahi Shimbun, for 14 years. She has firsthand experience in news translation both as an international news reporter based in Tokyo, and as a foreign correspondent in New York, where she 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 circulations of up to 9.1 million copies (more than seven times that of the print version of The New York Times) and competition is fierce. Although attempts have

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6 From the Survey on Information Behavior Regarding Information and Communications Technologies, published by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, May 2015.
7 Data as of 2014, according to The Japan Newspaper Publishers & Editors Association.
8 Data as of 2015, according to the Japan Audit Bureau of Circulations.
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. This partially explains the fact that literature on news translation has been authored primarily by those who have actual 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, journalist-translators were also interviewed and given questionnaires for this study in order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of news translation practices in Japan and abroad, while still taking advantage of this author’s own experience. By using such an approach, it is expected that one of the key objectives of this study—the provision of an accurate picture of how news translation practices are carried out by Japanese newspapers—can be achieved. In addition, it is hoped that by clearly understanding the processes as well as the agencies involved, the analysis will be more focused and the credibility of the results enhanced.

In order to maximize the scope of analysis based on the possible impact news translation can have on Japanese readers, this study analyzes news translation practices by the six largest commercial newspapers published in Tokyo, namely the Yomiuri Shimbun, Asahi Shimbun, Mainichi Shimbun, Nikkei Shimbun, Sankei Shimbun, and the Tokyo Shimbun10 (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 Selected Case Study

The news event chosen for text analysis is the 2012 U.S. Presidential

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10 Chunichi Group publishes four general newspapers in different regions by sharing the contents. Its total circulation is 3.1 million. Tokyo Shimbun, the one published in Tokyo, is the second largest of the four.
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. For this study, 150 direct quotes\textsuperscript{11} were extracted from newspaper articles produced by the six newspapers, which reported on President Obama’s election victory speech and inauguration speech. In addition to analysis of the text of these two speeches, interviews were conducted with eight journalist-translators 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 cross-examine the results of the text analysis with the journalist-translators’ own accounts. Although limited in scope and possibly subject to bias, this combination of “product-oriented approach” and “process-oriented approach” has been pointed out as being particularly useful in the study of news translation (Holland 2013, pp. 335-336), and it is one of the advantages of this study.

Another main characteristic of this study is its focus on direct quotes. As previous studies have already identified, news translation is part of a combined and multifaceted news production process which Stetting (1989) coined “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, and editors at the head office). The ambiguous relationship between a source text (ST) and its target text (TT) has been an obstacle for many researchers exploring news translation. As Orengo (2005) points out, “in news translation the definition and identification of a ST and a TT are at best labyrinthine” (p. 180).

\textsuperscript{11} In journalism, when referring to literal reproduction of what someone said, the terms “direct quote” and “direct quotation” are used instead of “direct speech.” Following the journalistic practice in newspaper writing, direct quotes in this study refer to part(s) of utterances enclosed in quotation marks. For more detail on the features and functions of direct quotes, see Bell (1991, pp. 207–209).
Even in research on monolingual news language, 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, p. 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, p. 85), such distinction can be made possible by focusing on the direct quotes appearing in news articles. In an internet age where public speeches—especially that of an official figure with high visibility—are made available almost immediately after (or even during) the event via government websites or through private services (e.g., SNS, YouTube), news audiences can access an original speech as it is occurring, or even before it is reported by the media. In the case of a major international event, such as the U.S. presidential election, President Obama’s 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.

At the other end of the process, direct quotes within a news report can be considered TTs because, in journalism, direct quotes are deemed as faithful reproductions of the original speech. For example, Reuters clearly states in its *Handbook of Journalism* that direct quotes are “sacrosanct” and “must never be altered other than to delete a redundant word or clause, and then only if the deletion does not alter the sense of the quote in any way” (Reuters, 2008, Quotes, para. 1). The New York Times 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” (The New York Times, 2008, Quotations, para. 1). Although translated quotes can never be verbatim in the true sense, it should nevertheless represent the most accurate and complete translation that a journalist-translator can produce.

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, even in this case, the author of the article will be the one to make the final decision, at least in the case of Japanese newspapers. This protocol has been confirmed through interviews with journalist-translators and backed by this author’s personal newsroom work experience, which is explained in detail in Chapters 5 and 6. For the above reasons, this study treats direct quotes from President Obama’s election victory speech and inaugural speech that appeared in Japanese newspapers as TTs.

Regarding the theoretical framework for analysis, this study uses the concept of “risk management” as it applies to Translation Studies. Anthony Pym is considered the leading translation theorist in this area and he has been exploring the possibility of risk management as a concept that explains “unethical or non-standard practices” in translation that prior theories could not reasonably explain (Pym, 2014b, p.1). His numerous works over the past decade (Pym, 2004a, 2005a, 2005b, 2008a,

12 None of the six newspapers analyzed in this study have guidelines regarding direct quotes other than stylistic instructions of the use of single or double quotation marks (Asahi Shimbun, 2011; Yomiuri Shimbun, 2014); therefore, guidelines from well-respected international organizations, such as Reuters and The New York Times, are referenced in this study.
2008b, 2012, 2014a, 2014b, 2015) have been critically reviewed and selectively used as a guideline for the analysis in this study.

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 & Bassnett, 2009; Hursti, 2001; Jiménez-Crespo, 2012; Matsushita, 2013, 2015) as key translation strategies, but to date there has been little discussion of applying possible theoretical approaches. However, Translation Studies scholars such as Bassnett (2005) have already identified that “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” (pp. 129–130). Against this backdrop, Matsushita (2014) attempted to apply risk management to the analysis of news translation. As a result, Matsushita (ibid.) found that some of the translation strategies used by Japanese newspapers, such as omission, could be explained by applying this concept, especially in cases where the TT was manipulated in such a way that no legitimate explanation seemed possible by alternative concepts or theories in Translation Studies. This study aims to explore further the applicability and validity of using risk management as a theoretical framework by analyzing a wider range of examples.

It is expected that this study will not only provide empirical evidence to 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 actual news translation practices in Japan, which has received scarce attention until now. By presenting the results of this study, journalist-translators in Japan will be given the opportunity 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 journalist-translators and lead to improvements in their practices, including the development of necessary guidelines and training on news translation. It is also
hoped that this study will provide opportunities for 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 contributing to the enhancement of their media literacy.

1.4 Organization

In order to fulfill the research objectives stated in the previous section, this study was conducted and organized in the following manner. After this introduction, Chapter 2 provides an overview of the relevant literature. Based on the focus of this study, literature covering two areas of study is reviewed in detail. The first area is literature covering journalistic practices involving translation, including works from Translation Studies and Media Studies, as well as neighboring disciplines such as Sociolinguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis. Two key concepts in news translation—*gatekeeping* and *transediting*—are introduced along with relevant literature. Additionally, particular emphasis is also placed on research relating to the “Translation in Global News” project, a multidisciplinary attempt to bring scholars and practitioners of news translation together. The second area is literature on journalism and speech events, as well as on the position of translation in the relationship between the two, which is reviewed with special attention given to the use and translation of direct quotes.

Chapter 3 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 (Pym, 2004a, 2005a, 2005b, 2008a, 2008b, 2012, 2014a, 2014b, 2015) is described and examined in detail. The unique risks that news translation entails are described using various examples and the relationship between risk and the selection of translation strategy, as well as the correlation between risk and effort, are described. 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 4 provides an overview of the method for analysis designed for this
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 this 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 5 explains the target chosen for the main case study in detail—the 2012 U.S. presidential election and its coverage by major Japanese newspapers—and presents the result of the text analysis. First, background information such as an overview of the targeted event, the outline of the newspapers analyzed, profiles of the journalist-translators, and a description of the overall process of news translation in the respective organizations is provided. The selected TTs are then analyzed based on the method explained in Chapter 4. Next, the translation strategies are identified and the efforts invested in the translations are examined. Last, the risks are described in relation to the effort invested, after which the journalist-translator’s news translation practices are explained using the concept of risk management.

Chapter 6 cross-examines the findings in the preceding chapter by analyzing possible risk management practices from the point of view of the journalist-translator. Based on interviews conducted with international news reporters from all six newspapers, including three who actually translated parts of President Obama’s victory and inauguration speeches from and after the presidential election in 2012, the ways risk affected their decision-making processes are investigated. The risk management strategies identified through text analysis are compared against the journalist-translators’ own accounts to corroborate the findings of this study. At the end of this chapter, preliminary conclusions are drawn.

Chapter 7 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 dissemination of news over the internet and the increased availability and accessibility 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.

Chapter 8 presents the conclusions of this case study and includes implications for further research. After re-presenting the research design and objectives of this study, the key findings are summarized and the applicability and validity of risk management as a theoretical framework for analyzing news translation is reviewed. Next, specific contributions that this study is able to make towards Translation Studies in general and to news translation research in particular are summarized. Finally, the limitations of this study are outlined and implications for further research based on these findings are presented.
Chapter 2

Literature Review

This chapter reviews the literature pertaining to the development of news translation as a field of research. Based on the objectives of this study as described in the introduction, literature on journalistic practices involving translation—mainly from Translation Studies and Media Studies but also from relevant disciplines such as Sociolinguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis—is categorized and illustrated. First, literature discussing two main ideas that have stimulated 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, 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 (Bielsa 2007; Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009; Conway & Bassnett, 2006). 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 quotes.

2.1 Journalism and Translation

The relationship between journalism and translation, and the role and position of translation in the multifaceted and combined practice of international news reporting, have remained relatively unexplored until quite recently, due to the various reasons previously explained. One of the main reasons is that translation
has been considered an embedded part of 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, p. 127). However, this situation has been changing recently with a noticeable increase in the number of research projects being conducted, thus reflecting the growing presence of news translation in the era of globalization (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009; Schäffner, 2012b). The increased interest by Translation Studies scholars seems to have invited renewed attention from Media Studies scholars, sociolinguists, and discourse analysts which has resulted in active research, especially in the past decade. At the center of the discussion seems to be two key concepts: gatekeeping and transediting. Some of the seminal literature influenced by these two 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 concepts have often been regarded as synonyms or overlapping (Cheesman & Nohl, 2011); however, the understanding, definitions, and use of these terms seem to vary from scholar to scholar (Schäffner, 2012b). It is therefore worthwhile to examine these two concepts and to introduce some of the recent works that have made use of them in identifying or understanding news translation.

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, p. 145) pointed out that “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, p. 383). It has been frequently 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, p. 161). Vuorinen himself defined gatekeeping as “the process of controlling the flow of information into and through communication channels” (ibid.) with additional elaboration of 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, p. 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) 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” (p. 26). This process becomes even more complicated in the case of international news reporting because “a news story’s route may be particularly complex in the case of international news” (Vuorinen, 1995, p.
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., p. 163). What is explained here is the fact that news translation has been considered only 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 journalist-translators play when translating news texts. Based on his 10-year experience in 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 journalist-translators (who 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 which was published by the same company until 2001). He discovered that journalist-translators as gatekeepers were not only “controlling the quantity of [the] message” (ibid., p. 32), but also were serving other functions such as “transforming, supplementing and reorganizing messages” (ibid., p. 37).

While Fujii’s (1988) case study was limited to news translation in a small English language newspaper due to practical reasons,¹ Hursti (2001) focused on the gatekeeping role of journalist-translators in Finland who translate news articles written in English into Finnish for broader domestic consumption. This research,

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¹ Fujii (1988) explains that English language newspapers published by the big dailies such as the *Asahi Shimbun*, inevitably relies on the parent newspaper for domestic news and thus it is “much easier for an outsider to trace the original-translation relationship” (p. 35).
like Fujii’s (1988), was also 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: “to control 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., Section 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) decision” made by the FNA journalist (ibid., Section 2, para. 7). Oppositely, *transfer* occurs when the FNA journalist decides to “retain the string of information intact” through lexical transfer or borrowing of pattern (ibid.). After reviewing specific examples, Hursti concluded that transediting, which focuses on translation and editing, is a better term to describe news translation than gatekeeping, which is “based almost solely on selection” (ibid., Section 2, para. 1).

Hursti’s (2001) understanding of the difference between the two concepts is somewhat shared with 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 in over 30 languages around the world. 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 order of operation and by function. In their view, gatekeeping can be defined as “the selection of a news report as worth publishing, and to the selection and reorganization of its parts (paragraphs and sentences)” (p. 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, it 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, p. 218), referring to various translation strategies taken by each of the four language services. Based on these distinctions made by Hursti (2001) and Cheesman and Nohl (2011), it seems that transediting deals more closely with the news translation process that this study intends to examine because it focuses on the decision-making process that occurs in the act of translation, rather than gatekeeping, which deals primarily with selection. The concept of transediting is explained in greater detail in the following subsection.

Transediting

Transediting is a term coined in 1989 by Karen Stetting, a Danish scholar of English, in a paper published in the Proceedings from the Fourth Nordic Conference for English Studies. It is interesting to note, as Schäffner (2012b) points out, that the main topic of this conference was neither translation nor news reporting (p. 867). 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, p. 374) was to draw attention to the fact that “a certain amount of editing has always been included in the translation task” (ibid., p. 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., p. 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., p. 375).
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 her initial intentions may have been, a number of news translation researchers have found usefulness in her term and have constructed their arguments around its underlying concept. Luc van Doorslaer, another journalist-turned-researcher, used the term transediting in his analysis of news translation practices by Dutch and French-language newspapers in Belgium. Van Doorslaer (2009) 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” (p. 85). In his analysis of a corpus of newspaper articles containing more than 1000 articles on international news, only a very limited number of the articles (4.6% 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., p. 88).

In Asia, Ya-Mei Chen has written multiple articles on the practice of transediting by the Taiwanese press. For example, Chen (2009) analyzed three Chinese-language newspapers published in Taiwan by examining how they 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., p. 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., p. 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 which is embedded (and often invisible) in the production of international news. However, it is important to acknowledge that questions have been raised recently on 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 (pp. 880-881). 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 understatement of the translators’ role today, be it news translation or any other type of translation.

On the other hand, van Doorslaer (2012) proposes an even newer term. He introduced the term “journalator” to describe “an interventionist newsroom worker who makes abundant use of translation when transferring and reformulating or recreating informative journalistic texts” (p. 1046). Van Doorslaer says his objective in coining this new term is to highlight translators and their responsibilities in newsrooms, and, as opposed to transediting, which was not targeted specifically at news reporting, this new term “would make the overall presence of forms of translation in newsrooms linguistically visible” (ibid., p. 1049). Unlike Schäffner, who feels that new terms are no longer necessary, van Doorslaer seems to believe 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. It can also be said that such a recent creation of a new term is an indication that news translation research is still young and evolving with scholars trying to shed light on the subject from different angles.
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; van Doorslaer, 2009), many of whom were journalist-translators themselves. This again, seems to be a reflection of the fact that news translation research is still in its infancy, since it seems 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. The present study can also be categorized as research by an insider since its author spent 14 years in a newsroom where she often acted as a journalist-translator when covering international events.

The active participation of journalists in news translation research can also be explained by the fact that research on news translation processes must be substantially ethnographic in nature. As Holland (2013) 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” (p. 343). This explains why some of the initial works tended to be mere observations of the 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 in the shaping of news translation as an object of academic inquiry by providing valuable case studies for analysis.

Research work done 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 is being performed.
In the Taiwanese TV newsroom to which she belonged 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 and 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 cover (ibid., p. 148). Her research is also unique in the sense that the “journalistic hierarchy” inside the newsroom, especially the clear division between journalists and translators, is revealed as a result of 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 which publishes translations from newspapers around the world. With experience in translating newspaper articles for this magazine, Bani illustrates the news translation process (she calls it the “press translation” process) in the newsroom. Starting with a selection of articles to be translated from “prestigious newspapers” (ibid., p. 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., p. 41), four layers of proofreading are performed by two editors, one copy editor, and a director. Three of these layers of proofreading are done on 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 experiencing what is happening in the newsroom.

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,” the task still remains to “systematically trace the theoretical implications from existing practice in very diverse organisations and the general principles that govern news translation” (Bielsa, 2007, p. 141). The need for such a theoretical and comprehensive approach led to the launch of the “Translation in Global News” project, which is outlined in the next subsection.

2.1.3 Warwick Project “Translation in Global News”

The increase in interest among scholars and practitioners as illustrated in the previous section crystalized 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, a project named “The Politics and Economics of Translation in Global Media” was launched in 2003 and ran until 2007 (Holland, 2013, p. 334). This project, better known today as the “Translation in Global News” project—which became the title of the most prominent publication of the project that came out in 2009—brought together “translators, news reporters and senior figures in international news agencies as well as academics” (Bassnett, 2011, p.138). Such an inclusive approach was made possible because the organizers, consisting mainly of academicians, believed that “without the input of practitioners, the research would be pointless” (ibid.).

The breadth of participation is 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 & Bassnett, 2006). Scholars in Media Studies, Globalization Studies, and Translation Studies made contributions, and examples of news translations by the media from around the world, including the
United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Ireland, Finland, Australia, and Taiwan, were presented. The discussions conducted and views presented during the rounds of international seminars were reviewed, and the key findings were published together as Translation in Global News, co-authored by Esperança Bielsa and Susan Bassnett.

Without a doubt, Bielsa and Bassnett (2009) is 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 at the Latin American regional office for AFP and that of a smaller, alternative news agency, Inter Press Service (IPS), both of which are located in Montevideo, Uruguay. Through two weeks of ethnographic observations and rounds of 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 translations were done by “journalists who do not normally have any specific training as translators” (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009, p. 81). Although their intentional focus on global news agencies tended to exclude news translation practices directly conducted by the local media and dealt mostly with text-to-text translations, it was nevertheless well balanced in the sense that the full range of aspects relating to news translation—actors, processes, outputs as well as their social implications—were examined from various angles.
2.1.4 News Translation Research in Japan

While attention toward news translation has been gaining global momentum, it is still only 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), as 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. When considering the fact that there are only a handful of English language newspapers in Japan with a total circulation of far less than 1% of all newspapers published, it is clear that his work does not represent the overall practice of news translation 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 the translation process. Based on text analysis, Barnard concluded that the Japanese version tended to downplay the significance of the nuclear accident that occurred in 1999 due to self-censorship. The examples shown in Barnard (ibid.), such as the omission and softening of words criticizing Japanese authorities, 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 as a reflection of the magazine’s known stance of not directly translating news articles from the American original, it is difficult to consider this example as representative of news translation practices in Japan.

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2 Even the top selling English language newspaper has only a circulation of approximately 22,000 as of June 2015, according to Japan Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC) which releases newspaper circulation every six months.
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., p. 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 the differences in news angles by broadcasters of both countries (e.g., Danish news coverage being more critical of the Chinese organizers than the Japanese coverage) 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., p. 16).

Kawahara (2010) conducted interviews with news reporters and editors who worked for newspaper companies and news agencies to identify the news translation processes. He subsequently identified three types of news translation: (a) direct translation, (b) complex process, and (c) 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 according to the language capability of the correspondent, including local assistants serving as translators (e.g., gathering information and translating 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 actual practices of the mainstream media in Japan, which is the focus of the present study.

2.2 Journalism and Speech Events

The target of analysis for this study is the translation of speech events, namely U.S. President Obama’s victory and inauguration speeches following the U.S. 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, p. 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, p. 3). Following a brief outline of literature relating to direct quotations by the media, the next subsection reviews literature on the translation of speech events in detail.

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” (pp. 118-119). This effect is enabled through sound bites in television or direct quotes in print because “collective memories of past interactional events are conditioned by those excerpts that are preserved in the mass media” (ibid. p. 119).

Not only are direct quotes impactful, but they are also useful for news reporting. Bell (1991) illustrates the three main purposes the media uses a direct quote. First is its value as a “particularly incontrovertible fact” because a direct quote is presented as “the newsmaker’s own words” (ibid., p. 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., p. 208). Third is its power to add flavor. In Bells words, a direct quote is “supposed to be brief, pithy, colourful, to add something which a version in reported speech would not” (ibid., p. 209).

Bassnett (2005) makes an interesting point by describing that the use of
direct quotes differs from country to country based on what the media organizations in each country perceive as reader expectation. For example, in the United Kingdom, both tabloids and broadsheets tend to use direct quotes often, so that their articles “convey a greater sense of authenticity” which they believe is what the readers want (ibid., p.124). However, in other European countries, the use of direct quotes in news writing would be perceived as “dumbing down” and thus articles are written using reported speech instead (ibid.). The Japanese convention is similar to the United Kingdom, and all three purposes Bell describes seem to match actual practice in Japan.

Literature on direct speech (as it is normally 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 quote, 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 normally indicated by the presence of quotation marks as well as reporting verbs and other grammatical markers, this is not always the case with direct quotes in Japanese. Satoh (2001), who analyzed how Japanese newspapers quote words said by 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, p. 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.” Satoh reaches the conclusion that “the presence of quotation marks is the only clue to distinguish direct speech from indirect speech” (Satoh, 2001, p. 173-174). Based on Satoh’s finding and the convention used in newspaper journalism (New York Times, 2008), “direct quotes” in this 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., p. 47). This was initially pointed out by The Glasgow University Media Group (1980, p. 163), of which Davis was a member. The finding above supports this study’s idea to treat direct quotes from President Obama’s speeches as TTs, because President Obama, being the leader of the world’s only superpower, enjoys one of the highest statuses conferred on this planet; consequently, he should be quoted as accurately as possible, even in another language.

Davis’s finding has also been found applicable in languages other than English. For example, Wertsch (1991) 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 (p. 83). 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) points out that even the honorific verb forms which are used in conversations as well as public speeches but are usually deleted or replaced in direct quotes “are kept when journalists quote the words of the Imperial Family” (p. 180).


2.2.2 Translation of Speech Events

Given the importance of speeches in news reporting and the usefulness of direct quotes as targets of analysis for news translation as described above, 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-Iranian President Ahmadinejad, and a joint press conference by then-U.S. President Bush 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., p. 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\(^3\) 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 quotes from an exclusive interview with the then-Korean President 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 speech in 2009 as they appeared in reports by various online media. He showed how widely the translations varied although they all originated from the exact same speech.

Since many speech events picked up by the media are political speeches,

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\(^3\) MEMRI is “a neo-conservative media institute which specializes in translating selected Arabic documents for Western consumption” (Baker, 2006, p. 333).
research on news translation of speech events—including some mentioned above—have been influenced directly or indirectly by Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), a field of research where the media has 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; several such examples are illustrated below.

A number of studies of news translation have explicitly adopted CDA as an analytical framework. For example, Valdeón (2008) compared news reports in English by BBC News (World Edition) and in Spanish by BBC Mundo with focus on three strategies: omission, addition, and permutation (p. 307). Based on a case study of Saddam Hussein’s first court appearance in Iraq, Valdeón (ibid., p. 318) pointed out that in shortening the length 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 “the 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 was visiting the U.S. 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” (p. 395). As a result, they found out that each newspaper deleted information that was “incongruent with its political stance” (p. 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/or individual journalist-translators can “play a
significant role in determining what is to be retained and what is to be omitted”
(Chen, 2006, p. 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 party⁴ 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-Cuban President Fidel Castro’s announcement of the
handing over of temporary 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 that led to his succumbing
to illness, which was carefully concealed through grammatical choices in the Spanish
original, was in fact highlighted because of 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, p. 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

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⁴ Religious groups such as Soka Gakkai and political parties such as the Japan Communist Party publish their
own daily newspapers for their constituencies.
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., p. 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, p.213)

In the case study of the 2012 U.S. presidential election that is the focus of this study, news translation practices did emerge that cannot be clearly explained by ideological manipulation or issues of power. These practices are presented in Chapter 5. If CDA alone cannot account for all aspects of translation of speech events by the media, an alternative framework for analysis needs to be sought. Therefore, there is value in exploring other possibilities using 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 (ibid.) compared the Italian newspapers’ coverage of the meeting between then-U.S. President George Bush and then-Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi in 2004. Although similar to this 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 readerships. No particular attention was paid to the translation of the utterances themselves, because, in Orengo’s (ibid.) view, “it is the content surrounding such quotations that makes the difference and indicates the newspapers’ stance” (p. 182), contrary to the present study which focuses on the ways utterances are translated and presented as direct quotes.

Another key difference lies in the fact that what Orengo (2005) calls *news localization* is primarily based on situations where news agencies are “information retailers” and Italian newspapers are “information buyers” (p. 179). Since this 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 quote 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 as a possible framework for the theoretical analysis of news translation in the next chapter.
Chapter 3

Theoretical Framework

The literature review in Chapter 2 shows there is a need for a new theoretical framework to analyze certain aspects of news translation practice which cannot be explained by existing theories and concepts previously applied to studies of news translation. Chapter 2 also revealed that because news translation research is still in its developing stage, few attempts have been made to find an applicable theoretical framework thus far. This chapter explains the reasons why this study chose the concept of risk management as the theoretical framework for analyzing news translation. First, prior research on risk in general, as well as the application of the concept of risk management to Translation Studies is outlined, followed by a detailed review of the most comprehensive research in this field by translation theorist, Anthony Pym (Pym, 2004a, 2005a, 2005b, 2008a, 2008b, 2012, 2014a, 2014b, 2015).

3.1 Risk in Translation

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

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 2003/2010, 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. (p. 2)

Among scholars of Translation Studies, Anthony Pym is considered one of the leading, if not the foremost, theorist in the application of the concepts of risk analysis and risk management to current translation practices\(^1\). Starting in the mid-2000s, Pym has published a number of articles that explain translator and interpreter behavior from the perspective of risk management. Therefore, it seems both necessary and worthwhile to review Pym’s concept of risk management and identify some of the key findings which can be used as guidelines in applying risk management as a theoretical framework for analyzing news translation practices. Before examining Pym’s concept of risk management in detail, however, it might be meaningful to review some of the key theories and concepts in the broader sense, surrounding risk, risk analysis, and risk management.

The history of the study of risk is long. 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 11th century. Risk only became a subject of serious study during the Renaissance. Initially started from an intellectual exploration to solve a famous 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 (ibid.) describes as “the mathematical heart of the concept of risk” (p. 3). The enthusiasm among the mathematicians to “forecast the future with the help of numbers” (ibid.) eventually

\(^1\) Hui (2012, p. 23) provides a list of scholars who have explored the possibility of applying the concept of risk management to the field of translation.

\(^2\) Known as the “Problem of Points,” this is a classic puzzle posed by a Franciscan Monk, Luca Paccioli, in the 15th century.
led them to invent quantitative techniques to measure risk.

Later, in 17th century Europe, the insurance industry began to emerge and thrive, making full use of what mathematicians 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 alleviate 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, p.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 18th century, the insurance industry 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 19th century and into the 20th 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 a book titled *Risk Uncertainty and Profit*, which Bernstein (1998) describes as “the first work of any importance, and in any field of study, that deals explicitly with decision-making under conditions of uncertainty (p. 219). Knight (1921/2014) distinguished “risk” and “uncertainty” by defining risk as “*measurable* uncertainty” and uncertainty as the “non-quantitive type” (p. 20). While many theories prior to his time assumed that the future holds some level of certainty and that the lessons learned from the past can be applied to what happens in the future because history repeats itself, Knight, who lived through World War I, was dubious of such assumptions of certainty. He claimed that a “mathematical or *a priori*” type of probability is “practically never met with in business” (Knight,
1921/2014, p. 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., p. 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. The issue of uncertainty is investigated later in this chapter in connection with 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, p. 2). By the 21st century, the concept of risk “has been a focal topic of many disciplines, professional activities, and practical actions,” including “natural hazards, technological threats, working conditions, ambient health impacts, crime, terrorism, and pollution to leisure activities” (Renn, 2008, p. 50).

As research on risk spread to multiple disciplines, the definition of risk became diversified as well. Although its definition heavily depends on the context and the aspect of risk the researcher intends to explore, risk seems to fall into two camps: as having both positive and negative consequences, or having only a negative side. Jaeger, Renn, Rosa, and Webler (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) 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” (p. 17).

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) explain risk as “measures of the likelihood that particular adverse consequences will follow a hazardous event” (p. 5). 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, p. 21). Regarding risk in politics, Althaus (2008) simply defines it as “something negative,” similar to “danger” or “hazard” (p. 22). This last and most simple 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 & Heil, 2011), 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 involves 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, p. 108)

Along with Gile, some researchers, such as Akbari (2009), also take into account both the positive and negative aspects of risk. Akbari (ibid.) 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., p. 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 “success” is echoed by Pym, which will be explained in detail later in this chapter.

It seems 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” and explains that it “occurs when translators experience uncertainty (a cognitive state of indecision) upon encountering translation problems” (p. 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” (p. 211). Although Lammers’ analysis of the time-bound nature of risk identification in localization projects as well as his advice on risk prioritization seem to offer meaningful insights, it is important to keep in mind that translation is only a part of project-based localization.
3.2 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 a decade by examining various examples. Therefore, this 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 in a broader manner.

Pym’s first article with “risk” in its title appeared in 2004. It was based on a speech he gave a year earlier at an international conference held at the University of Athens. According to the article, which was later rewritten and published as Pym (2005b), the idea of risk in translation emerged as “a model of how translators make decisions when translating” (p. 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 Pym to explore ways of applying the methods of risk analysis used in “neo-classical economics and its various psychologies” (ibid.) 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.

3.2.1 Uncertainty and Translation

In his most recent article on risk management, Pym (2015) clearly explains the reason why 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” (p. 67). Pym came to this realization after spending over a decade examining existing theories in Translation Studies.

In one of his signature publications, Exploring Translation Theories (Pym, 2014a), 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 had been contested and supplanted, at least to a certain degree, by its successor.

The first paradigm, equivalence, which Pym describes as a relation of “equal value” between a “start-text segment” and a “target-text segment” (Pym, 2014a, p. 6) had been a key term in Translation Studies until the 1970s, primarily because this “assumed sameness” made translation unique and “distinguishes translations from all other kinds of texts” (ibid., p.7). According to Pym, the traditional view that the same value exists between the source text (ST) and target text (TT) (e.g., meaning, form, function, etc.) were once so dominant that in its heyday, talking about translation was “to consider different kinds of equivalence” (ibid.). However, in the 1980s, equivalence “came to be regarded as naïve or limited in scope” (ibid.) 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 equal value as the ST, thus challenging the equivalence paradigm. The third paradigm, descriptions, referring mainly to the field of Descriptive Translation Studies assembled by Toury (1980, 1995), changed the whole dynamism of the

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3 Pym prefers to use the term “start text” rather than the more prevalent “source text” for technical reasons. For details, see Pym (2015, p. 68). ST and TT in this study refer to source text and target text unless otherwise specified.
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, 2014a, p. 63, original emphasis removed). This paradigm of descriptions renders discussion of the existence of equivalence virtually meaningless.

By following Pym’s discussion of the history of theorization efforts in Translation Studies to date, it becomes clear that Pym has been searching for alternative ways to explain the various translation practices that exist today that are not fully covered by conventional translation theories; news translation can be considered as one such translation practice. 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 (p. 59).

According to Pym (2014a), 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., p.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” questioned equivalence more fundamentally (p.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 (which claims that causes and effects are neither proportional nor related) is introduced as “ways of living with
indeterminism” (ibid., p. 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, 2014a, p. 103)

Since Pym (2014a) does not provide a thorough explanation of risk or risk analysis, it must be sought by turning to the earlier work by Pym (2005) cited in the above excerpt and numerous other articles that Pym has written on this topic (Pym, 2004a, 2005a, 2008a, 2008b, 2012, 2014b, 2015). The following subsections introduce some of the key definitions and central ideas around Pym’s concepts of risk, risk analysis, and risk management.

3.2.2 The Nature of Risk

Pym (2005b) defines risk as “the possibility of not fulfilling the translation’s purpose” (p. 71). He illustrates this definition for better understanding 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, it “puts nothing at risk” (Pym, 2005b, p. 70), whereas any mistake in the name of the person certified or the date of birth can be detrimental (i.e.,

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4 Pym (2005) cited in Pym (2014a) is the same article as Pym (2005b) cited in this study.
high-risk). 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” (ibid., p.69).

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. The example of birth certificates above is one example of communicative risk. According to Pym (ibid. p. 67), communicative risk “has to do with the way texts are interpreted and used in contexts, where some elements are high-risk because they are key to communicative success, while others are 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.”

The second type of risk—credibility risk—is defined in Pym (2015) as the probability of the translator “losing a translation-specific kind of credibility” (p. 67). Although coined only recently, credibility risk appears repeatedly in his writings on risk in translation. For instance, Pym (2014a) mentions risk as failing to achieve the “basic aims” of the translation, and gives “getting paid” as one example. Pym (2005b) explains that “one of the implicit purposes of all translations is to create trust in the figure of the translator” (p. 78) and if a translator is mistrusted by the client or the communication participants, he or she is faced with immediate risks, such as “not getting paid” or “losing the client” (Pym, 2005a, p. 34). Pym (2015) takes it even further by stating that “risk, in translation, is first and foremost risk of losing credibility” and explains that “when you perform a high-risk action, you could lose your money, your clients, your job, or all those things at once” (p. 69).

The third type of risk—uncertainty risk—is defined in Pym (2015) as one

5 The order of risks described in this chapter does not reflect the order as presented in Pym (2015).
that “ensues from the translator’s uncertainty when making decisions about how to render an item” (p. 67) and thus “internal to the translator’s decision-making processes” (p. 71). However, Pym (2015) 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 pretermitted because “without uncertainty, there is no risk” (p. 71). Therefore, only communicative risk and credibility risk will be taken into consideration in this study. A table of risks analyzed in this study is provided in Chapter 4.

### 3.2.3 Effort and Risk

Pym (2015) argues that in terms of communicative risk, some elements are high risk while others are low risk and that “most other cases lie at various points in between” (p. 71). 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 analyzes what the translation is supposed to do to determine the risks, 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, 2014a, p. 102). Levý (1967/2000) claimed that translators make pragmatic decisions by opting for a solution that promises “a maximum of effect with a minimum of effort” (p. 156). Pym (2005b) 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” (p. 73).

### 3.2.4 Ethics and Risk

The issue of ethics in translation is another area of focus for Pym as seen in
his frequently cited 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, p.90) asserts that in the ethics of cross-cultural communication, the goal is to “achieve cooperation.” This means that “the collective effort put into any ethical communication act must be of less value than the mutual benefits derived from that communication act” (ibid.). 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 a then-new CEO of Kodak, Pym (2008a) elaborates:

> The 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. (p. 92)

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” (Pym, 2008a, p.90).

**3.2.5 Translation Strategy 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 (2014b) provides an extreme but demonstrative example—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 seems appropriate to review this example in detail for this study, not only because it explains Pym’s concept of risk management well, 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 long monologue, which included a parable, the interpreter decided to omit a significant portion of what the elder had said. 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 between 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 US base has been receiving bombs from the area; the patrol has come to the village to find out where the bombs are coming from. When they arrive, no one is there – no one to speak with. Eventually a village elder comes along, and an enraged US sergeant asks him about the Taliban (the ACM – Anti Coalition Militia) and the bombs. The old man replies at length, telling a parable about ants eating some of the village’s wheat, which 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.” Later the interpreter gives the sergeant his own account of 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, 2014b, pp. 3-4)

Despite the fact that it is easy to accuse the interpreter for not being professional or ethical by omitting the parable, of much more interest to Pym is why this was the case, and he attempts to explain it using the concept of risk management. According to Pym (2014b, p. 6), 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. Pym 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. He therefore concludes:

In this situation, the interpreter’s rational course of action is to do everything possible to maintain the trust of the US. Hence, logically, his decision to omit the parable, 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.” (Pym, 2014b, p. 6)

As seen, Pym (2005b) considers translation strategies as ways of risk management 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” (p. 73). Although strategies do not carry risk values

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7 This is indicated by the fact that the interpreter says, “I can only speak Pashto” (Pym, 2014b, p. 6).
themselves (for example, it cannot be said that the use of omission is always a low-risk or high-risk strategy), they can invite “low-risk or high-risk consequences” (ibid).

The Afghani interpreter opted for omission, which he thought 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 when posting it on The Guardian’s website (and others such as YouTube). Obviously, the interpreter did not expect this, but it is not difficult to assume that his risk management might have resulted in real damage (e.g., loss of job, ostracization, or even death). As Pym (2005b) explains, if and when translators “misjudge the risks and give real offence, real damage can result” (p. 81).

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/translator’s selection of translation strategies. Although the nature of risk differs between the two, it seems unnecessary to differentiate the two risks if this study were to analyze journalist-translators’ 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 this study.

3.3 Particular Risks in News Translation

Interpreting in a warzone in Afghanistan is definitely an extreme example, but the unique characteristics of news translation pose many challenges and risks which can also 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 shortens the time allowed 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 (e.g., Asahi Shimbun, 2011). 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 & 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 needs 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/social pressure and the strictly time-bound nature of news translation becomes a significant obstacle when trying to manage risks. As Lammers (2011) points out regarding risk management in localization, in cases where keeping the deadline is most important, there is no time for planning risk management strategies or even identifying possible risks in advance (p. 220). This means that the risk management strategies taken by news organizations are often ad-hoc and individualistic in the sense that they are likely to differ from translator to

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8 A former Seoul Bureau chief of Japan’s Sankei Shimbun was indicted in South Korea for defamation in November 2014. He wrote an article about the South Korean 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).
translator.

The warzone example described above featured risks faced by an interpreter who inadvertently ended up appearing in the media. 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 discovered that news translations are mostly performed by journalists with little or no interpreter or translator training (Bielsa, 2007; Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009).

Correspondents from Benin, Egypt, France, the Netherlands, Pakistan, Russia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, and the United States\(^9\) responded to an online survey made available for this study in September and October 2014 to the United Nations Correspondents Association (UNCA) and The Foreign Correspondents’ Club of Japan (FCCJ) confirming that their organizations have no professional translators or interpreters supporting their daily news coverage. 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. Of the six newspaper companies this study examines, none of them has guidelines or provides training on news translation according to interviews conducted with reporters from each of the six companies who have experience in international news reporting. The interviewees, all of whom were dispatched overseas for periods between 3 and 11 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

\(^9\) There were 17 responses altogether, but some did not name the country in which their organization was based.
qualification and competency, but also ethical questions as well 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\textsuperscript{10}.

Unlike professional translators and interpreters who are more aware of the possible difficulties and ethical issues that can arise from translating news, journalist-translators 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, p. 81). This poses unique challenges to the practice of news translation, in addition to its already risky nature, as seen in the warzone example.

Although journalist-translators certainly have limitations, the environment in which they work calls for immediate and constant translatorial decision-making, regardless of their 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 journalist-translators are actually managing their risks while translating, this study combines text analysis (a product-oriented approach) with journalist-translator interviews (a process-oriented approach). The specific method for analysis is outlined in Chapter 4, followed by the case study of the U.S. presidential election as covered by the six Japanese newspapers in Chapter 5.

\textsuperscript{10} For an example, see the code of ethics of the Australian Institute of Interpreters and Translators (AUSIT). Retrieved from http://ausit.org/AUSIT/About/Ethics___Conduct/Code_of_Ethics/AUSIT/About/Code_of_Ethics.aspx
Chapter 4
Method of Analysis

This chapter explains the method used in this 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 what is happening in news translation that conventional theories do not explain. This method for analysis was designed for the main case study presented in Chapter 5: President Obama’s victory and inauguration speeches 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 is detailed in this chapter. Although guided by Pym’s concept of risk management, risk categorization has been modified in order to meet the specific requirements of this study which focuses on news translation. In this chapter, a brief introduction regarding risk analysis in general is given, followed by the reasoning behind the designing of the method for risk analysis specific to this study. Last, each of the four steps of this analysis is explained in detail.

4.1 Risk Analysis

In modern society, risk analysis has become a frequently used tool for decision-making, not just in the corporate world, but also by governments and individuals. Although there seems to be no single method for 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 4.1, the area that must be prioritized when managing risk (i.e., the box where high probability and high impact intersect) systematically appears (Lammers, 2011, p. 221).

![Sample risk probability and impact matrix](image)

*Figure 4.1 Sample risk probability and impact matrix.*

This matrix alone, however, does not seem to be sufficient for analyzing the risks in news translation because the multiple players and processes involved in news translation makes its risks multifaceted and heavily dependent on context. Even before encountering any text-specific risks, journalist-translators are faced with 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, losing influence). In order to determine the appropriate method of analysis for this study, which deals with this complex set of risks, the two examples of risk provided by Pym and presented in the previous chapters—the

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Pakistani birth certificates and the case of the Afghani interpreter—are further reviewed below.

4.1.1 Designing the Method

The example of the Pakistani birth certificates presented in Chapter 3 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, p. 70) describes, the purpose of translating a birth certificate is to recreate an official document in another language that is comprehensible and acceptable by the receiving authority for their intended usage. Accuracy is only important if the information in question matters to the receiving side. 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 certain sense (in this case, as far as it seems to indicate names of individuals). Therefore, not translating \textit{Dai Bibi} as “midwife” and 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, 2014b, p. 1) 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 aspects such as unexpectedness and meaningfulness of the news event are shared factors which make them newsworthy
(Galtung & Ruge, 1965). Second, news reports must be comprehensible to the consumers of the news. As Vermeer (1989/2012) 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” (p. 196).

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 (Asahi Shimbun, 2011). 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 (ibid.). 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 measured.

The example of the Afghani interpreter (Pym, 2014b) initially may not seem to offer much relevancy because it occurred under such unique and extreme conditions. The risks the interpreter faces, such as the possibility “[of losing] his source of income and chances of future mobility” as described by Pym (ibid., p.6) do not seem applicable to the Japanese journalist-translators that are the focus of this study; 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 journalist-translators who translated the TTs in this case study are full-time staff writers, and they are paid on

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2 All reporters whose names appeared in the bylines were identified by the interviewees of each newspaper as
a monthly basis by their respective organizations for all of their journalistic work combined (i.e., not just for translation), this would matter less as compared to the Afghani interpreter who is most likely a freelancer.

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 happens 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 providing his interpreting service from a remote location, such as from an office in Dubai or elsewhere, the risk analysis and the possible risk management of the interpreter should change quite significantly. As another imaginary 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 be likely to translate the parable. 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 this study.

4.1.2 Risk Categorization

So far, this 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 3 and the above subsections in this chapter, the following categorization emerged as representative of the risks specific to this study.

First, both communicative risk and credibility risk are likely to impact full-time employees. In general, Japanese newspapers do not use freelance 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.”
journalist-translators’ 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 have an overriding impact on the translator/interpreter. 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, this study does not differentiate between the two in its analysis and thus treats them case-by-case.

Second, risks can be divided in accordance with the parties involved in news translation. In this study, three categories of risks 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 this study. In summary, the risks involved in news translation analyzed in this can be categorized as shown in Table 4.1⁴.

*Table 4.1 Risks in News Translation*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Source-oriented</th>
<th>Target-oriented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Credibility</td>
<td>losing trust of the speaker/client</td>
<td>losing trust of the users (journalists, readers, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communicative</td>
<td>mistranslating the message of the speaker</td>
<td>causing misunderstanding among the users</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁴ The dotted line between credibility risk and communicative risk indicate that the two are not clearly differentiated for the analysis of this study.
4.1.3 The Four Steps of Analysis

Step One: Selecting the Target

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

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

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. (p.16)

This issue of identifying “the original” from the complex and combined practice of journalism can be sidestepped by focusing on direct quotes. As explained in Chapter 1, a direct quote, by definition, has only one source. In the case of public speech events by world leaders, such as U.S. President Obama, videos and audio recordings as well as official transcripts are made available, enabling researchers to access authentic materials. On the target side, direct quotes from President Obama’s speeches that appeared in the Japanese newspapers can be
considered the corresponding TTs, because direct quotes, by definition, are presented as faithful reproductions of what the person speaking actually said (The New York Times, 2008; Reuters, 2008).

The *transediting* process described by Stetting (1989), including the omission of unnecessary information, addition of important background information, order change, and summarization is generally expected to happen *outside* of the quotation marks. Moreover, interviews with Japanese newspaper reporters suggest that direct quotes undergo less editing, rewriting, and cutting as compared to other parts of articles, and authorship basically remains in the hands of the initial writer. Although it is easy to imagine that some level of manipulations could still happen even within the quotation marks, it can be said that this approach eliminates many of the obstacles that hampered prior research.

Following the lead set by Satoh (2001) who illustrated how to identify direct quotes in the Japanese media, the direct quotes in this study were extracted using the presence of quotation marks as identifiers, as explained in Chapter 2. However, quotes which 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., p. 172) were excluded. This left for analysis only the quotations embedded in the articles. Furthermore, quotations in opinion pieces, commentaries and editorials were considered out of scope, because in these “overtly argumentative and subjective text types” (Thomson, White, & Kitley, 2010, p. 70), writers tend to build their cases based on what has already been reported, which means that even if direct quotes were included in their articles, they were likely to be second-hand.

One-word quotations such as “scare quotes” and other short phrases with

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5Scare quotes are quotation marks used to express particular skepticism or derision concerning the use of the enclosed word or phrase. An example is provided in Bell (1991, p. 208).
quotation marks signifying “so-called” (Bell, 1991, p.208) 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 quotes of this type were difficult to identify as translations of the speeches used in this study because President Obama has delivered many other speeches which could have included the exact same word or phrase. Given these considerations, the target of analysis for this study was pared down to 45 articles containing 150 TTs. These are presented and discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

Step Two: Identifying the Translation Strategies

Since the objective of this method is to provide reasonable explanation to the news translation process using risk management as an analytical framework and not to invent an effective way of managing risk for journalist-translators, an inductive, rather than deductive, approach seems applicable. According to Pym (2005b), translation strategies can be considered risk management strategies because they are “used to reduce or maintain levels of risk” (p. 73). Using this as a guideline, this study first identifies the translation strategies used by practicing journalist-translators and then analyzes those strategies to examine what risks (including both communicative and credibility risks in Pym’s terms) may have influenced the journalist-translator’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.

Regarding translation strategies, this study uses only three types: omission, addition, and substitution. This is because these three strategies are the common denominators of translation strategies used in news translation based on findings by prior research (Bani 2006; Hursti, 2001; Kang, 2007; Stetting, 1989; Vuorinen 1999).

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6The same type of usage can be seen in Japanese newspapers using Japanese quotation marks “「」”.

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It is also because the main objective of identifying the strategies in this study is to explore the relationship between risk and the selection of strategies; for this purpose, 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” (p. 202) into three categories: omission, addition, and substitution. Although Barik himself does not use the word “strategy,” this study found his method of categorization to be the most appropriate for this study’s intended purpose for three reasons.

First, the time-bound nature of news translation which takes place as part of “near-instantaneous information flows” (Cronin, 2005, p. 111) in international news production makes it “similar to interpreting than to translation” (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009, p. 16), and thus makes Barik’s categorization for interpreting 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 & 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, p. 202). “Paraphrasing” (Schäffner, 2008, p.13) can be included in substitution as either “mild phrasing change” or “substantial phrasing change” depending on the degree of manipulation (Barik, 1971, p. 205).

Third, Barik’s categorization is also suited for the targets of this study,
namely direct quotes embedded in news articles, because Barik’s method is primarily concerned with “changes in meaning” (Barik, 1971, p. 209) rather than shifts in form. In other words, Barik’s method is focused on the changes from the original “which to some degree affect the meaning of what is said” (ibid., p. 202). Barik’s focus on meaning change seems highly useful and matches the purpose of this study since the key function of a direct quote is to convey the message of the speaker without altering its meaning in any way (The New York Times, 2008; Reuters, 2008).

As seen above, Barik’s (1971) method of categorization seems appropriate for the purpose of this study; however, it needs to be noted that Barik’s categorization of substitution (p. 204) includes “errors” as well. According to Barik (ibid.), substitutions can be considered as 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 this study because the purpose of identifying translation strategies in this study is to explore how risk is managed through the selection of said strategies, and 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) 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 (p. 27). This is because, as Kang (ibid., p. 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) stresses the power of domestication as a way to
mediate the growing trend towards “cultural homogenisation and Anglo-American domination” at the local level (p. 143).

Using the synonym “acculturation,” Bassnett (2005) also calls it the “dominant strategy” in news translation (p. 120). Bassnett explains that since translated news texts need to match the stylistic preference of the target audience, “acculturation is essential in news reporting” (ibid., p. 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 “enigmatic opening and a strong, summative conclusion” by the Americans (ibid., p. 124). Although these findings are both interesting and relevant to news translation research, this study excludes domestication from the list of translation strategies because all the TTs in this study are direct quotes, allowing less (if any) room for domestication or acculturation.

In cases where none of the three strategy categories 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 number of 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 observed. 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, p. 207, original emphasis removed). However, in determining cases in which the decision 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.
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, p. 73), translatorial effort is exerted to solve translation problems which 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, this study links the strategies identified to levels of effort to investigate whether the risks involved can or cannot be explained in relation to their levels of effort.

When measuring the level of effort, this study connects it to the expected work time required to produce the TT, thus omission is categorized as the strategy with the lowest level of effort because it is expected to be the least time-consuming strategy. This time-based method of measuring effort was chosen because, 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 difficult prearrangements to observe and record journalist-translators as they work. Therefore, classifications were done in relative terms, with omission being assigned the lowest level of effort. Addition was the next lowest, and substitution the third, based on the common view shared by the journalist-translators interviewed and as observed in previous studies (e.g., Valdeón, 2008).

Step Four: Identifying and Analyzing Risk Management

The fourth step is to identify the 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 journalist-translators. According to Pym (2005b, p. 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 this 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 cross-examined with first-hand accounts from the journalist-translators through one-on-one interviews. This type of approach is particularly meaningful for news translation research because it has often been pointed out that journalist-translators tend not to “elaborate on the particular nature and consequences of translation” and therefore, it remains unclear “what the translation process actually involves” (Vuorinen, 1995, p. 163). A combination of text analysis with interviews enables in-depth analysis of news translation practices which previous research has not been able to provide. Holland (2013) explains:

[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. (pp. 335-336)
Although only three journalist-translators 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 that they all had participated in the U.S. presidential election coverage at some point lent a certain level of added credibility to the analysis. The detailed results of this cross-examination are presented in Chapter 6.
Chapter 5

Case Study: 2012 U.S. Presidential Election

As discussed in previous chapters, the target of analysis for this study is direct quotes from speeches given in English as reported by major Japanese newspapers. Although Japanese newspaper organizations still maintain a relatively wide network of foreign news coverage with bureaus set up in countries such as China, South Korea, Russia, France, and Germany where command of the local language is typically required, according to the interviewees in this study, English is the dominant language used by reporters when covering international news. For this reason, this study focuses on one of the largest international stories in an English-language setting: the U.S. presidential election. Without a doubt, U.S. presidential elections are one of the most intensively covered overseas events by the Japanese media, especially after the inauguration of President Obama who caused a sensation throughout the world as the first African-American president. 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. By selecting this highly newsworthy international event for the Japanese media, which took place again in 2012, a sufficient number of articles from all six major newspapers in Japan were readily available for analysis.

This chapter begins with an overall description of the two speech events chosen for analysis: President Obama’s election victory speech and inauguration speech. Next, an overview of the six newspapers selected, the profiles of the
journalist-translators, as well as the actual news translation process are presented. Last, the results of the text analysis of the 150 TTs extracted from these speeches are presented, based on the method explained in Chapter 4.

5.1 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 which 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 turning the economy around, tackling long-standing federal budget issues, and putting into place a sound health care system for all. Foreign policies, including the phasing-out of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan as well as curtailing the nuclear ambitions of countries such as Iran and North Korea, were also campaign topics.

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, winning both the popular vote and the electoral vote. President Obama earned more popular votes than any other Democratic presidential candidate in U.S. history (except for himself in 2008), and he became the eleventh president to win a majority of the popular vote more than once. President Obama carried a majority of the states including all states and districts that he had won in the previous election except for Indiana, North Carolina, and Nebraska’s 2nd Congressional
5.1.1 Victory Speech

On Election Day, the U.S. networks began announcing President Obama’s re-election slightly past 11 p.m. Eastern Standard Time (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 hometown of Chicago. According to the White House website, the victory speech started at 12:38 a.m. Wednesday, November 7, Central Standard Time (CST)—1:38 a.m. EST—and lasted for approximately 20 minutes. The word-count of the official transcript was 2,160 words (excluding the “applause” and “laughter” notations). In Japan, the speech started at 3:38 p.m. on Wednesday, Japan Standard Time (JST) and it was broadcast live by CNN, NHK, and other commercial networks. In the speech, President Obama repeated his intention to move the country forward and encouraged 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.

5.1.2 Inauguration Speech

President Obama’s inauguration speech was a more scheduled event, which started at 11:55 a.m. EST on Monday, January 21, 2013 according to the White House. Although the White House website says the speech lasted only 15 minutes, it actually continued for 19 minutes. The word-count of the official transcript was 2,106 words (excluding the “applause” notations). This was a less newsworthy event for the Japanese media when compared to his victory speech, because both the
occasion and the content of the speech were more predictable. In addition, Obama’s speech started about 2:00 a.m. JST, almost two hours past midnight on Tuesday, January 22; consequently, it was not broadcast live by NHK or any other network in Japan. Japanese viewers had to either watch CNN or go online to see the event in real time. In this well-prepared 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.”

5.2 News Translation Practices by the Japanese Media

Due to the time difference between Washington and Tokyo, news coverage of the U.S. presidential election took place at a very irregular time in Japan, as seen above. This posed editorial challenges especially in the case of newspapers, because their final deadlines are normally 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\(^1\). 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. In the case of his inauguration speech, it started at 2 a.m. JST, also after the deadline for the morning paper. This meant that quotes from his speeches first appeared in articles published online. Newspaper articles with Obama’s direct quotes taken from his inauguration speech first started to appear in print from the evening paper published in Japan on January 22, 2013. Against this backdrop, this study focused on only three editions of the respective newspapers published in Tokyo: the morning edition dated November 8, 2012, the evening

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\(^1\) Major Japanese newspapers have an agreement on the final deadline in order to avoid overheated competition; pushing back a deadline requires prior agreement.

5.2.1 Newspapers Analyzed

The corpus for this study consisted of articles published by the six top-selling newspapers in Japan, namely the Yomiuri Shimbun, Asahi Shimbun, Mainichi Shimbun, Nikkei Shimbun, Sankei Shimbun, and Tokyo Shimbun. Each newspaper has bureaus in the world’s major cities which are staffed by approximately 20 to 50 correspondents dispatched from Tokyo, and additional assistant reporters hired locally, according to their company websites and confirmed by interviews with reporters from all six newspapers.

In order to enable comparison under the same conditions, the final version of each paper’s morning and evening editions printed in Tokyo were chosen. This is based on the fact that depending on the area of publication and the difference in editions, the content of each respective paper’s morning and evening editions could differ significantly. Such differences seem to be common in other parts of the world as well, since Bell (1991) also explains that “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” (p. 23). Each newspaper included in this study is briefly described below. The newspapers are listed in order of circulation according to the Japan Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC), the organization that monitors newspaper circulation nationwide.

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2 This does not mean that President Obama’s words from the two speeches were not included in succeeding editions. The morning edition of January 23, 2013 was included because morning editions are considered the more informative version with page-counts more than twice that of the evening editions.

3 The official English name for the Nikkei Shimbun is The Nikkei. This study uses its more familiar Japanese name except for reprinted figures which require the official name.

4 All of the national newspapers print their papers in several regions and those regional editions are edited at the regional headquarters to reflect the different interests of the local readers. Sankei Shimbun stopped publishing its evening paper in Tokyo in 2002, but the paper was nevertheless included in the analysis because it still enjoys a circulation of 1.6 million. It continues to publish its evening edition in Osaka, but this edition was not included in the analysis in order to assure consistency of the targeted samples.

5 Data as of November, 2014.
With a circulation of 9.1 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. Founded in 1874, it was one of the later broadsheets to be published nationally; however, its circulation grew rapidly during the mid-60s to mid-70s when the newspaper’s popular professional baseball team, the Yomiuri Giants, won the Japan Championship Series 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, Section 1, p. 9) or “center-right” (Neuharth, 2004, p. 13A) with the tendency to support the ruling Liberal Democratic Party on major political agendas such as the controversial Constitutional Revision (“LDP draft a good basis for top law reform talks”, 2004).

First published in Osaka in 1879, the *Asahi Shimbun* has the second largest circulation of a little less than 7 million. With its long-term partnership with the *International Herald Tribune* which was later acquired by *The New York Times*, the newspaper pronounces itself as the liberal, quality paper in Japan, although it is more often considered to lean “center-left” (Neuharth, 2004, p. 13A). This image is based on its long tradition of reporting on big political scandals more often than its conservative competitors (Sayle, 1989, p. 25). In 2014, it came under fire when it publicly admitted that parts of its past coverage on the so-called “comfort women” issue, as well as their scoop that employees of TEPCO (the electric company responsible for the earthquake-stricken Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant) retreated on the day of the accident in violation of an order, were misreported.

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6 Better known for its shorter name, *Nippon Series* (meaning the Japan Series), it is the annual championship series between the winning clubs of the Central League and the Pacific League.
Mainichi Shimbun  （毎日新聞）

Having the longest history among all existing newspapers in Japan, dating back to 1872, the *Mainichi Shimbun* is known for starting the first home delivery service, which later became the standard system in Japan. The company began to struggle, however, after the “Nishiyama Incident” in which a staff reporter was tried and found guilty of disclosing a confidential document regarding the return of Okinawa, which he had obtained through an “inappropriate relationship” with a female official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This led to a large-scale boycott campaign causing circulation to dwindle. The circulation is now down to 3.2 million, less than half of the top two. Politically, the paper is considered to be left-leaning (Nakamoto, 1998, p. 5).

Nikkei Shimbun  （日本経済新聞）

Among the six newspapers analyzed, the *Nikkei Shimbun* (officially, the *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* in Japanese and *The Nikkei* in English) is the only economics paper distributed nationwide in Japan, with a circulation of 2.7 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 elites. 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 its launch of its *Nikkei Asian Review*, a weekly English-language magazine in 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-hand side of the spectrum when compared to the *Asahi* or *Mainichi* papers.

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7 As of 2014, more than 95% of the Japanese national newspaper copies are sold through home delivery systems according to The Japan Newspaper Publishers & Editors Association.
Sankei Shimbun (産経新聞)

Well-known for its outright rightwing position (Joyce, 2001, p.13), the Sankei Shimbun maintains a circulation of 1.6 million, although their readership is concentrated in large cities. Despite the fact that their original name at the start of publication in 1933 was Nihon Kōgyō Shimbun [Japan Industry Newspaper] which was later changed to Sangyo Keizai Shimbun [Industry and Economic Newspaper], it is considered as one of the general news broadsheets in Japan. The company suddenly found itself at the center of media attention in 2014 when the South Korean government prosecuted a former bureau chief of the paper’s Seoul Bureau for defamation of Park Geun-hye, the president of South Korea, over an article based on rumors reported by the Korean media that the Sankei reformulated into a news article in Japanese for the paper’s web audience. The article that the Sankei cited was translated into Japanese by Chosun Ilbo, a Korean daily and it claimed that President Park was meeting with a man (a former aide) during the sinking of the ferry, MV Sewol, which the Korean government has refuted as false and defamatory.

Tokyo Shimbun (東京新聞)

The Tokyo Shimbun only has a circulation of 0.5 million, but it belongs to the Chunichi Group which publishes four general newspapers in different regions of Japan by sharing content. The Chunichi Group, founded in 1942, has a total circulation of 3.1 million, which makes it bigger than some of the national papers such as the Nikkei or Sankei, although 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. The Tokyo Shimbun is the second largest of Chunichi’s four regional papers and it was chosen for this analysis because it is published in Tokyo.
5.2.2 Profiles of the Journalist-Translators

In this and the following subsections, the overall picture of news translation practices by the Japanese newspapers is presented, based on the interviews conducted by the author of this study through her personal contacts. A series of face-to-face interviews (in person or via Skype) in Japanese took place during the months of September through November 2014. Eight subjects, aged between 40 and 50 with an average of 22 years of journalistic experience, were interviewed. All subjects were correspondents based in the United States at some point, and three of them were part of the team of reporters who actually 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 5.1. Apart from one subject who had already left the newspaper company he had worked for, all interviewees are working journalists and asked not to be named; therefore, the names of the subjects and their respective organizations remain anonymous in this study.

In this section, 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 6.

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8 The questions were prepared and asked in Japanese. The English translations are provided by the author of this study.
Table 5.1

*General Questions Asked in Journalist-Translator 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 a guideline regarding translation? |
| Q10. | Does your organization have a guideline regarding direct quotes? |
| Q11. | Is there anything that you keep in mind when translating? |
| Q12. | If you have any comments or opinions regarding news translation, let me know. |
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 responsibilities of each reporter during the campaign—were asked based on the extent of up-to-date information each interviewee had. Other questions regarding the identification of the journalist-translators whose names appeared in the bylines of the 45 articles analyzed, as well as more general questions about their respective organizations were also asked.

The results of the interviews showed that U.S. presidential elections in general are covered by correspondents that are based in the United States. All six newspapers have their main U.S. bureau in Washington, D.C., each staffed with more than two correspondents (at the time of the interviews, the maximum number was six including the bureau chief). In addition, all of the organizations maintain a bureau in New York, staffed by at least two correspondents (the maximum was nine). Additionally, all of the papers but one have one or two bureaus on the West Coast in Los Angeles and/or Silicon Valley, each normally staffed with one correspondent serving as the bureau chief. Most of these correspondents participated in the production of so-called straight news stories (i.e., factual reporting of an event as it unfolds) on the 2012 U.S. presidential election, in addition to those who covered the event from Japan or from a different angle as an editorial writer.

When examining the 45 articles analyzed for this case study, all but one article had bylines indicating which individual(s) wrote the article and where the article was written. According to the interviewees of this study, all of these articles were prepared 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 correspondents themselves were the ones who translated the utterances made by their news subjects from English to Japanese, often by using transcripts prepared by news
assistants or by external providers (Questions 3 & 4 from Table 5.1). This means that the correspondents were functioning as journalist-translators, although none of them had prior training in translation or interpreting (Question 8), or any guideline to reference when translating (Question 9).

5.2.3 News Translation Process of Japanese Newspapers

By combining the information provided by the interviewees in response to Question 6 in Table 5.1, the news translation process that occurred on Election Day of the U.S. presidential election can be generally explained in the following manner. First, the U.S.-based correspondents (hereafter referred to as journalist-translators), 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 journalist-translators began writing up 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 quote, they would either play back their recording of the speech to listen again or they would make use of transcripts prepared by news assistants or external providers. If a journalist-translator felt unsure of their translation, they would occasionally ask 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. On a best-effort basis, 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 done the 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) read and edited the article. If the editor noticed anything odd
regarding the translation, the editor compared the quote with the original version in English obtained through international newswire services—such as AP and Reuters—or with official transcripts, if already available. This check could also have been done by editors or international news reporters in Tokyo working on shifts in support of the editors. Any discrepancy found between the original speech and the direct quote was first communicated to the author of the article (i.e. the journalist-translator), after which he or she verified the discrepancy and then made corrections personally, as needed. As a general principle, any change to the content of a direct quote must be agreed upon by the journalist-translator before the actual modification can be made; however, if a deadline is approaching, the editor may use a level of discretion to make the required modification first and then get the approval of the journalist-translator. This seems not to have happened in the case of the 2012 U.S. presidential election because the final deadline in the cases of both speeches had just passed and the editors had half a day to work on the articles.

After being satisfied with the contents of an article overall, the editor hit the “article release” button on his or her computer to send it over 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 quotes. Once the article was laid out with headlines attached, proof prints were sent to those involved for a final check, including to the author waiting in the United States. With all parties satisfied, the newspaper was put to print.

The above process has been confirmed by the interviewees of this study who have been working for their respective newspaper companies for a minimum of 18 years each. What this shows is that although there are some gatekeepers along the way (e.g., the editor, the fact-checker, and the layout editors who have the
authority to make an article shorter if it does not fit into the layout), none of the possible changes that could be made can go unrecognized by the journalist-translator who initially wrote the article. Therefore, at least in the case of Japanese newspapers, it can be said that direct quotes can be treated as TTs in the same manner as, for example, literary translation, because in principle, the authorship of the direct quote (and its translation) remains with the journalist-translator.

5.3 Text Analysis

With the relationship between the STs (from President Obama’s speeches) and the TTs (the corresponding direct quotes 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, 45 articles were selected based on the criteria explained in the preceding section and in Chapter 4. Table 5.2 lists the newspapers, the number of articles selected, and the number of TTs extracted from each edition.

Table 5.2
Selected Newspapers, Number of Articles, and TTs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Circulation (million)</th>
<th>11/8/2012</th>
<th>1/22/2013</th>
<th>1/23/2013</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yomiuri</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>5 (11)</td>
<td>2 (14)</td>
<td>2 (6)</td>
<td>9 (31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asahi</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>3 (6)</td>
<td>2 (12)</td>
<td>6 (10)</td>
<td>11 (28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mainichi</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>4 (9)</td>
<td>2 (15)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>6 (24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikkei</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>3 (6)</td>
<td>2 (7)</td>
<td>1 (5)</td>
<td>6 (18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sankei</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>4 (12)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>2 (10)</td>
<td>6 (22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>4 (14)</td>
<td>1 (8)</td>
<td>2 (5)</td>
<td>7 (27)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The strategies found to be used are presented in the subsections below, as well as some unique examples of news translation practices discovered by this analysis. The sentences indicated as STs were taken from the two speeches as they appeared on CNN (in Japan), both of which were videotaped and transcribed by the author of this study. The official transcripts released by the White House were used to verify the accuracy of the author’s transcription. The TTs were chosen from the newspaper articles based on the criteria described in Chapter 4. Each TT was compared carefully against its source in order to verify that it contained translation of Obama’s words as he said them in either his victory speech or inaugural speech, specifically.

5.3.1 Types of Strategies

The first step in the analysis was to examine the selected 150 TTs to identify the type of translation strategy or strategies used. As was previously mentioned in Chapter 4, this study uses three strategies for analysis: omission, addition, and substitution. The definitions and categorizations of these strategies are from 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, the term “translation strategy” itself is defined in significantly different ways by scholars (Shinohara, 2013) ranging from “a simple action, technique, step, method, or pattern of behavior” to “inferred macrotexual plans or mind-sets” (Pym, 2011, p.92). Based on the purpose of this study, however, Chesterman’s (1997) 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,” (p.89) is applied in the analysis below.

---

9 As mentioned in Chapter 4, Barik does not use the word strategy, and calls omission, addition, and substitution “departures of translation.”
Omission

The omission strategy refers to “items present in the original version which are left out of the translation” (Barik, 1971, p. 200). It can be as small as omitting a single word or short phrase, or as large as several sentences. Following Barik’s (ibid., p. 202) categorization, minor omissions such as omissions of the connective “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 as part of the omission strategy.

Addition

The addition strategy refers to “material which is added outright to the text” (Barik, 1971, p. 202) by the translator. This includes additions of qualifiers (e.g., “really”) and connectors (other than “and”) that introduce a certain relationship not implicit in the ST. What other researchers might categorize as “explicitation” which is “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” (Vinay & Darbelnet, 1958/1995, p. 342, original emphasis removed), is included here as “elaboration addition” (Barik, 1971, p. 202). In this 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; however, they have been added to the TT.

Substitution

The substitution strategy refers to material which is substituted by the translator for something which exists in the ST. It can be a single word only 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, p. 204, original emphasis removed). For example, the substitution of “none can avoid” with “dare mo hitei dekinai (誰も否定できない)” [none can deny] 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 this study, as explained in Chapter 4.

Distribution of the strategies used

In TTs where a single strategy could not be identified as fully representing the nature of the translation, more than one strategy was assigned. TTs which did not match any of the three strategies (e.g., literal translations) were counted, but excluded from further analysis. The result of this initial analysis is shown in Table 5.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspapers/Strategies</th>
<th>Omission</th>
<th>Addition</th>
<th>Substitution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yomiuri</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asahi</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mainichi</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikkei</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sankei</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In total, the omission strategy was found in 80 TTs, substitution in 47, and addition in 15. Apart from these, 27 TTs were categorized as “literal translation” and 17 as “none applicable.” Except for the Nikkei, all newspapers used omission most frequently; addition was the least used strategy in all six newspapers. In terms of percentage, omission was used in 53% of the TTs, substitution in 31%, and addition in 10%. 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 & Bassnett, 2009; Hursti, 2001; Jiménez-Crespo, 2012).

5.3.2 Qualitative Analysis

The next step in this analysis is to look at specific examples of the use of the three strategies. 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 journalist-translators 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 which represent the various translations by four of the six newspapers. The TTs are in Japanese, put inside Japanese quotation marks “「」” and followed by their phonetic spellings and back-translations inside brackets.10

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

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10 For purposes of comparison, the back-translations, underlines, italics, strikethroughs, and phonetic spellings of the Japanese texts are provided by the author of this paper. The numbers in parentheses are also provided in cases where lists of items are presented.
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」

TT1: “Zaisei ya zeisei, 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. ]

(Yomiuri Shimbun, November 8, morning edition, p. 1)

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」

TT2: “(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.]

(Asahi Shimbun, November 8, morning edition, p. 1)

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」

TT3: “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.]

(Tokyo Shimbun, November 8, morning edition, p. 1)

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」

TT4: “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.]

(Tokyo Shimbun, November 8, morning edition, p. 8)

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」

TT5: “(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]

(Nikkei Shimbun, November 8, morning edition, p. 1)

The most noticeable difference among TT1-5 is the way “leaders of both parties” in ST1 has been translated. The italicized text in the ST and TTs show the correspondence. For example, in TT1 the words “Democratic” and “Republican,” which were clearly not mentioned by President Obama, have been added. TT2 also includes the same added information, although the names of the two parties are in parentheses. 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 TT1-5 for easier comparison, it is clear that TT1, 3, and 4 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 quote. The TTs in the example above are shown only to display how different they can be by newspaper and by journalist-translator. The possible reasoning for such use of omissions is discussed in the next subsection.

Another interesting point to be mentioned regarding this example is that TT3 and TT4 appeared in the same newspaper on the same day, although on separate pages. The difference in translation can be explained by the fact that the two TTs were written by two different journalist-translators.\textsuperscript{11} This fact supports the testimonies of the interviewees of this study that news translations are done by each correspondent and that they are independently responsible for their own final product. If the direct quotes were subject to multiple layers of editing or intervention like the rest of the articles, they would most likely have resulted in identical translations because it is unnatural to have more than one version of a direct quote from exactly the same part of a speech if it were in a monolingual setting. From the readers’ point of view, this could be even more confusing because it means that two different versions of the same part of the speech exist, contradicting the authenticity of direct quotes as being faithful reproductions of what the speaker actually said (The New York Times, 2008; Reuters, 2008).

\textit{Omission as a Key Strategy}

With the level of divergence between the TTs made clear in the previous subsection, TTs using each of the three strategies of omission, addition, and substitution are analyzed below. First, TTs which have been identified as using omission are analyzed in detail. The first example is from President Obama’s inauguration speech.

ST2: For we, the people, understand that our country cannot succeed when a

\textsuperscript{11} These articles had bylines which made it clear who wrote them.
shrinking few do very well and a growing 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ては、国は成功しない」

TT6: "Goku shōsū ga hijō ni seikō suru ippō de daitasū ga dirigiri 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.]

(Yomiuri Shimbun, January 22, evening edition, p. 1)

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つつある一方では、国家としての成功もない」

TT7: "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"

[A state cannot succeed when fewer people prosper and more people join the group of those who barely make it.]

(Yomiuri Shimbun, January 23rd, morning edition, p. 7)

TT8: 「良い暮らしをする一握りの少数派が減り続ける一方で、ろうじて生活するような多数派が増えている状態では我が国は成功できない」

TT8: "Yoi kurashi o suru hitonigiri no shōsūha ga heritsuzukeru ippō de, karōjite seikatsu suru yō na tasūha ga fuete iru jōtai de wa waga kuni wa seikō dekinai"

[Our country cannot succeed in a situation where a handful of minorities who are well off keeps on decreasing while the majority of those who are barely making it are increasing.]

(Nikkei Shimbun, January 22nd, evening edition, p. 1)
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ている状況で、米国が成功することはあり得ない」
TT9: “Hitonigiri no shōsūha shika yutakasa o kyōju dekizu, karōjite seikatsu suru hitobito ga fueru jōkyō de, Beikoku ga seikō suru koto ha 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.]
(Nikkei Shimbun, January 23rd, morning edition, p. 9)

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」
TT10: “Waga kuni wa shōsū no seikōsha no ue ni naritatte iru no de wa nai”
[Our country is not built on the successful few.]
(Asahi Shimbun, January 22nd, evening edition, p. 1)

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」
TT11: “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.]
(Mainichi Shimbun, January 22nd, evening edition, p. 6)

Despite the noticeable variations in tone, the most frequently used strategy in these examples is omission. TT6–11, 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. Opting for literal translation in such
a case would violate the Japanese newspapers’ professional norm of keeping articles as concise as possible (Asahi Shimbun, 2011; Yomiuri Shimbun, 2014). On the other hand, the ongoing nature that these present participle adjectives represent may have been something that President Obama wanted to highlight, but has been lost in most of these TTs.

Another interesting point to mention is the fact that based on the byline, the same reporter translated both TT7 and TT8, albeit differently half a day apart. In simultaneous interpreting, which is also performed under time pressure, previous research such as Pym (2008a), which analyzed Gile’s (1999) experimental data, shows that if an interpreter interprets the same content twice, the second version will have fewer omissions because interpreters generally think that fewer omissions mean better quality. However, this theory does not seem applicable in this case. Instead, it can be explained that being concise and to the point seems to be given priority over equivalence in news translation by Japanese newspapers. 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., p. 65).

Here is another example of similar uses of omission, also from President Obama’s inauguration speech.

ST3: 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.

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」

TT12: “Kaji, kanbatsu, arashi nado no kaimetsutekina dageki wa dare mo hitei dekinai hazu da”
None should be able to deny the devastating impact of fire, drought and storms.

(Asahi Shimbun, January 22, evening edition, p. 2)

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」

TT13: “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.]

(Asahi Shimbun, January 23, morning edition, p. 12)

Again, the present participle adjectives 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 in different editions and written by different journalist-translators. In addition to the present participles, TT12 omitted the former part of the sentence, 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 also 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」

TT14: “Wareware wa hageshiku tatakatta ga, sore wa hito ni 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.]

(Asahi Shimbun, November 8, morning edition, p. 1)

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 fact that this might have caused some impact on readers’ perception, the influence seems to remain relatively minor. In addition, the reason for opting for these types of omission can be logically explained: some by time and/or space limitations and some by journalistic norms of Japanese newspapers which prioritize clarity and conciseness. However, omissions in the next few examples from President Obama’s inauguration speech seem much more difficult to explain. Omissions are indicated by strikethroughs.

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」

TT15: “Nyūtaun no shizukana roji ni iru subete no kodomo tachi ga, aisare, 12 For example, Asahi Shimbun (2011) lists three principles as basic guidelines in news writing, the first of which states “write articles in a clear, short, and easy-to-understand manner.”
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.

(Asahi Shimbun, January 23, morning edition, p. 12)

Two locations, “the streets of Detroit” and “the hills of Appalachia” are omitted in TT15. The most probable reason why the ST mentioned Newtown, Connecticut, is that there was a shooting incident just a month before the inauguration ceremony, killing 20 children and six adults. When assuming that President Obama is giving examples of gun threats in the United States, “hills of Appalachia” could be a reference to the indiscriminate shooting at Virginia Polytechnic Institute in 2007, which killed 32 students and is remembered as the deadliest shooting incident by a single gunman in America. As for Detroit, it is likely to have been chosen because the city has been challenged by the deterioration of public safety and lack of adequate gun control.

Although the two journalist-translators whose names appeared in the byline were not available for interviews, several interviewees who participated in this study agreed that the most likely reason for omitting the two locations other than Newtown was because the references would either be too old for the Japanese readers to recall, or simply too foreign to them. In that sense, it is understandable that each journalist-translator was trying to make the quote as readily understandable as possible for their target audience, i.e., the average Japanese reader. However, the journalist-translators interviewed also agreed that this type of omission within quotation marks would not be acceptable if the speech were in Japanese because direct quotes are supposed to be faithful reproductions of what the speaker said. The standard approach, they say, would be to take away the quotation marks and
treat the passage as indirect speech, which was obviously not the option that this journalist-translator took.

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

ST6: 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.

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」

TT16: “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.]

(Asahi Shimbun, January 22, evening edition, p. 1)

TT17: 「アジア、アフリカ、中東の民主主義を支援する」

TT17: “Ajia, Afurika, Chūtō no minshu shugi o shien suru”

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

(Tokyo Shimbun, January 22, evening edition, p. 1)

TT18: 「アジアからアフリカまで民主主義を支援する」

TT18: “Ajia kara Afurika made minshu shugi o shien suru”

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

(Nikkei Shimbun, January 23, morning edition, p. 9)

TT19: 「アジア、アフリカ、中南米、中東で民主主義を支援する」

TT19: “Ajia, Afurika, Chūnanbei, Chūtō de minshu shugi o shien suru”
(We will) support democracy in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East.

(Yomiuri Shimbun, January 22, evening edition, p. 1)

Four papers quoted this portion of President Obama’s inauguration speech, but TT16–18 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 as being 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 quote 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, p.8). This in itself is not surprising because in general, time allowed for translation is continuously decreasing in the internet era, and translators must adjust to the changing environment. This is not only limited to news translation as Cronin (2005) describes:

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.” (p. 111)

News translation scholars also seem to agree. Through his experience in Finnish newsrooms, Hursti (2001) discovered that in the case of news translation by the Finnish News Agency, omissions ranging from “complete paragraph omissions to omissions of sentences to omissions of 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., Section 4, para. 4). Jiménez-Crespo (2012, p. 64) describes that in news translation, which is performed under time pressure, omissions were prevalent as compared to other strategies such as addition. As Holland (2013) suggests, “any analysis of translation in the news must take into account the hectic pace of news gathering, production and dissemination in general” (p. 336).

While some, such as Gile (1999), treat omission as error, others such as Dimitriu (2004), stress that omission as a translation strategy can be effectively used for various purposes and should be differentiated from mere errors (pp. 163–164). However, questions still remain whether the use of omission by Japanese journalist-translators can be justified given the fact that they have omitted parts of direct quotes which are presented as “the newsmaker’s own words” (Bell, 1991, p. 207).

The last two examples, ST5 and ST6 along with their corresponding TTs, indicate that the journalist-translators—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, p. 174). This finding is explored in more detail in Chapter 6 in combination with first-hand accounts of the journalist-translators regarding how risk might have affected their decision-making in translation.
Examples of Addition

As seen, omission was used in more than half of the TTs in this corpus, making it the dominant translation strategy used. However, the other two strategies, addition and substitution, were also used, although 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 shown in underline 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（イラクとアフガニスタンで）戦争は終わろうとしている」

TT20: “Keizai wa kaifuku ni mukatte iru. Jū nen tsuzuita (Iraku to Afuganisutan de) sensō wa owarō to shite iru”

[The economy is recovering. A decade of war (in Iraq and Afghanistan) is coming to an end]

(Mainichi Shimbun, November 8, morning edition, p. 1)

The reason for this addition seems straightforward: average Japanese readers might not understand which war(s) President Obama is referring to by the phrase “a decade of war,” therefore, the journalist-translator inserted additional information in parentheses which was thought to be implicit in the original. This is a standard type of “elaboration addition” as explained by Barik (1971, p. 202), which can often be seen in printed news articles produced around the world. The next example also 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（同性愛）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」

TT21: “Gei (dōseiai)” 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 (homosexual) brothers and sisters are treated equally under the law.]

(Asahi Shimbun, January 23, morning edition, p. 3)

The only case of addition which seemed 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（経済が）回復してきたことを思い出させる」

TT22: “Kono senkyo wa, michinori ga kewashiku te mo, tabi ga nagaku te mo, kurō shite (keizai ga) 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 (the economy has) recovered.]

(Yomiuri Shimbun, November 8, morning edition, p. 11)

Despite the fact that the subject has been changed from “the American people” to “this election,” the first half of ST9 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.
Examples of Substitution

Compared to addition, which was used only in 10% of the TTs, substitution, which was used 31% overall, showed higher levels of manipulation. The following examples are both from the same edition of *Tokyo Shimbun*, but by different journalist-translators 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」

TT23: “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.]

(Tokyo Shimbun, November 8, morning edition, p. 3)

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
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, more than 200 years after a former colony won the right to determine its own destiny, 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建国以来の任務が今夜、前進した」
[Creating a perfect union, a task since our founding, moved forward tonight.]

(Mainichi Shimbun, November 8, morning edition, p. 7)

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 which appears to be a patchwork of President Obama’s words rather than a direct quote. Since there are so many parts that are omitted as 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 struckthrough nor underlined.

ST13: 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.

TT26: 「建国以来、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発展を成し遂げてきた」

TT26: “Kenkoku irai, michinori wa heitan de wa nakatta ga, Beikoku wa goi keisei ni youru hatten o nashitogete kita”

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

(Sankei Shimbun, November 8, morning edition, p. 1)

The following three examples show significant changes in word order and structure which seem to have resulted from the difficulty in translating the differences in grammar and expressions between English and 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」
TT27: “Kuni ga nani o shite kureru ka o tō no de wa naku, wareware ga tomoni nani ga dekiru ka o tō no ga Beikoku rashisa da”
[Instead of asking the country what it can do for us, we have to ask what we can do together. That is American-ness]

(Yomiuri Shimbun, November 8, morning edition, p. 1)

The expression “America’s never been about” in ST14 does not have an easily available corresponding translation in Japanese. Instead, TT27 came up with “That is the American-ness” which can also be translated as “That is the American way” in order to compensate for the missed connotation.

A similar pattern can also 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」
TT28: “Jiyū o nozomu hitobito no tame ni kōdō suru koto wa, kokueki de mo ariware no ryōshin de mo aru”
[…to act for those who long for freedom is our national interest and our conscience]

(Mainichi Shimbun, January 22, evening edition, p. 6)
The subjects in ST15—interests and our conscience—cannot naturally form a principal clause in Japanese news writing. Therefore, the whole sentence structure needed to be changed, sacrificing the 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」

TT29: “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]

(Tokyo Shimbun, November 8, morning edition, p. 8)

As seen in TT29, most of the specifics listed in ST16 are lost and rounded up into difference in race and discrepancy between the rich and the poor. If the journalist-translator tempted to state all of these specific elements in Japanese, it would have become a very long and complicated sentence, which means decreased readability. However, this is another case in which the decision to retain the quotation marks can be debated.

The TTs for ST17 and ST18 below seem to indicate some desire by the journalist-translators to manipulate the speech so that the direct quotes 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」
TT30: “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.]
(Yomiuri Shimbun, January 22, evening edition, p. 1)

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 journalist-translator 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 quote only after discovering that the same phrase had been included in the summarized version of the entire speech which was translated and listed 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 the fact that this direct quote was used again in the digest of the week’s news four days later. This shows that once a direct quote is published and registered in the database, it tends to be reused without re-checking it against the original.

In the last example, ST18 has been transformed so drastically that both the content of the message as well as the addressee have changed.

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」
TT31: “Doryoku suru subete no hito ga mukuwarenakereba naranai”

[All people who try hard must be rewarded.]

(Nikkei Shimbun, January 23, morning edition, p. 9)

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 6 through risk analysis and by cross-examining these findings with the journalist-translators’ own accounts as obtained through interviews.
Chapter 6

News Translation Strategies and Risk Management

The previous chapter outlined the main translation strategies used by the Japanese newspapers, along with explanations regarding the possible reasoning behind the decision-making process by the journalist-translators. 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 quotes are supposed to be faithful reproductions of the original speech (The New York Times, 2008; Reuters, 2008). In order to provide reasons for these “unethical or non-standard practices” (Pym, 2014b, p.1), this chapter aims to further analyze the TTs using risk management as a theoretical framework for analysis. 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 cross-examined with personal accounts from the journalist-translators to corroborate the text analysis. Third, preliminary conclusions are presented, which are tested against other news translation cases in Chapter 7.
6.1 Unethical and Non-Standard Practices

One of the most obvious examples of non-standard translation practices is seen in ST1 from President Obama’s inauguration speech.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」
TT1: “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.]
(Asahi Shimbun, January 22, evening edition, p. 1)

TT2: 「アジア、アフリカ、中東の民主主義を支援する」
TT2: “Ajia, Afurika, Chūtō no minshu shugi o shien suru”
[(We will) support democracy in Asia, Africa and the Middle East.]
(Tokyo Shimbun, January 22, evening edition, p. 1)

TT3: 「アジアからアフリカまで民主主義を支援する」
TT3: “Ajia kara Afurika made minshu shugi o shien suru”
[(We will) support democracy from Asia to Africa.]
(Nikkei Shimbun, January 23, morning edition, p. 9)

TT4: 「アジア、アフリカ、中南米、中東で民主主義を支援する」
TT4: “Ajia, Afurika, Chūnanbei, Chūtō de minshu shugi o shien suru”
[(We will) support democracy in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle

¹ The STs and TTs are given new numbers in each chapter even when they are presented for a second time.
As seen in Chapter 5, four newspapers quoted this portion of President Obama’s inauguration speech, and TT1–3 omitted “the Americas,” which is the third region of the four he mentioned. Although some explanation, such as the necessity to save space, is possible, omitting factual data from what is being presented as a direct quote seems to require a more rational reasoning since it is not a standard journalistic practice. As seen previously, Reuters, in its *Handbook of Journalism*, clearly states, “Quotes are sacrosanct. They must never be altered other than to delete a redundant word or clause, and then only if the deletion does not alter the sense of the quote in any way” (Reuters 2008, Quotes, para. 1). Although the same handbook gives more flexibility when it comes to translated quotes by stating, “When translating quotes from one language into another, we should do so in an idiomatic way rather than with pedantic literalness,” (ibid., para. 2). This clearly does not mean that factual data can be omitted or changed. In addition, Reuters (ibid.) also cautions that “care must be taken to ensure that the tone of the translation is equivalent to the tone of the original,” indicating a keen awareness of the sensitivity of direct quotes. However, this guideline does not seem to be applicable to the case shown in ST1.

6.1.1 Comparing Interlingual and Intralingual Practices

It is important to note that such a level of omission is not customary for Japanese newspapers when reporting in monolingual settings. As shown in 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 quotes 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. Slight modifications are made by this author when necessary to make it closely match the original wording (e.g., the “I” put in parentheses below). The TTs are direct quotes, which appeared in the newspaper articles covering the event. The underlines are provided by the author of this study to indicate the parts that are different between the ST and the TTs.

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

ST2: “Daitanna kinyū seisaku, kidōtēkina zaisei seisaku, soshite minkan tōshi o kanki suru seichō senryaku to iu ‘sanbon no ya’ de, keizai saisei o oshisusumemasu”

[(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の『三本の矢』で経済再生を推し進めると」

TT5: “Daitanna kinyū seisaku to kidōtekina zaisei seisaku, minkan tōshi o kanki suru seichō senryaku no ‘sanbon no ya’ de keizai saisei o oshisu sesame”

[(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.]

(Asahi Shimbun, January 28, evening edition, p. 1)

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ると」
TT6: “Daitanna kinyū seisaku, kidōtekina zaisei seisaku, minkan tōshi o kanki suru seichō senryaku to iu ‘sanbon no ya’ de keizai saisei o oshisusumeru”

[(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.]

(Asahi Shimbun, January 29, morning edition, p. 2)

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の『三本の矢』で経済再生を進める」

TT7: “Daitanna kinyū seisaku, kidōtekina zaisei seisaku, minkan tōshi o kanki suru seichō senryaku no ‘sanbon no ya’ de keizai saisei o susumeru”

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

(Mainichi Shimbun, January 28, evening edition, p. 1)

As indicated by underlines both in the Japanese original and its romanized versions, the changes made are minor, and can be seen just by looking at the number of characters being 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 “ます (masu)” at the end, which is called an honorific and used in Japanese grammar to show politeness. Such practice is considered standard in Japanese news writing (Satoh, 2001). As a result, the English translations for TT5–6 turned out to be exactly the same as the literal translation for ST2. TT7 shortened the last verb “oshisusumeru (推し進める)” [press forward] to “susumeru (進める)” [promote] for brevity, but the change in meaning remained subtle.

The fact that ST2 is quoted almost verbatim by multiple newspapers as seen
here suggests that Davis’s (1985) finding of “the higher the status of a speaker, the more direct the presentation” (p. 47), is also applicable in the case of Japanese newspapers. This makes it even more difficult to provide a logical explanation to the non-standard omission in the case of President Obama, whose speech also deserves the same treatment given his high status.

It can still be argued, however, that ST2 was structured simply and concisely enough that such verbatim quotation was possible. Therefore, it is worthwhile to examine a more complex example, such as ST3 shown below.

ST3: 「私が何故、数ある課題のうち経済の再生に最もこだわるのか。それは、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と考えるからです」

ST3: “Watashi ga naze, kazu aru kadai no uchi keizai saisei ni mottomo kodawaru no ka. Sore wa, nagabiku defure ya endaka ga, ‘ganbaru hito wa mukuwareru’ to iu shakai no shinrai no kiban o kontei kara yurugashite iru to kangaeru kara desu”

[Of the numerous issues (Japan faces), why do I insist on reviving the economy most of all? It is because I consider 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、数ある課題のうち経済再生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だ」

TT8: “Watashi ga naze, kazu aru kadai no uchi keizai saisei 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 da”
[Of the numerous issues (Japan faces), why do I insist on **economic revival** 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." ]

(Asahi Shimbun, January 29, morning edition, p. 2)

This is a long quote 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 the use of the Chinese characters “何故” which is not included in the government list of “Chinese characters in common use” is against the basic rules of newspaper writing (e.g., Asahi Shimbun, 2011). 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 in any way” (Reuters, 2008, Quotes, para. 1) and thus it 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」

**TT9:** “Nagabiku defure ya endaka ga, ‘ganbaru hito wa mukuwareru’ to iu
shakai no shinrai no kiban o kantei 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."]

(Yomiuri Shimbun, January 29, morning edition, p. 1)

In contrast, ST4 is much longer and therefore more words are omitted from its corresponding TTs than the ST3 example above; however, “the tone of the translation is equivalent to the tone of the original” as Reuters (2008, Quotes, para. 2) instructs, and the central message is much better preserved in each of the TTs when compared to direct quotes from President Obama’s speeches. The part in ST4 that is omitted in both TT10 and TT11 are 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（かじ）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」

ST4: “Watashi wa, katsute yamai no tame ni shoku o jishi, ōkina seijiteki zasetsu o keiken shita ningen desu. Kokka no kaji (kaji) tori o tsukasadoru jūseki o aratamete ohihuke suru kara ni wa, kako no hansei o kyōkun toshite kokoro ni kizami, teineina taiwa o kokorogake nagara, shinshi ni kokusei un’ei ni atatteiku koto o chikaimasu”

[I am someone who has suffered a major political setback, as I have once resigned from this position due to illness. Having once again accepted the heavy responsibility of presiding over the steering of the nation, 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.]

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です。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誓います」

TT10: “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.]

(Asahi Shimbun, January 29, morning edition, p. 2)

TT11: 「私は大きな政治的挫折を経験した人間だ。過去の反省を教訓として心に刻み、真摯（しんし）に国政運営にあたっていく」

TT11: “Watashi wa ōkina seijiteki zasetsu o keiken shita ningen da. Kako no hansei o kyōkun toshite kokoro ni kizami, shinshi ni 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.]

(Asahi Shimbun, January 28, evening edition, p. 1)

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, p. 149) made available by the Office of the Prime Minister, which is often the case with scheduled public speeches by high ranking officials (Farhi, 2013). The morning edition, which was published on January 29, quotes the actual speech delivered orally 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 quote in the evening edition (TT11) was shorter (because 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 (TT 10); the morning paper 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 yet understandable given the sheer length of ST4 and also by the fact that this phrase is only restating the prerequisite of why Abe was giving his speech in the first place. 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 internal rule of the Asahi Shimbun (2011), 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

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2 Prime Minister Abe took office for the second time on December 26, 2012, following the general election of the House of Representatives 10 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 Nikkei used them without phonetic characters in this specific case.
retention of the verb-ending honorifics, while the other newspapers used briefer quotes (TT13-15).

TT12: 「私は大きな政治的挫折を経験した人間です。过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」

TT12: “Watashi wa ōkina seijiteki zasetsu o keiken shita ningen desu. Kako no hansei o kyōkun toshite kokoro ni kizami, teineina taiwa o kokorogake nagara, shinshii ni kokusei un’ei ni atatte iku to 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.]

(Yomiuri Shimbun, January 29, morning edition, p. 3)

TT13: 「病のために職を辞し、政治的挫折を経験した。过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」

TT13: “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.]

(Sankei Shimbun, January 29, morning edition, p. 3)

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真摯に国政にあたることを誓う」

TT14: “Kako no hansei o kyōkun toshite kokoro ni kizami, teineina taiwa o
kokorogake nagara shinshi ni 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.]

(Nikkei Shimbun, January 28, evening edition, p. 1)

TT15: 「過去の反省を教訓として心に刻み、真摯（しんし）に国政運営に当たっていくことを誓う」

TT15: “Kako no hansei o kyōkun toshite koko ni kizami, shinshin ni 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.]

(Mainichi Shimbun, January 28, evening edition, p. 1)

A final example (ST5) is taken from the portion of Prime Minister Abe’s policy speech outlining 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」

ST5: “Nihon ginkō ni oite ni pāsento no bukka antei mokuhyō o dekirudake sōki ni jitsugen suru koto o fukume, seifū to nihon ginkō ga sorezore no sekinin ni oite, kyōdō seimei no naiyō o kichinto jikkō shite iku koto ga jūyō deari, seifū to nihon 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).

[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.]

(Mainichi Shimbun, January 28, evening edition, p. 1)

[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.]

(Nikkei Shimbun, January 28, evening edition, p. 1)
the joint statement within their respective areas of responsibility.]

(Tokyo Shimbun, January 28, evening edition, p. 2)

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」

TT19: “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.]

(Sankei Shimbun, January 29, morning edition, p. 3)

TT20: 「政府と日本銀行の一層の緊密な連携を図っていく」

TT20: “Seifu to nihon ginkō no issō no kinmitsu na renkei o hakatte iku”

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

(Yomiuri Shimbun, January 29, morning edition, p. 1)

Due to the fact that implied subjects tend to be absent in Japanese sentence structure, some of the TTs did not appear to contain subjects. In these cases, the implied subjects have been added to the back-translations for clarity; they are indicated with parentheses. As shown, omission is used at some level in all of these cases (TT16-20). Nevertheless, the parts not included in the direct quotes 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 those of the United States 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.

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as seen in Chapter 5. 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 they are both political leaders with very high status whose speeches should be treated in an equally faithful manner.

6.1.2 Application of a New Concept

As seen in the previous section, although omissions can be observed in the direct quotes 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 translation is involved—this study uses risk management as a theoretical framework.

In Pym (2005b), omission is stated as “a common enough strategy, especially in low-risk situations” (p. 72). Using this idea as a guideline, it can be hypothesized that the reason why omission was used in 53% of the TTs was that translating President Obama’s speech was considered a low-risk task by the Japanese newspapers. Following the same logic, the fact that Prime Minister Abe’s speeches were quoted almost verbatim should be an indication that quoting from Prime Minister Abe’s speech is 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 simply compared with translated quotes, such comparison nevertheless has merit when considering direct quotes in a monolingual setting as a form of “intralingual translation” (Jakobson, 1959/2012, p. 127).

Based on this logic, the decision-making process of the journalist-translators can be explained using the concept of risk management. The specific risks involved
in this situation can be divided into the three main categories discussed in Chapter 4: source-oriented, target-oriented, and general. 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., 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, require additional features such as clarity, comprehensibility and coherence. Mismanaging this type of risk can lead to not only complaints, but also to a decrease in subscriptions (and the potential loss of employment). General risks include exposure to criticism from the public and losing social influence. As mentioned earlier, general risks are too broad to manage by translation strategies alone, so only the first two categories are analyzed below.

As discussed in Chapter 4, 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 journalist-translators working for Japanese newspapers, the potential criticism that could arise from misquoting their political leader who is presumed to read Japanese newspapers every day 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 comment from the Prime Minister himself criticizing the paper, and being barred 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 (President Obama’s only known foreign language skills are beginner-level Spanish and Indonesian, as reported by multiple U.S. media outlets during his presidential campaigns). 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 Japan monitors news articles by the Japanese media on a regular basis, in order for the U.S. embassy to contact the Japanese media to complain, they would first have to consult with the White House and the Department of State, and the exchange between Tokyo and Washington can take many hours if not days given the 13- to 14-hour difference in time zones. The reason why 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 quotes was identified as relatively low by the Japanese journalist-translators.

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 case of the translation of the four regions in ST1, “the Americas” was substituted with “Chūnanbei (中南米)” [Central and South 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, which is a relatively common word, was chosen instead of the uncommon Beishū as a way to manage target-oriented risk, because using Beishū could invite the risk of 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

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4 The U.S. embassy in Japan has a website which explains their roles and responsibilities. Retrieved from http://japanese.japan.usembassy.gov/j/info/tinfoj-embdesc.html
read the article effortlessly and the content must be understood immediately” (Yomiuri, 2014, p. 12). The Yomiuri’s decision to substitute “the Americas” with “Chūnanbei” seems rational from a risk-management perspective. However, by opting for this strategy and translating “the Americas” as “Latin America,” TT4 ignores the United States and Canada, which is a factual error. 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, “it puts nothing at risk” (Pym, 2005b, p. 70).

The next example can also be explained by this type of risk management. 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」

[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.]

(Asahi Shimbun, January 23, morning edition, p. 12)

As seen in Chapter 5, two locations, “the streets of Detroit” and “the hills of Appalachia” are omitted in TT21. This can also be explained as a risk-management strategy used by journalist-translators in order to prevent unfamiliar information
from confusing their readers. Although readers “should be able to assume that every word between quotation marks is what the speaker or writer said” (The New York Times, 2008, Quotation, para. 1), if there is a higher risk of causing frustration among the readers (i.e., decreased readability), the journalist-translators might opt for omission as a risk-management strategy. Cheesman & Nohl (2011) make a similar point by explaining that such deletion “is another way of ensuring a meaningful text, reporting on apparently meaningful action,” however, they caution that “it produces a simplified and, arguably, inaccurate meaningfulness” (p. 228).

There seems to be good enough reason for Japanese newspapers to opt for such a strategy, given the fact that the possible impact that can be caused by mismanaging target-oriented risk can be significant, especially in Japan. This is because Japanese newspapers rely heavily on subscriptions—more than 60% of their revenue comes from monthly subscription fees, which is the highest among OECD countries.\(^5\) 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\(^6\). In addition, more than 95% of Japanese newspapers are home-delivered\(^7\), 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) explains, “in order to sell, the newspaper must be readily comprehensible and make the reader feel at ease” (p. 42).

So far, the concept of risk management seems to offer a certain level of valid reasoning that explains the use of translation strategies by the Japanese newspapers, thus supporting the hypothesis set up in the beginning of this chapter. However, further explanation seems necessary as to why a substantial level of

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\(^5\) According to OECD’s calculations based on data from the World Association of Newspapers (WAN) as of 2008.

\(^6\) According to data published by The Japan Newspaper Publishers & Editors Association.

\(^7\) Ibid.
manipulations occur even in the case of direct quotes, which are deemed “sacrosanct” (Reuters, 2008) by media organizations themselves.

One possible reason can be drawn from the idea of “reward” in translation. As seen in Chapter 3, risk management deals with both positive and negative consequences, and the same can be said when applied to translation. For example, Pym (2008b) 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” (p. 325). Pym (2005a) 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” (p. 41). Reward is not clearly defined in either reference, but based on the examples provided, it seems to include positive recognition and/or increase in job opportunities and income (Pym, 2005b, 2008b).

In general, none of these rewards exist for the Japanese journalist-translators featured in this study because they already have stable jobs (all of them are fully employed by their respective organizations, as identified in Chapter 5). 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.8 However, there are other ways using direct quotes can reward the journalist-translator. As Bell (1991) describes, a direct quote “is valued as a particularly incontrovertible fact” (p. 207) in news production, because it can provide “plausibility, truthfulness and accuracy” (Vuorinen, 1999, p. 76) to the news article. When considering this as a reward, the retention of quotation marks even in cases where the words of the original speech have been largely lost or manipulated seems to be explainable. It also seems to fall under what Hui (2012) calls risk-taking

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8 Even the culture of including bylines, an import from the Western media, is a recent phenomenon before which, reporters were unidentifiable.
which is defined as “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” (p. 36). Pym (2015) also suggests that risk-taking is “an active positive option, corresponding to possible enhanced social rewards” (p. 71).

Take for example, the case of substitution in ST7, which also appeared in Chapter 5.

**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、我々がともに何かできるかを問うのが米国らしさだ」

**TT22**: “Kuni ga nani o shite kureru ka o tō no de wa naku, wareware ga tomoni nani ga dekiru ka o tō no ga Beikoku rashisa da”

[Instead of asking the country what it can do for us, we have to ask what we can do together. That is America-ness.]

(Yomiuri Shimbun, November 8, morning edition, p. 1)

The expression “Beikoku rashisa (米国らしさ)” does not have a directly corresponding 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 5. Although this substitution might be legitimized in other settings, because of the fact that the quotation marks were retained, it makes the quote seem like the words of President Obama himself. If the journalist-translator 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 quote the TT brings the desired effect of providing 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, p. 209), another value that direct quotes 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」
(It is not a time for mutual criticism. It is time to act.)

(Yomiuri Shimbun, January 22, evening edition, p. 1)

By manipulating the original (ST8) in this way, the quote became catchier. This explains why it was used as part of the headline “Obama daitōryō ‘kōdō no toki’” [President Obama (says), “It is time to act”] and was repeated in the same newspaper some days later as part of the news digest of the week. None of these “rewards” (i.e., being highlighted in a headline or being used repeatedly) would have likely happened at all if they had been presented in the form of indirect speech. Therefore, it can be explained that the journalist-translator opted for a risk-taking strategy (manipulating the TT in such a way that it no longer represented the original speech in a faithful manner) because of the expected reward.

6.2 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 by the journalist-translators by analyzing the TTs alone. However, the findings would remain mere speculation if not corroborated
empirically. Therefore, in this section, the hypotheses that arose through text analysis are cross-examined by first-hand accounts from journalist-translators from each of the six newspapers.

As explained in Chapter 5, seven of the eight journalist-translators interviewed for this study were still working for their respective organizations at the time of their interview and asked not to be identified in this study by name or by organization. One interviewee, Keiichi Shirato, who left the *Mainichi Shimbun* in the spring of 2014 agreed to be named. It should be noted however, that all 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 can be considered representative of all the journalist-translators included in this study.

*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 western 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 from April 2004. He stayed in Johannesburg until the end of March 2008, returning to Japan to cover domestic politics until March 2010. He rejoined the international news section in April 2010 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 United States 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. While still in the United States, he decided to leave the company in March 2014 to work for the Mitsui Global Strategic Studies Institute, a Japanese think-tank.

6.2.1 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 quotes. In order to discover why, the interviewees were asked to look at the various examples shown above and to give possible explanations. Some were asked about their own translations while others who were not part of the team of reporters that covered the 2012 U.S. presidential election were asked to provide their own opinions 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. All interviews were conducted in Japanese and translated into English by the author of this study.

Most of the interviewees stressed the importance of accuracy in news translation especially in the case of direct quotes. When asked Question 11 from Table 5.1, “Is there anything that you keep in mind when translating?” Interviewee A responded, “To be accurate. This is a must.” Interviewee B said that the translation of direct quotes needs to be “word-for-word” and “nothing should be left out.” Interviewee C agreed that for high-ranking officials, word-for-word translation is “necessary” and additional information should be put in parentheses or placed outside of the quotation marks, if needed, in order to present the quote as verbatim as possible. Interviewee D said, “Nothing other than that uttered by the
speaker 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 translating words 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 quote, 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 quotes, I want to make it 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 seemed to be a consensus among the journalist-translators that whatever is contained within quotation marks needs to be either preserved or changed only when there is a good enough 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 quote was found, he would ask the journalist-translator 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 double check whether the direct quote was faithful to the original or not. This seems to be a common practice in news agency newsrooms such as that of the AFP, especially when translating direct quotes, 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, p. 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 journalist-translator was necessary. This understanding of the necessity for consultation with the original author of the article (i.e. the journalist-translator) 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 quotes, 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 quote, 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
quote, 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)

6.2.2 Time and Space Limitations

If both the journalist-translators and editors are so cautious as to not make major changes to the original wording when translating and quoting them directly within quotation marks, there must sufficient reason behind the significant manipulations such as the ones examined in this chapter and in Chapter 5. According to the interviewees, time and space limitations seem to be crucial factors in determining how the 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 30 to 40 pages on average, unlike traditional Western broadsheets which publish multiple sections in separate bundles (e.g., Business, International, National, Art, and Sports). 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

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9 According to the Japan Newspaper Publishers & Editors Association.
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 time/space limitations. He said that journalist-translators 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 described that there are times when journalist-translators 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 journalist-translator 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, the interviewee who agreed to be named and was involved in news translation for a total of 10 years, including seven as a foreign correspondent, articulated the situation using stronger language. “The direct quotes 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 do 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 legitimatizes omission in interpreting, at least to a certain degree. Korpal (2012) 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” (p. 105). The correspondence between Shirato and Korpal seems to support the idea that time/space limitations can be a decisive factor in the selection of translation strategies by news translators and interpreters alike, especially in the case of omission.

6.2.3 Effects of Risk

Although it seems clear that time and space limitations have a crucial impact on how news translation is being conducted by Japanese newspapers, it still remains unclear why the content of direct quotes tend to undergo significantly more manipulation in the case of interlingual translation rather than intralingual translation. Regarding this point, several journalist-translators 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 fact 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 when compared to the case of Japanese speakers, and thus, reporters tend to pay less attention to the accuracy of the quotations of U.S. officials. In addition, Interviewee B assumed
that when sending translated clips 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 quotes in the sense that 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 seem to be neglectful.

Shirato also agrees that there is a double standard between interlingual and intralingual translation of speeches. 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 journalist-translators to pay more attention to the accuracy of translation, which 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 the impoverished people 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 journalist-translators do feel the 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. He gave an example: President Obama frequently uses the word “rebalance” to explain his country’s diplomatic policy to increase its focus on Asia, but the direct translation, “saikinkō (再均衡)”, concerns him 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 elaborate its meaning by adding information within parentheses.
Similar explanations were repeated by the interviewees when being asked about the omission of “the Americas” in the case of TT1-3 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 it 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 which signaled that the risk of incomprehensibility by the average reader (i.e., target-oriented risk) often overrides that of the speaker (i.e., source-oriented risk) when the speaker is a foreign national who is unlikely to check the written article directly or immediately. Japanese journalist-translators can be described as acting rationally in the given risk environment.

However, this does not mean that translating and quoting words rendered in foreign languages are 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 regarding the realignment of U.S. forces in Okinawa, his speech was interpreted and heavily quoted by the Japanese media. As it turned out, one of President Obama’s quotes 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 the word “not right” in their reporting, and they were later criticized for the mistranslation because the official interpreter on site had actually translated the phrase more accurately had they bothered to compare. This explains why Interviewee B

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10 The official interpreter said “hijyō 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
stressed that the most important thing when performing news translation is “not to mistranslate.”

Interviewee G explained that omission was a way of risk reduction.

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.

(Interviewee G, personal communication, November 7, 2014)

These interviewee testimonies seem to suggest that journalist-translators 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 is beyond the scope of this study. The important finding here is that journalist-translators seem to be making decisions as a way of managing risk, at least to a certain degree, and that risk management seems to explain some of their non-standard translation practices.

Another interesting point is that at least two of the four journalist-translators with experience as international news editors expressed that direct quotes needed to be appealing or attractive enough 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 the fact 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 reward can be the reason behind some of the substantial omissions and substitutions found in the examples above, which made the quotes pithy, although inaccurate.

6.3 Preliminary Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, examples of “unethical or non-standard” (Pym, 2014a, p.1) news translation practices by the Japanese newspapers have been examined and explained using the concept of risk management as a framework for analysis. The key findings were cross-examined against personal accounts from the journalist-translators to determine whether they hold true from the practitioners’ perspective. As a result, preliminary conclusions have emerged which are presented below. In Chapter 7, the validity of these preliminary conclusions is empirically tested against news translation cases other than the 2012 U.S. presidential election.

One of the key findings from this analysis is that much of President Obama’s speeches, which appeared as direct quotes in Japanese newspapers, were inaccurate in terms of translation. Although the majority of the journalist-translators 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, journalist-translators seemed to opt for omission of incomprehensible parts in order to achieve the desired goal of making the translated part easy to understand. In addition, they ventured to take the risk of possibly misquoting the subject by keeping the translated part within quotation marks—even when facts or meaningful details are removed from the direct quote—so that they can retain the reward of authenticity and catchiness.
The reason for opting for such a translation strategy can be explained by the different levels of risk involved. For journalist-translators working at Japanese newspaper companies, there are two main sources of risk: the speaker (source-oriented risk) and the reader (target-oriented risk). Some of the omissions and substitutions analyzed in this chapter would have seemed significant enough for President Obama or his staff to complain if they had access to the Japanese newspapers and were able to read their content. However, the journalist-translators considered that a low-probability scenario. Their decisions were based on the fact 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 was a serious mistranslation that could negatively affect the national interests of the U.S. This makes translation of any foreign national a low risk situation for the journalist-translators, and legitimatizes the use of omission because it is a low-effort and time/space-saving strategy.

Although prior studies, such as Schäffner (2008), have already pointed out that news translations “are not straightforward and faithful reproductions of their source texts, as often assumed by lay-people” (p. 22), the findings in this study shows that this is true even in direct quotes which are supposed to be translated most 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 quotes when translated could be manipulated significantly. This not only contradicts Davis’s (1985) finding that “the higher the status of a speaker, the more direct the presentation” (p. 47), but also indicates that even a greater degree of manipulation can be expected when the speaker is lower in social status; for example, comments by ordinary citizens found on the street.

Another interesting finding is that when the source-oriented risk is higher, different risk management strategies tended 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 both equally high in the case of Prime Minister Abe and President Obama, the probability, proximity, and immediacy of the risk seems to have been considered much lower in the case of President Obama.

Regarding target-oriented risk, journalist-translators seem to consider the risk of their translation resulting in decreased readability higher than the risk of any 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 is, of course, the risk that readers would complain about an inaccurate translation. A reader capable of understanding both English and Japanese, and who has the motivation and time to compare the original against the direct quote, might discover the discrepancy and complain. However, based on the interviews, the journalist-translators seemed to consider this less probable than readers complaining about incomprehensible words or phrases.

It can be said that the impact, proximity, and immediacy of the risk (e.g., criticism from readers, loss of subscriptions) is the same in these cases, but the probability differs significantly. This difference in risk seems to have resulted in the selection of translation strategies that prioritize readability, such as omission of difficult words or incomprehensible parts, over translation inaccuracy. In some cases, journalist-translators opted for risk-taking strategies in high-risk situations. However, their decisions can be justified by the fact that a “brief” and “pithy” quote (Bell, 1991, p. 209) can make it to the headlines and thus satisfy the editor and probably the reader as well.

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

Throughout this chapter, examples of news translation practices which involved significant levels of manipulations for reasons not immediately evident to the reader were examined, but by applying the concept of risk management as a theoretical framework for analysis, plausible reasons were found that explain the journalist-translators’ decision-making. Next, in Chapter 7, several cases of news translation involving different levels of risks are examined in order to test the preliminary conclusion detailed above.
Chapter 7

Risk Management in the Changing Media Environment

The previous chapters mainly focused on a single case study, the 2012 U.S. presidential election, to analyze news translation practices by Japanese journalist-translators using Pym’s concept of risk management as a theoretical framework. In this chapter, some of the key findings from the case study are verified by investigating other news translation situations. 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. Moreover, 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 resulted in increased risks for journalist-translators compared to the situation 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.
7.1. 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 if anything goes wrong in the news report, including translation, it could invite serious consequences given its extended outreach. As seen in Chapter 6, however, when these risks are not highly probable, proximate, or immediate, journalist-translators 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 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 would trigger different coping methods. According to Akbari (2009, p. 514), there are 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) and (d) risk retention (accepting the risk and budgeting for it). Pym (2015) also adopts (a) and (c) above, and adds risk-taking. Some of these risk management strategies have already been observed in the ways the journalist translators attempted to manage risks when translating President Obama’s quotes. This chapter also makes use of these same categorizations, when necessary, in explaining the risk management strategies selected.

7.1.1 Risk Management in a Press Conference

The first example of a different type of news translation is a press conference. As Bell (1991) rightfully states, “Much of news is talk” (p. 204). It has been pointed out that 70% of the news which makes its way on to the front page of The News York Times and The Washington Post are from press conferences and
hearings (ibid., p. 205). Although journalist-translators themselves can and will do their own translation in many cases, interpreters are normally 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 under 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 where an interpreter has been blamed or even used as a scapegoat because of what he or she rendered at such events.

One recent example is of an interpreter for Prime Minister Abe who came under fire in January 2014, when interpreting 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 & Hoshino, 2014). As Prime Minister Abe answered questions from approximately 30 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 followed by their English translation as provided by Asahi’s English website “Asia & Japan Watch (AJW)” (“Abe compares Japan-China tension,” 2014). The portion of the interpretation of Abe’s response that drew so much criticism is shown in underline.

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。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。ですから大切なるの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。
tsukurubeki da to iu koto o, kore wa zuibun mae nandesu ga, mōshiire o shite imasu.


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. 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. 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, what

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1 The article first appeared in the paper’s website, FT.com, and immediately attracted wide attention from the international media. It was later printed in the actual paper which is cited in this page. The original article can be found at http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/7d713b60-8425-11e3-b72e-00144feab7de.html#axzz3nYJArHF4
may have been a *risk avoidance* strategy by the interpreter (i.e., trying to avoid the risk of misunderstanding) 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 Section, p. 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 this study. However, this example clearly illustrates that media interpreters are indeed exposed to very high risks.

Another example of a press conference interpreter in a very high-risk situation—this time, one that was held in Japan—is examined. 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, the outspoken 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” 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) so that rape and sexual abuse cases against local women by the service men would decrease. 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 a parliamentarian, Fumiki Sakurauchi, a graduate from Harvard Kennedy School. Sakurauchi’s role was to serve as a checker, or monitor3, for any misinterpretation. Second, the mayor prepared an English transcript for his initial 20-minute statement, which was distributed to the reporters attending the press conference. Two interpreters of the language were used, one for each language, with a third interpreter performing both roles.

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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.
conference. These two measures were taken in order to avoid “misinterpretation” and “mistranslation” which the mayor suspected was the reason why 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/sharing service. The interpreter appeared perfectly visible in the frame of the video and her name was also announced at the beginning of the press conference by the moderator.

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 (he occasionally nods during the interpreter’s performance, indicating he understands a level of English) or the monitor, whose responsibility it is to spot any mistakes, could lead to mistrust not only from the speaker’s side (source-oriented risk), but also from the audience (target-oriented risk). This would mean the interpreter would lose the trust of her client since the FCCJ is a membership organization of foreign correspondents and they were the ones listening to the press conference. In theory, this could lead to her losing the job or “not getting paid” as Pym (2005a, p. 34) puts it, although this was an unlikely scenario since the interpreter was an honorary member of the FCC, having interpreted there for over 10 years. Yet she would likely be left with a feeling that the communicative aim or the purpose of interpretation was not fulfilled if she could not satisfy both the speaker and her client.

Second, she was faced by 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 and/or translation is

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4 The interpreter is kept anonymous in this study to prevent her from any further inconvenience.
involved it is the mediator who is blamed, as seen in the example of Prime Minister Abe’s interpreter discussed above. This can start a chain of mistrust among all participants involved, 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 why the press conference was held.

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. Literally, this is translated as, “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. ST1-10 show the original words spoken by Mayor Hashimoto with the key word(s) underlined, followed by back-translations provided by the author of this study. TT1-10 show the English renderings made by the interpreter with additions (elaborations), and substitutions shown in underline.
ST1: 「報道の自由こそが権力をチェックする」
ST1: “Hōdō no jiyū koso ga kenryoku o chekku suru”
[It is the freedom of the press that checks power]

TT1: I believe that the freedom to report is a very, very valuable concept because that is the only way that one can check or curb or put restraints on state power.

ST2: 「ここが、韓国との間の一番の核心的な論点です」
ST2: “Koko ga, Kankoku to no aida no ichiban no kakushintekina ronten desu”
[This is the main and core point of dispute between (Japan and) South Korea.]

TT2: In other words, this is the heart of the debate, the difference of opinion, the difference of stances and thinking between the Japanese and the South Korean governments.

ST3: 「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、おそらく世界のみんなから、日本は特有だと非難される理由になってるかと思います」
ST3: “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 tokuyū da to hinan sareru riyū ni natte ru ka to omoimasu”
[I think the reason why people around the world criticize Japan as being peculiar 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.]
TT3: 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 unique and peculiar and odd and different from everyone else.

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

ST4: 「ただ、この慰安婦問題に関して、不合理な議論はもう終止符を打つべきだと思っています」

ST4: “Tada, kono ianfu mondai ni kansite, fugōrina giron wa mō shūshifu o utsubekida to omotte imasu”

[However, I think that we should put an end to such irrational debate regarding this comfort women issue.]

TT4: 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 irrational, or unreasonable arguments or debates.

The Japanese word “kanri (管理)” shown in ST5 below caused major translation difficulty not because an equivalent word does not exist in the target language, but because there are many options to choose from, each with a different scope 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 ST5-9 clearly shows the risks involved in news translation and the ways in which news translators invest various efforts to manage them. ST5 to ST9 were rendered in sequence.

ST5: 「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管理していたことは間違いありません」

ST5: “Sakihodo kisha kara goshitumon arimashita ga, Nihon no iansho wa gun ga kanri shite ita koto wa machigai arimasen”

[In response to a previous question from a reporter, it is undeniable that Japanese comfort stations were managed by the military.]

TT5: 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 run by the government.

ST6: 「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」

ST6: “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.]

TT6: Excuse me, and the interpreter would like to correct her choice of words because it is very sensitive issue. They were managed. Kanri is the word that he was using, by the government.

ST7: 「ただ軍が管理していた、この日本の施設も」

ST7: “Tada gun ga kanri shite ita, kono Nihon no shisetsu mo”
[However, these facilities which were managed by the military,]

TT7: But in regard to these facilities which were managed by the military,

ST8: 「民間業者が管理している施設も」
ST8: “Minkan gyōsha ga kanri shite iru shisetsu mo”
[and those that were managed privately,]

TT8: whether they were managed …. Mr. Sakurauchi doesn’t seem to like the word managed. Sokomade itteina… (そこまで言っていない…) [(whispering in Japanese) 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 being in charge of or being… looking after the facility. But it can also be used as, interpreted to mean operate, which Mr. Sakurauchi feels is an inappropriate word. But manage 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.

ST9: 「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」
ST9: “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.]

TT9: The point that I’m making is that whether it was managed or looked after 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 of the reasons why the press conference ended up being so long. Later, in a retrospective interview conducted on November 9, 2014, for this study, the interpreter gave a first-person account of the risks she felt and the reason why she chose those specific strategies with the intention of managing the risks. The interview was conducted in English and transcribed by the author of this 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)

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 by political leaders. For example, Schöffner (2012a) conducted an extensive analysis of a corpus she created from numerous press conferences 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 are normally 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 and that it was the case “independent of the direction of interpreting, and independent of the language pair” (p. 75). According to Schäffner (ibid., p. 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 as indicated above, it can also be said that the risks have been increasing ever higher recently because technical developments are enabling ever readier 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, 2015, Article 2), the taping of interpreters and reuse of the recordings without prior consent are becoming more common. Mayor Hashimoto’s interpreter, who said that 50% of her assignments are media-related, 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 she had received a phone call from a webcast viewer who had asked for the correction. The interpreter recalled that she was interpreting for a councilwoman from the Tokyo Metropolitan Assembly, and she misheard the speaker say the word “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), one additional risk of which she is aware is the increased possibility of the foreign media quoting her words as direct quotes, 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 (ST10) himself. This resulted in a direct quote (TT11) which was quite different from the original (TT10) as shown below. TT10 is the rendition of the interpreter and TT11 is the direct quote which appeared in The Australian (Wallace, 2013):

TT10: [Interpreter's rendition]

TT11: [Direct quote from The Australian]
ST10: 「過去を直視しなければ、未来を語る事はできません」

ST10: “Kako o chokushi shinakereba, mirai o kataru koto wa dekimasen”
[Unless one confronts the past, one cannot talk about the future]

TT10: 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.

TT11: Unless one confronts one's harsh or unpleasant past, how can you plan for the future?"

(The Australian, May 28, 2013, World section, p. 7)

The interpreter, based on her more than 10 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) observation of the
Western press in which she posits, “journalists do not indicate that they use the words as uttered by the interpreter” (p. 82).

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 and standpoints. In such situations, risk management becomes crucially important yet extremely difficult in the case of news translation 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, p. 340).

7.1.2 Risk Management Through Double-Presentation

As seen in the previous example, news translation involves high levels of risk which are intensified by the recent changes in the media environment. These risks are not unique to interpreters only. Due to the decreased amount of 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 & Bassnett, 2010, p. 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.

It is no secret that years ago, journalists had exclusive access to the source material. Nowadays, newspaper readers and television viewers are able to access the source materials themselves that are available online through live webcasts, video/audio footage, and transcripts of various kinds (official, non-official, combined). This also means that the target-oriented risks for journalist-translators 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 journalist-translators’ translation strategy in some way.

One such attempt can be seen in the way both the *Yomiuri Shimbun* and the *Nikkei Shimbun* published the full transcript of President Obama’s inauguration speech along with the Japanese translation—side-by-side—in the case of the 2012 U.S. presidential election (see Appendixes D and E). This “double-presentation” (Pym, 2010, p. 80) is a high-effort strategy, both in terms of time invested as well as space used. For both papers, additional pages (i.e., special sections) were inserted in order to accommodate both the original speech and its translation, which took up a full page (with no space for ads). Considering the fact that the two newspapers both have news websites where they can post the original transcript without all the additional effort, this seems to be an unusual strategy, especially for daily newspapers with strict space limitations.

In response to email inquiries by the author of this study in February 2013, it was confirmed that this way of showing the Japanese translation in parallel with the original transcript in English was started by the *Yomiuri Shimbun* in 2009, when President Obama was inaugurated for the first time. According to email responses from the Yomiuri Shimbun’s customer relations section, 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 as well. The double-presentation has been well received by readers, the *Yomiuri Shimbun* said by 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).

In the case of the *Nikkei Shimbun*, they, too, introduced such a style on the

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5 The *Mainichi Shimbun* also printed the full English transcript, but it was separated from the translated version in Japanese.
occasion of President Obama’s first inauguration in 2009, although their version appeared two days after the *Yomiuri Shimbun*’s introduction of the style. The Nikkei Shimbun also responded to the author’s email inquiry via email. According to the paper’s customer relations section, 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 inauguration speech, they decided to publish both the transcript and the translation in print as well. The response from readers shared by the Nikkei Shimbun’s representative were similar to that of the Yomiuri Shimbun’s, indicating that there is a certain number of readers who feel satisfaction in reading the original content in English rather than only reading the translated version.

Double-presentation as a strategy seems to have gained momentum, and newspapers other than the two above have also begun adopting it. For example, when the Pakistani peace-advocate and Nobel Peace Prize laureate Malala Yousafzai gave her acceptance speech in Oslo in December 2014, the *Asahi Shimbun* published a full-page transcript of her speech along with the translation in print using a layout similar to the one used by its competitors for President Obama’s speeches. In addition, the *Mainichi Shimbun* and the *Tokyo Shimbun* also quoted several sentences from her speech in English accompanied by their Japanese translations.

Although opting for this strategy seems to reduce the risk of receiving complaints in some way—accurate information is presented no matter what the translation says—and increases reader satisfaction, it is important to note that the translated version of President Obama’s inaugural speech 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, p. 41). This
example shows that the strategy of presenting the original can both be risk-averse and risk-taking at the same time.

Since double-presentation has become common because of the popularity of President Obama’s speeches, the use of this strategy seems to be increasing in other forms as well. 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, the 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 took place a month earlier. In quoting President Obama’s words, which Mr. Campbell reproduced from memory, the *Asahi Shimbun* included the original line he spoke in English along with the Japanese translations. The direct quotes, as they appeared in the *Asahi Shimbun’s* web article (which was posted before the article was put to print) are shown in Figure 7.1.

According to Mr. Campbell, President Obama said the following: “Let me stop you here” “Japan is an ally, a friend and a democracy” “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. As shown in Figure 7.1, all three sentences were presented in English followed by their Japanese translations.
オバマ氏、習氏の日本批判に「stop」首脳会談で

「Let me stop you here (ここまでにしよう)」一
一。6月の米中首脳会談でオバマ大統
領が、日本への懸念を示す習近平
（シーチンピン）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
ブでの会見で明らかにした。

キャンベル氏によれば、オバマ氏は
「Japan is an all
y, a friend, and
a democracy (日本は同盟
国、友人で、民主主義国だ)」と
語り、習氏に「You need to understand that v
ery clearly (はっきりとわかりてもらわないと)」と伝えたという。

会談で習氏は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る
ため、習氏が唱える日本への懐擁を共有することは避けた形だ。

一方、米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（NS
C）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」と告
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 7.1. Sample of in-text double-presentation by the Asahi Shimbun
(web version).6

Only the English sentence in the first line made it to the final edition of the
day’s morning paper and the English texts in the second paragraph were deleted,
most likely for brevity, as shown in Figure 7.2.

6From the Asahi Shimbun, July 17, 2013. Copyright 2013 by the Asahi Shimbun. Reprinted with permission.
Figure 7.2. Sample of in-text double-presentation by the Asahi Shimbun (print version).7

Although only a part of the English text was retained in the printed version, the example above shows the Japanese newspaper’s willingness to opt for high-effort strategies if they deem that the situation is high-risk, as in the case above which deals with secondhand information regarding a highly political 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 was in Japan to give the talk with the intention of being quoted (source-oriented risk).

Another example was found in the *Nikkei Shimbun* 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. In this case, a foreign correspondent based in Washington, D.C. wrote the article as identified by the byline. 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 Shimbun* correspondent quoted this part both in Japanese and in English as seen in the fourth tier in Figure 7.3.
Figure 7.3. Sample of in-text double-presentation by The Nikkei.8

In the quote, the Japanese translation “sakushū kara gentai shita (昨秋から減退した)” [declined from last fall] 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 hard and risky to speculate, it can be assumed that the journalist-translator 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.

Similarly, in regards 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 Shimbun decided to double-present the possible time schedule for making changes to the program. According to the FRB, 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 later this year. 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 around midyear.

(FRB, 2013)

The underlined text was included in the Nikkei’s article as “nennai (年内)” [later this year] and “rainen nakaba atari (来年半ばあたり)” [around midyear] as seen in the sixth tier of the article shown in Figure 7.2. This can be explained by the journalist-translator’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. Furthermore, the impact can be especially
large when quotes are being used in a headline, as was the case in this article: ("nennai (年内)" [later 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 journalist-translators 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 partially avoided because the readers would have a way to verify the necessary information regardless of the translation. 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 risk transfer (Akbari, 2009; Hui, 2012; Pym, 2008a).

7.1.3 Risk Management Through Increased Visibility

Yet another strategy is one that can be categorized as either risk reduction or risk-taking (Hui, 2012). The objective of this strategy is to make the translation visible by stating who did the translation. Traditionally, interpreters and translators in news translation have been nearly invisible. As Schäffner (2012a) notes, “Although it is a common practice that direct quotes 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” (p. 82). In many cases of news translation, it remains unclear if the journalist was actually attending the press conference, was recording the interview and doing the translation him or herself, or was just using the rendition of the
interpreter without mentioning so (ibid., p. 79). This situation is gradually changing, however, which can also 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 phrase or wording caused by the back-translation, the newspaper decided to make the journalist-translator visible so that unnecessary complaints to the company could be avoided (risk reduction). However, from the journalist-translator’s point of view, this can be considered as a risk-taking strategy.

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 “Translation provided by Yomiuri Shimbun International News Department.” Yomiuri’s customer relations section explained that this was to differentiate their version from the numerous translations already available elsewhere. Despite their intention, this turned out to be a risk-taking strategy, because a mistranslation was found later which led them to publish a correction in print and to correct their database.

This example shows that increased feedback can invite higher target-oriented risks. What Berlo (1960, p. 114) described more than half a century ago about the relationship between the media and the audience that “public media
(newspaper, television, magazines, etc.) have minimum opportunities for feedback,” because “the source and the receiver are separated in time and space,” seems no longer to be the case in today’s world where the interaction between the source and the target is immediate and often proximate. Based on the examples examined in this chapter, it seems legitimate to say that the change in the risk environment of news translation has led to the employment of risk management strategies requiring higher effort, thus suggesting that there is a certain correlation between risks and the efforts and strategies used to manage those risks.
Chapter 8

Conclusion

In the previous chapter, preliminary conclusions drawn from the case study were applied to various cases of news translation to examine whether the concept of risk management can be used to analyze different types of translation practices. In this concluding chapter, the research objectives of this study, as well as the analytical framework and the research method are restated and reviewed in order to clarify what this study was able to achieve and what remains yet to be explored through further research. The key findings, along with the limitations and possible contributions of this study are outlined. This chapter concludes with a discussion of further implications for news translation research as well as Translation Studies in general.

8.1. Review of Research Objectives and Methods

This study began with the awareness that the field of news translation—which has long been largely ignored by existing fields of research—seems to have been attracting growing interest from around the world over the past decade, as discussed in Chapter 2. However, there has been little contribution from Japan to the research in this field, especially regarding news translation practices by the Japanese mainstream media. Filling this void was one
of the key objectives of this study, and its targets were chosen accordingly.

As explained in Chapters 4 and 5, the newspaper was chosen as the target of analysis, because it is still considered the most credible media in Japan and it has managed to maintain massive circulation—a total of 45 million daily—despite the fact that newspaper sales are declining drastically all over the world. In order to ensure enough diversity in this study, the six top-selling newspapers published in Tokyo, a total circulation that accounts for more than half of the newspaper copies distributed around the country every day, were chosen. Not only do the six newspapers represent the industry in terms of size, they also vary in their political stance, as explained in Chapter 5. These newspapers provided a good balance in terms of the data analyzed and assured that the findings were not limited to only a certain type of newspaper. This study’s focus on accessible data—relatively recent coverage by the general newspapers—was also an attempt to “explore the potential of the analysis of easily available naturalistic data to detect trends and test hypotheses” as Gile (2011, p. 202) recommends.

Regarding the case study, one of the single-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 extracted from 45 articles and put to analysis, despite the fact that the present study intentionally narrowed its scope by only selecting TTs from direct quotes that were embedded in the news articles. Focusing on direct quotes was an essential element, because another key objective of this 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. Such attempts 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, this study made an attempt to apply a non-conventional, yet promising theoretical concept in the field of Translation Studies—risk management—to explain certain practices which seem hard to explain by conventional theories alone, such as the theory of equivalence. As explained in Chapter 3, only a few researchers have attempted to apply the concept of risk management to Translation Studies, of which, Anthony Pym’s numerous works have been most comprehensive (Pym, 2004a, 2005a, 2005b, 2008a, 2008b, 2012, 2014a, 2014b, 2015). Therefore, this study analyzed prior studies by Pym in detail and used some of their key findings as guidelines for applying the concept of risk management to news translation, especially to explain its “unethical or non-standard practices” (Pym, 2014b, p.1).

Throughout this study, examples were presented in which standard practices of news reporting were not followed (e.g., omission of factual data within direct quotes) and unethical practices were occurring at news organizations seemingly in violation of their own codes of ethics (e.g., substantial changes to both the meaning and the form of the original speech, contradicting media guidelines on direct quotes). Whether or not this study succeeded in bringing about tangible results by choosing risk management as a theoretical framework is critically reviewed in the next subsection.

Another key objective of this study was to test some of the findings from the main case study by examining whether they hold true in other news translation practices so that their validity could be evaluated and ideas for their future application could be explored. News translation is unique in the sense that many forms of translation are involved, several examples of which were presented in this
study. In addition to journalist-translators that were a focus of this study, professional and non-professional interpreters and translators come into play in different ways, making news translation research highly complicated yet all the more interesting. First person accounts were crucial in understanding this complexity; therefore, interviews were conducted with journalist-translators by making use of personal connections of the author in order to understand the inner workings of newsrooms more precisely, the results of which were presented mainly in Chapters 4 and 6.

This study attempted to make use of the combined product- and process-oriented approach proposed by Holland (2013) by taking into account both the translations themselves (i.e., text analysis) and how the translations are produced (by whom and in what context). Although the interviews were limited to only eight journalist-translators, and the results were never exempt from possible biases caused by the interviewees’ relationship with the author, they nevertheless provided valuable insight into the actual decision-making process of the practitioners of news translation. The hypotheses which arose from the text analysis were cross-examined by the journalist-translators’ personal accounts, some of which were verified and corroborated through this cross-examination process and put together as preliminary conclusions.

In Chapter 7, key elements of the preliminary conclusions—such as the existence of a certain correlation between risk, effort, and strategy in news translation—were further examined to see if they held true in other cases as well. The drastic changes in the media environment, and the new risks which have emerged as a result of technological developments in this internet age, have altered the risk environment surrounding news translation practitioners. As examples of high-risk situations affected by such changes, two press conferences in which media interpreters performed under high political and social pressure were examined. In
addition, new risk management strategies by the Japanese newspapers, which seem to have been developed as a reaction to the changes in the surrounding risk environment, were presented and analyzed.

This concluding chapter thus far reviewed the objectives and the method of research for this study. The next subsection outlines the major findings which this study was able to uncover.

8.2. Summary of Key Findings

Several key findings emerged as a result of the combined method of product- and process-oriented approaches. First, detailed text analysis of the corpus of 150 TTs revealed that omission was used in 53% of the whole, making it the dominant translation strategy, the results of which are illustrated in Chapter 5. This finding itself is nothing new because omission has already been identified by prior studies as a key strategy in news translation due mainly to time and space limitations (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009, p. 8; Jiménez-Crespo, 2012, p. 64). However, a closer analysis made clear that in many cases, factual data and meaningful details were omitted which were hard to explain by such constraints alone. In addition, even in cases where significant parts were omitted, the TTs were nevertheless presented as direct quotes as if nothing has been lost or changed from the original.

In order to investigate the reasoning behind such “unethical or non-standard” (Pym, 2014b, p. 1) omissions, the concept of risk management was used as a theoretical framework, as illustrated in Chapter 4. The results of the analysis presented in Chapter 5 suggested that Japanese newspapers perceived translating President Obama’s speeches as being relatively low risk in terms of probability, proximity, and immediacy, given President Obama’s inability to read Japanese as well as the distance and time zone difference between Tokyo and Washington. It was hypothesized that as a result of risk analysis, journalist-translators frequently
opted for omission (i.e., low-effort strategy) even in cases where they did not have obvious time or space restrictions. This was explained using the “minimax strategy” of exerting minimal effort to attain maximum effect, introduced by Levý (1967/2000, p. 156) and partially adopted by Pym (2004a, 2005b, 2015).

This hypothesis was further examined by (a) comparing interlingual translation (i.e., translations of President Obama’s speeches by the journalist-translators) with intralingual translation (i.e., quoting Japanese ST in the same language), and (b) cross-examining the findings with journalist-translators’ personal accounts, both of which were presented in Chapter 6. The key finding in Chapter 6 was that in the case of intralingual translation, such as Japanese newspapers quoting Prime Minister Abe’s speech given in Japanese, the strategy chosen was completely different from that chosen when quoting President Obama. For Prime Minister Abe, even long and complicated phrases were quoted almost verbatim. Interviews with the journalist-translators suggested that they are very conscious of the need for accuracy in direct quotes, especially in cases where high-profile individuals are being quoted; however, they also admitted that since complaints from President Obama were highly unlikely even if he were misquoted (i.e., low risk), his quotes turned out to be inaccurate.

The results of the interviews also revealed that journalist-translators were more conscious of the risks of inviting misunderstanding from their domestic readers. In cases where literal translation could lead to awkward wording or inclusion of unfamiliar details, such problematic words, phrases, or even whole sentences were omitted. In terms of risk management, this can be explained by the journalist-translators’ decisions to manage the more probable, proximate, and immediate risk of reader non-comprehension, which, according to Pym, is an obvious unfulfillment of the purpose of communication. Therefore, journalist-translators opted for not only omission of reader-unfriendly words and
information, but also adopted translation strategies requiring higher effort, such as addition and substitution.

The findings in Chapter 6 showed that news translation, especially that of a direct quote, is a balancing act between two main risks: the risk towards the reader (target-oriented risk) and the risk towards the speaker (source-oriented risk). In general, the target-oriented risk is perceived as the higher one by journalist-translators (i.e., risk of non-comprehensibility), but if the speaker is a prominent figure, the source-oriented risk can be given priority (e.g., Prime Minister Abe being quoted verbatim even when his sentences were long and complicated). However, if the speaker is someone who does not have immediate access to the media quoting him or her (i.e., their inability to read Japanese, not being present in Japan, or not being in the same time zone), the risk (e.g., receiving a complaint) becomes lower, thus manipulations of all sorts, especially omission, occurs more frequently. This indicated that in addition to impact and probability which are the two main factors in risk analysis of various kinds, proximity and immediacy must be taken into account when applying the concept of risk management to news translation analysis (and possibly for other translation practices as well).

Another finding in Chapter 6 was that the motive for the Japanese newspapers to retain the quotation marks even after significantly manipulating a TT was also explainable by using the idea of “reward” in translation. As Pym (2008b) explains, translators are likely to take risks if they are going to be rewarded (p. 325). Journalist-translators have shown their willingness to take risks by retaining the quotation marks (thereby compromising the accuracy of the translation), because using direct quotes can bring value to news articles (i.e., reward), such as authenticity and liveliness, and increase the possibility of attracting reader attention by the quotes being highlighted in the headlines. Although this hypothesis was not corroborated empirically in this study, it nevertheless showed that by using risk
management as a theoretical framework in analyzing news translation practices by Japanese newspapers, some of the seemingly unreasonable selections of translation strategies could be logically explained.

By expanding the application of risk management to other news translation practices in Japan, the validity of the concept of risk management as a theoretical framework were verified, although within a limited scope. The examination was done by observing and analyzing whether changes in the risk environment of international reporting (e.g., live streaming, immediate release of transcripts, faster news distribution, and increased feedback) would affect the journalist-translator’s selection of news translation strategies. Although only a small number of cases were analyzed, the results showed that when journalist-translators sensed higher risks, they managed that risk by opting for higher-effort strategies such as presenting the original English text alongside its Japanese translation (i.e., double-presentation), a high-effort, time/space-consuming strategy. Such an example indicates that the correlation between risk and effort exists, at least to a certain degree.

As seen in the examples presented in this study, news translation strategies are not determined by the ST-TT relationship alone, but other factors, such as risks, seem to have a certain effect in the strategy-selection process. Regarding textual manipulation by the journalist-translators, prior research, especially those influenced by Critical Discourse Analysis, tended to focus on how ideologies of news organizations and individual journalist-translators can “play a significant role in determining what is to be retained and what is to be omitted” (Chen, 2006, p. 10). However, when focusing on the use of omission in this study, it seemed to occur not only based on institutional or personal ideology, but also because the associated risks were considered to be low enough to allow for such a low-effort strategy. The omission of the third region of the four that President Obama mentioned in his inauguration speech (i.e., “the Americas”) is one typical example that CDA seems
unable to explain, but it is explainable using risk management.

As Pym (2014a) suggests, omission can be considered a “legitimate” strategy to a certain extent, depending on the purpose of the communication. However, it can be argued that its frequent and unrestricted use in direct quotations as seen in the case of Japanese newspapers can result in readers’ misperception of the original message (Jiménez-Crespo 2012, p. 73). Such levels of manipulation can also result in readers not being able to obtain all of the information, or to develop significantly different impressions of the speaker or the news event. As the experienced journalist-translator, Interviewee B, pointed out, the journalist-translators are aware that it is important for the translation to “leave the same impression in the reader as the original would.” However, compromises are justified because most of the manipulations in news translation “puts nothing at risk” (Pym, 2005b, p. 70) for the Japanese journalist-translators.

8.3 Contributions of this Study

By presenting various examples of risk management strategies taken by Japanese journalist-translators and providing explanations through text analysis supported by interviews with practitioners of news translation, it is hoped that this study has made some contribution towards further development of news translation research in particular and Translation Studies as a whole. In relation to the various objectives that this study initially set out, the author believes that this study has been able to make five contributions, which are outlined below.

First, this study was able to make some contribution to news translation research in general by providing an overall picture of the news translation process carried out by Japanese newspapers as well as by presenting an in-depth 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, this study is expected
to 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, this study introduced a new and useful approach to news translation research by focusing on direct quotes. Using direct quotes as the target of analysis proved to be a practical method for bypassing the often overly complicated and multifaceted process of international news production, thereby enabling researchers to treat direct quotes embedded in news texts as TTs in the translational sense. Based on the outcome of this study, the author believes 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, this study has shown that not only CDA, but also concepts within Translation Studies (risk management, as in the case of this study) 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 to “contextualize such phenomena as the global distribution of texts within the domain of news texts and to engage with the field theoretically” (Orengo, 2005, p. 169). It is hoped that this study will stimulate scholars to further explore the possibility of applying theories and concepts of Translation Studies to news translation analysis.

Fourth, this study has provided empirical data needed for the theorization of risk management within Translation Studies. As Hui (2012) points out, “little empirical research has been conducted to explore translators’ risk management in translation process” (Hui, 2012, p. 24). However, as Pym (2009) posits, “the practice of translation exceeds its theory, thus requiring an ongoing empirical attitude” (p. 28). Since news translation is an emerging field of research with its practice changing rapidly due to globalization and technological advancement, more empirical research from different angles is highly possible, which would hopefully
accelerate the theorization of risk management.

Finally, the findings of this study can 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 translation. It is therefore important to have readers acknowledge such realities, not only when they read direct quotes, but also when they come across translated news items by the Japanese and international media. In this sense, this study has the potential to contribute to the betterment of journalistic practices in general. In view of the results of this study, journalist-translators in Japan and beyond should 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 through, for example, the development of necessary guidelines and training.

8.4. Limitations and Implications for Further Research

In spite of the contributions that this study hopes to have made, there were various limitations that the author acknowledges. A major challenge faced by the author of this study was how to establish a solid research methodology using the concept of risk management. Although efforts to theorize the concept have been continuing for over a decade, risk management is not yet an established theory in Translation Studies and needs further empirical testing. Different research methodologies for risk analysis have not been widely discussed, and there were no solid methods on which to rely when conducting the type of analysis needed for this study. Key findings from Pym’s various works (Pym, 2004a, 2005a, 2005b, 2008a, 2008b, 2012, 2014a, 2014b, 2015), such as the relationship between risk, effort, and translation strategy, proved to be an effective guideline in analyzing news translation.
However, a more comprehensive list of the types of risks involved in translation (and news translation in particular) is desired in order to conduct a more refined analysis. In addition, the relativity between the different risks and its effect on the translator’s decision-making process needs to be further explored. Moreover, the method of analysis requires significant levels of scrutiny and refinement. All these can only be achieved by increasing the empirical data available for analysis, which this study alone could not sufficiently provide.

It seems safe to say that the concept of risk management was able to “explain many performative aspects of translation in a reasonably novel and coherent way” as Pym (2015, p. 78) envisioned, but it seems also clear that this concept alone cannot give every explanation to the unique translation practices conducted during the news production process. This study limited its focus to cases of extreme manipulation for which no valid explanation seemed possible by alternative concepts or theories in Translation Studies, thus leaving cases of more subtle manipulation (which happen more often) unanalyzed. In other words, the question of what can and cannot be analyzed by the concept of risk management remained mostly unanswered. However, since risk management is still an evolving concept in Translation Studies, the author believes that the new sets of data presented and analyzed in this study can be considered as meaningful input for future studies on risk management and on news translation.

Another limitation this study encountered was that the interviews with the journalist-translators were made possible through personal contacts only, given the strong resistance on the part of the news organizations to discuss their news production practices with outsiders. Not only were the number of interviews limited, but they were not free from possible biases caused by the personal relationship between the author and the interviewees. In addition, some parts of the interview, especially the journalist-translators’ explanations regarding their own
translations, could not be presented because the details involved would reveal their identity. Although it was necessary for the purpose of this study to gain access to information that only those within the respective organizations have, it would have been ideal if a more random sampling of interviewees were possible and the contents of their retrospective interviews could be fully presented.

Despite its shortcomings as illustrated above, this study was able to explore some avenues which have the potential to lead to interesting research in the field of news translation. Of the several areas which could be both meaningful and worthy of further investigation, the first would be audience perception, which was touched upon but not fully covered in this study. As Schäffner (2008) points out, one of the major characteristics of news translation is that speeches are quoted “without explicitly indicating” that they were given in the speaker’s own language (p. 3). Therefore, despite the various manipulations in the TT, readers are “still invited to accept that the final product is a true and accurate version” (Bassnett, 2011, p. 143). As Bani (2006) further explains:

Readers usually cannot tell the difference between a translated article and one that was not translated, also because the difference between the two is not signalled graphically. The interlinguistic and intercultural transition through translation passes unnoticed to readers, who often read a press translation as if it were any other article in the newspaper” (p. 36).

This “invisibility” (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009, p. 92) of the translation and the translator can have a negative impact on reader perception, because depending on the tone and content of the direct quotes, readers may receive “significantly different impressions” of the speech and the speaker (Holland, 2006, p. 229), and yet, they cannot tell whether the impression results from the original speech/speaker or from the translation. As Holland (ibid.) points out, these impressions can have “a wide
range of potentially important social effects” in business, politics, and diplomacy (p. 251).

This study did not address the issue of reader perception in any empirical manner 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. Some of the questions that could be asked include: (a) Does the difference in translation affect your perception of the news event or of the person who is being quoted? (b) When you read a direct quote of a speech given in a language other than your own, what degree of accuracy do you expect? (c) What degree of trust do you have that direct quotations are being accurately translated in the news? In addition, different translations of the ST could be presented and readers could either write down their impressions for each TT, or answer how they understood the content of the original message through the respective translations. The present study can surely benefit from such a survey, which the author intends to conduct in the near future.

Another limitation of the present study is its focus on a single language combination: Japanese and English. As mentioned previously, Japanese newspapers still 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 a non-English speaking region, news translation in such locations poses different challenges. This is due to the fact that in many cases, locally hired assistant reporters translate or interpret from the local language into English, from which the correspondents would translate and write their article in Japanese. The difficulty lies not only in the fact that translation must be done twice with an intermediary language in between (as in
relay interpreting at international conferences), but also in the fact that local assistants, in most cases, have not gone through any specific interpreter or translator training and they do not consider translation to be their main responsibility (Palmer, 2009, p.187).

Based on tradition (and confirmed by interviewees of this study), Japanese newspapers expect their correspondents to be able to hear, speak, and read the local language at a certain 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 are being downsized or even abolished due to financial difficulties, according to the interviewees. The issue of the lack of required language competence and its impact on news translation, especially in languages other than English, could be a possible topic to explore in the future.

Another interesting area which this study could not fully cover is how news events in Japan are covered by the international media. Although some examples were presented, such as the Financial Times’ coverage of Prime Minister Abe’s comments in Davos and The Australian’s article from the press conference by Mayor Hashimoto, they were not subjected to detailed analysis or comparison. With the Tokyo Olympics coming in 2020, more news is expected to be reported from Japan by international news organizations. Whether or not some of the findings regarding the translation of direct quotes into Japanese by the Japanese media are applicable in cases of translation from Japanese, could be a meaningful and timely topic to pursue.

Last, although with full awareness of how ambitious the challenge would be, it would be very interesting to see how the concept of risk management could be applied to extremely low-risk situations such as fan subtitling (commonly referred to as fansubbing), for example, of news footages. Again, thanks to globalization and
technological development, it has become very common for ordinary fans with no
translator training to voluntarily provide subtitling for foreign films and TV
programs. Since these services are offered free of charge, there are no obligations
or restrictions in most cases, and the fansubbers do not necessarily have to disclose
their real identities. In such situations, there seem to be no real risks involved for
the participants’ translational acts. If so, would their selection of translation
strategies be restricted to those with low-effort? Or with virtually no
time-constraints, would they tend to opt for high-effort strategies? Would the
change in the “reward structure” (Pym, 2015, p. 78) where translators can be praised
by their piers in a public forum encourage them to take more risks? These are some
of the potentially interesting questions that can be explored in order to investigate the
potential (or the limitations) of risk management as a theoretical framework for
analyzing translation practices in general.

As seen above, although this study seems to have made some contributions
to news translation research and to Translation Studies, many questions remain to be
asked and uncertainties to be explained. It is hoped, however, that this study has
laid a solid foundation for further studies in news translation to flourish in Japan, an
area of study which still remains relatively unexplored in this country. Given the
growing interest towards news translation and its potential growth as a field of
research within Translation Studies and beyond, it would be a great achievement if
this study can become one of the necessary building blocks. It would also be very
rewarding for this author, as a former newspaper reporter herself, if this study has
been able to shed light on the invisible journalist-translators who are at the frontlines,
pressured from all directions, struggling in the darkness, yet still trying their best to
bring the news back home.
Appendices

Appendix A

Questionnaire Sent to Journalists of United Nations Correspondents Association (UNCA) and Foreign Correspondents’ Club of Japan (FCCJ)

Survey on news translation for UNCA members

Survey Consent Form

*1. This is a research project being conducted by Kayo Matsushita, Associate Professor at International Christian University (Tokyo, Japan). The survey will become part of her doctoral dissertation to be submitted to the Graduate School of Intercultural Communication, Rikkyo University (Tokyo, Japan). You are invited to participate in this research project because you are a member of the United National Correspondent Association. Your participation in this research study is voluntary. Even if you decide to participate in this survey, you may withdraw at any time. There are no consequences if you decide not to complete it.

The questions will be about news translation practices (i.e. translation and interpreting in news reporting) by you or by your colleagues in your respective news organizations. The procedure involves filling an online survey that will take approximately 1-5 minutes. Your responses will be completely anonymous and identifying information such as your name or email address will not be collected. All data will be stored in a password protected electronic format. The results of this study will be used for scholarly purposes only.

If you have any questions about the research study, please contact Kayo Matsushita at matsushita@icu.ac.jp or +81-422-33-3144.

ELECTRONIC CONSENT: Please select your choice below.

Clicking on the "agree" button below indicates that:

• you have read the above information
• you voluntarily agree to participate
• you are at least 18 years of age

If you agree to participate in the research study, please click on the "agree" button. If not, please do not proceed.

☐ I agree
Survey on news translation for UNCA members

2. Does your organization have professional interpreters or translators to help you with your daily news reporting?
   - Yes
   - No
   If yes, please describe (their background, how many, their location e.g. Headquarters or UN Bureau and their responsibilities, etc.).

3. Do you or your journalist colleagues conduct translation/interpreting as part of your news gathering and/or news production?
   - Yes
   - No
   If yes, please describe.

4. Have you received any translator/interpreter training?
   - Yes
   - No
   If yes, please describe what kind of training you have received, for how long and by whom.

5. Does your organization have guidelines regarding translation/interpreting?
   - Yes
   - No
   If yes, please describe and state whether it is documented or not.

6. Does your organization have guidelines regarding direct quotations?
   - Yes
   - No
   If yes, please describe and state whether it is documented or not.
The sample above is the questionnaire sent to UNCA members. Apart from the consent form, all questions were the same for FCCJ.

* This questionnaire was prepared by the author using SurveyMonkey, an online survey service. The responses and results were entered and collected online.
Appendix B

The White House Transcript of President Obama’s Remarks on Election Night
(Victory Speech delivered November 7, 2012)

Remarks by the President on Election Night

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 has
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.)

END

(White House, 2012)
Appendix C

The White House Transcript of President Obama’s Inaugural Address
(Inauguration Speech delivered January 21, 2013)

Inaugural Address by President Barack Obama

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
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.)

END

(White House, 2013)
Appendix D

Sample of Double-Presentation (English original and Japanese translation presented side-by-side) by the *Yomiuri Shimbun*

Appendix E

Sample of Double-Presentation by the Nikkei Shimbun

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