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Introduction

Media translation, including such contexts as oral, scribal, print and screen culture, is broadly defined as both translation and interpretation in the media. Valdeón (2015: 654) uses the term 'journalistic translation' in his study due to the fact that many of the studies cover not only informative texts, but also interpretative and augmentative ones. In this chapter, the term 'media translation' will be adopted because the question addressed here encompasses not only news stories in the print media, online and new forms of social media such as blogs and crowdsourcing, but also oral forms of translation such as press conferences, newsreels and news on television. Media translation has drawn the interest of many scholars because it is 'an articulation of discourse which produces its own range of effects' (Palmer 2009: 187). In this process, media translators are not passive receivers of texts but they participate in creating, negotiating and contesting social reality in translating texts and utterances (Baker 2006: 105). The scholarship saw an increase and gained more visibility starting from the mid-2000s onwards (Valdeón 2015), where researchers examined various cases in all parts of the world including China.

Media translation viewed as transformation or transfer across languages, where the local interacts with the global (Hursti 2001), has drawn the attention of scholars from both translation studies and journalism studies in China. They explore the topic through the lenses of translation, culture, sociology and linguistics. From the perspective of translation studies, the functional approach which shifts the attention of translators from the source text (ST) to the addressee of the target text (TT), was fully embraced by Chinese scholars when it was introduced into China in the 1980s after China adopted the opening-up policy. It has enlightened the circle of Chinese translators by freeing them from the conventional constraints of judging translation by the criteria of 'faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance' initiated by Yan Fu (严复1854–1921). At the same time, scholars also resort to such concepts as translator's subjectivity in cultural studies with a view to explaining deviations validated in media translation. Institutional perspectives and censorship are also probed by media translation scholars on account of the uniqueness of the Chinese media that is mostly owned by the state. Linguistic approaches such as critical discourse analysis (CDA) and appraisal theory (AT) are also adopted as useful tools in the study of media translation. All these perspectives and others will be examined in this chapter with a view to mapping out areas of research in media translation in China.

12.1 Historical perspective

Written translation in the media started as early as 1931 when the *Reference News* (RN) (参考消息) was launched under Xinhua News Agency, which was meant for internal use by the cadres within the Communist Party. According to the late Chairman Mao Zedong, the aim of distribution of foreign news within the country was to 'vaccinate' the cadres and masses, or in other words to increase the political immunity of them by translating selected news and commentary from abroad almost verbatim so as to teach them how belligerent the 'enemies' were and to arm them spiritually for the imminent fight. The newspaper was not circulated to the general public until the 1980s (Atwood and Lin 1982). To date, with its online version launched in recent years, together with its unique style and its dissimilar tone of narratives from other domestic media, the RN still enjoys the largest circulation in China.

With the implementation of the reform and opening-up policy in the 1980s, state-run authoritative newspapers such as *The People's Daily* (人民日报) and *The Guangming Daily* (光明日报) began to open up columns or full pages for news translated from abroad under various columns such as education, finance, features and culture among others. Currently, besides the English versions online of both the newspapers, many Chinese newspapers and websites at the state and provincial level also publish their news in English. At the same time, Western news media also translate their news into Chinese by disseminating their stories locally. Reuters, for example, publishes its news in dozens of languages including Chinese. *The Financial Times* (FT) revamped its news coverage by expanding into Asian languages with its debut in China as *The Financial Times Chinese* (FTC) in 2003 (Liu 2015).

Interpreting practice in the media has also caught the limelight over the past two decades or so since the on-site consecutive interpreting at the Press Conference hosted by the former premier Zhu Rongji went live on television in 1998. The practice has been carried forward by successive terms of the government every year following the sessions of the National People's Congress and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. (These are respectively known as the national legislature and the main deliberative bodies of China, which are often referred to as the Two Sessions in the media.) Meanwhile simultaneous interpreting was also introduced into TV shows, enabling the audience to gain information from outside China right on the spot. The voiceover in news reporting on the warfare in Iraq in 2003 and Libya in 2011, and the missing airplane of Malaysian Airlines in 2014 have made simultaneous interpreting more visible.

While media translation and interpreting is developing quickly at the so-called 'official' level, 'user-generated content' or crowdsourcing of translation is also flourishing. In 2006, the domain www.Yeeyan.org was launched in Beijing by three Chinese engineers in the Silicon Valley of the United States. The founders of the site selected and translated news from foreign media through collaboration with *The Guardian*, *The New York Times*, *The Economist* and so on in order to have the Chinese netizens with language barriers informed of what is going on in China and across the world (Luo 2015). Today the website is more like a depositary where untranslated ST and translated TT, as well as translated works are collected. It hosts various 'groups' of translators such as 'Selected Translation' and 'Scientific American'. It also features some interactive spaces such as 'cooperation' and 'instant translation', where interested translators can work in teams or provide translation instantly via mobile devices. While crowdsourced translation provides a cocktail of various topics, translation quality is a general concern. However, in a recent interview with the general manager of the website, the author has learnt that they have a rigorous quality control mechanism in place when it comes to publishing their products either online or in hard copies. The translator communities are just virtual spaces for groups to share and interact among themselves based on individual interests.

Similar to the trajectory of research works elsewhere, scholarly writings on media translation in China started in the 1980s, developed further in the 1990s, and accelerated towards the end of the last century and the beginning of the new millennium (Huang 2007). Deliverables published in the 'Chinese core scholarly journals' in translation studies such as *Chinese Translators Journal* (中国翻译) and *Shanghai Journal of Translators* (上海翻译) lead in both quality and quantity. Media translation has also caught the attention of journalism studies, with some works published in such journals as *Chinese Journalist* (中国记者), *The Press* (新闻战线), *News and Writing* (新闻与写作) and so on. At the same time, a growing number of publications have emerged in some peer-reviewed journals such as *Target, Perspectives: Studies in Translatology* and *Language and Intercultural Communication*, to name just a few. These studies and others will be examined in detail in the following section.

12.2 Critical issues and current contributions

Although the Chinese media differentiates itself in being mouthpiece of the government with its state ownership, critical issues in the area are notably similar to the rest of the world. 'Transediting', which refers to the grey area between translating and editing (Stetting 1989), is the general practice, in which filtering and gatekeeping are the acknowledged practices. The process here also involves 'a complex set of processes whereby information is transposed from one language into another and then edited, rewritten, shaped and repackaged in a new context' (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009: 10). The question concerning the extent of transposition and reshaping is the key issue that scholars as well as practitioners are striving to address and that is also where scholarly contributions are made to a large extent. In the following sections, for the convenience of discussion, the contributions will be examined in the categories of translation theories, cultural perspectives, sociological aspects and linguistic approaches.

12.2.1 Translation theories

Functionalism views translation as a purposeful activity, in which translation is an action with a purpose oriented towards the target text. One of the most important factors determining the purpose of a translation is the addressee, who is the intended receiver or audience of the target text. A translated text is to relate to their culture-specific world knowledge, meet their expectations and satisfy their communicative needs (Nord 1997). Thus the theory provides scholars with a toolkit to explain translation actions in selecting, cutting or transediting the intended message in the media.

Applying functionalism to the study, Wu (2005a) – a practitioner who translates newsreel for the World Report of CNN, which usually includes a three-minute news story from China – states that abridgement, addition, adaptation and explanation are all necessary in the practice of translation. While these methods seem to have sacrificed their local 'faithfulness', they achieve a global 'fidelity' for a better understanding of China in the world. Wu believes that functionalists challenge the traditional concept of fidelity by attaching importance to the intended text functions, addressee, time, place and medium of reception, etc., all of which throws light on how to communicate better with the world. Wang, Qian and Qiu (2007) examine the translation of a news lead or summary of a news story from Chinese into English. A Chinese news lead mostly starts with the time, proceeding in the sequence of an event, usually with the important information coming at the end while an English news lead follows the golden rule of the 'inverted pyramid' by providing information in the five Ws and one H, i.e., who, what, when, where and why plus how. In translating Chinese news leads into English, the sequence can be reversed in order to

accommodate to the norm of the TT by putting the actor at the beginning, the event to follow while ending with the time. Wang et al. emphasise that translators should study more on the target readership in terms of cultural background, mentality and requirements so that appropriate translation strategies can be determined.

Besides functionalism, scholars also probe into the subject through other perspectives in translation studies. Li (2014) examines official interpretation at press conferences in China by adopting the Interpretative Theory, in which what interpreters try to understand and interpret is not the linguistic form of the source language, but the sense and the idea that speakers want to convey. In other words, they are to de-verbalise the message, in which translation is not a mere trans-coding operation from one language to another, but is a dynamic communicating process of understanding and reformulating the ideas (Pöchhacker 2004). In order to achieve such a goal, strategies such as restructuring and generalisation at the sentence level and summarisation, parsing and logical integration at the text level can be adopted. Shi (2014) studies the translation strategies of Premier Wen Jiabao's press conference within the framework of domesticating and foreignising approaches. He has noted that domestication is the main method adopted because the primary task of interpretation is to pass on the message of the speaker; at the same time the trend of foreignisation is also on the rise due to the fact that every nation is paying more attention to protecting its own culture in the era of globalisation. Wang (2007) takes examples from the translation of a local English newspaper *The Suzhou Weekly* to illustrate the translation strategies guided by 'communicative translation' put forward by Newmark (1981) in terms of rewriting or restructuring. Decided by the purpose of the newspaper, which is to provide information to foreigners working in the city of Suzhou, she concludes that rewriting the information from the ST is the general practice. While translation theories remain part and parcel of media translation, scholars also take a cultural perspective in their investigation, identifying the fact that the subject is interwoven with the local culture.

12.2.2 Cultural perspectives

Since the cultural turn was introduced into translation studies in the 1980s (Bassnett and Lefevere, 1990), interest in cultural and ideological differences and translator's subjectivity have continued to grow. Since then, translators' interventions have been investigated with the effort to justify their freedom in attaching meanings to the TT by rewriting or recreation.

> Translator's subjectivity, defined as the subjectivity that the translator displays during the translation process, includes such features as the translator's cultural consciousness, reader awareness, personal traits, social and ideological positions, linguistic competence, aesthetic tendency and creativity, all of which may manifest through textual appropriation, adaptation and intervention.
>
> *(Chen 2011: 121)*

Cheng (2011) adapts the concept into the innovative subjectivity of transeditors, which means that translators should carry out their roles by conveying the facts rather than being 'submissive to original news writers' (Cheng 2011: 216). Thus they should adjust their translational strategies by clarifying the misconceptions of the writer and checking biased ethnocentrism in the source language (SL) texts through their gatekeeping process. By applying the basic notions of Douglas Robinson's (1991) 'dialogical mode', which deems all languages to be dynamic and relational without artificial boundaries between texts, she maintains that translators approaching the SL texts will have a dialogical interaction with the SL writer.

The translator and the SL writer are completely equal, and the former has such freedom as 'choosing the target language (TL) words and phrases that *feel* right, rephrasing the SL text in a wide variety of ways, and using his influence over the TL readers in a variety of ways' (Robinson 1991: 259). Thus translators are engaged in the dialogical interaction with SL writers on an equal basis in their translation process, where they display their innovative subjectivity by resorting to various rhetorical tropes or tools. The texts thus translated are reshaped by translators through their innovative subjectivity.

In Cheng's (2011: 217) analysis of the news translated mainly from the US media carried in *The Global Times* (GT) concerning the 2008 Beijing Summer Olympic Games, she observes that in order to bridge cultural differences or to avoid ethnocentrism, transeditors either prefer a more straightforward tone instead of the metaphoric English tone or 'transgress' the direct semantic equivalent of the ST, particularly those strong and derogatory connotations in the target culture in the translation of headlines. In the case of main bodies, transeditors resort to abridgement (by selective translation or de-dramatisation) or assimilation (by minimising strangeness of foreign texts for TL readers) to obliterate irrelevant or frivolous information to avoid distraction or alienation. Her findings demonstrate that the translators play a highly visible role in the process of translating international news into Chinese where their innovative subjectivity is at play. Li and Li (2015) argue that because of the one-party system in China, the Party and the government are inseparable in facilitating the political education of professional translators, who are in turn obliged to uphold the prevailing ideologies and are responsible for pursuing a politically correct code of conduct in their work. In this sense, the process of translation is notably institutionalised and ideologically motivated, whereby translators integrate their individual knowledge into the institutionalised models and transform the ideological message into textual representations.

Wu (2005b) uses his translation examples of newsreels to illustrate how the gap of cultural differences between China and the Western audience can be bridged within the three minutes with synchronisation of voiceover and TV pictures in motion. He asserts that in order to ensure successful communication between cultures, translators can choose such strategies as omission, addition, neutralisation and universalisation, among others in dealing with some culturally loaded terms. Sorby (2006) resorts to the Chinese culture as a whole in explaining the phenomenon in news translation concerning positive or negative overtones in lexicalising some words by tracing back to the ancient Chinese culture as reflected in *Chunqiu Bifa* (春秋笔法), the writing style inherited from Confucius (551–479 BCE). According to this writing style, each word is not only succinct and incisive but also tactfully contains either a complimentary or a derogatory meaning. Thus the choice of wording in Chinese language is bound by cultural ideology. According to this ideological tradition, things are always categorised as good or bad, which accounts for the tendency of cataloguing an event that prevails in the Chinese media. For example, the English word *praise* may have a positive or negative connotation depending on the context. By translating it into either 赞扬 (complimentary, to praise someone whom the writer/speaker approves) or 吹捧 (derogatory, to praise someone whom the writer/speaker disapproves), translators express their judgement of right or wrong and degree of liking or disliking. Hence this tradition explains the reason why there is the omission of critical or derogatory words or phrases in Chinese news translated from English, although such omission may sometimes result in translation loss or misunderstanding for the readers.

12.2.3 Sociological aspects

Media translation as a component of modern society has also caught the attention of some sociology scholars. They approach the practice from institutional perspectives in the explanation of

deviations in translated texts from their sources and gatekeeping processes. Pan (2014) observes the practice in the news agency of the RN that has a reputation for upholding 'faithful translation'. The RN claims that being faithful is the legitimate criterion when translating for the newspaper. Pan bases her study on her survey on the news agency's working procedures, responsibility distribution, interviewees' understandings of faithful translation, training system and regular meetings and her interview of the deputy editor-in-chief, the language coordinator and the full-time in-house translators. The working procedures and responsibility distribution involve news selecting, translating, revising and editing. The selection from thousands of articles on hundreds of newspapers and other media in dozens of languages daily is accomplished by its team at home and abroad. All their seven teams stationed in all continents collect and select all available international stories, summarise the gist of texts into Chinese and then send them back to the home team, who then choose from each selected news article the points that are considered most relevant and interesting to the domestic readers and list them in Chinese. The Chinese lists, together with the selected foreign news texts, are then submitted to the editorial staff at the headquarters. The editor-in-chief then decides what articles to be translated and published in discussion with the editing team.

In the translating process, the translators will follow the guidelines and requirements set by the institution, which is to produce faithful translations of foreign reports for the Chinese reader. It is the editor's responsibility to naturalise the text and make it fit into the space of the newspaper while designing headlines. The editors are usually unilingual, who take care of the wording and fluency without referring to the ST. It is the agency's training system that guarantees the quality of its translation. In this system, newcomers' translations are to be reviewed by senior translators before submission. This reviewing process goes on for two or three years before they can work independently. Another routine of the agency is daily morning meetings, in which hot news topics to be covered, perspectives and priorities of the day's reports are discussed and the whole day's translation tasks are decided. It is chaired by the editor-in-chief and attended by editorial staff at all levels and heads or coordinators of translation departments.

Unlike in global news agencies, the role of translation in the Chinese news organisation is not incorporated as an 'invisible' or 'untraceable' component into news production (see Bielsa and Bassnett 2009). Instead, it is presented as the translation proper in its traditional sense, where fidelity and literal translation are advocated as the institutional guideline and basic requirement. Here the translators are 'institutionalised professionals' whose actual practice is largely to follow the institutional approach. Fan (2004), who is the deputy editor-in-chief of the RN, is proud of its mechanism of selection at three levels and processing in four stages from myriad information. He states that the newspaper has the largest circulation in China because of its 'vision' that equals the internal capacity that the newspaper has built up through years of practice. This vision is the prerequisite that determines the newspaper's judgement, insight and perception, all of which ensures its perspective, filtering, focus and diversity in content to be authoritative and in line with the mainstream media. However, Pan (2014) finds that various deviations and discrepancies are identified in the actual practice and that the institutional practice and translators' beliefs either enable or hinder 'faithful translation', in translating sensitive discourse related to China in particular.

Liu (2014, 2015) incorporates the findings of frame studies from journalism into the study of media translation, where translation has a role to play in framing events in the angle that an institution inclines to orchestrate. Media translation 'forms an integral part of journalistic work: a complex, integrated combination of information gathering, translating, selecting, reinterpreting, contextualising and editing' (van Doorslaer 2010: 181). As translated news texts are the result of journalistic choices, it follows that they are in conformity with journalistic practices, in the

studies of which, framing, agenda-setting and priming are some key concepts. While agenda-setting and priming are primarily concerned with which issue to cover and the intended effects on the audience, the concept of framing is more concerned with how an issue is covered (Tankard 2003: 101). 'To frame (or framing) refers to the process of selecting and highlighting some aspects of a perceived reality, and enhancing the salience of an interpretation and evaluation of that reality' (Entman 2004: 26). Through both content analysis and textual analysis on translated news from the Chinese newspaper the RN and the Western media the FTC, Liu's (2015) study validates that news translation is not just a process of transediting, but a process of transframing, i.e., translation-mediated framing, where the translator contributes to framing events under the impact of frames within institutions and designated contexts.

With the practice of institutionalised media translation, censorship has rarely been on the agenda of Chinese media translation studies. The term 'censorship' itself has been controversial. On the one hand it is seen as a set of concrete measures carried out by someone in the position of authority, often someone working for a censorial institution; on the other it is viewed as an integral element of communication that is 'unavoidable, irrespective of the given socio-political context' (Müller 2004: 8). According to Brownlie (2007: 205), there are three types of censorship: public censorship, structural censorship and self-censorship. Public censorship is imposed by public authorities by virtue of explicit laws, mostly in banning of works. Structural censorship proposed by Bourdieu constitutes censorship in the form of control on discourse without explicit laws, consisting of dominated positions in which people are silenced (Bourdieu and Thompson 1992). Self-censorship 'occurs prior to publication when the cultural agent censors his or her work voluntarily, in order to avoid public censorship, and/or in order to achieve approval from the dominating sector in society' (Brownlie 2007: 206).

The Internet content reflects the mechanism of self-censorship imposed on the media in China. Basically the self is discreet in choosing to silence voluntarily, surrendering to anticipated pressure that the self has to face, which may boil down to the ultimate game of strategic signalling and coordination (see Cheung 2003). Xu (2015) observes that the Chinese authorities are skilful at inducing self-censorship among Internet users. In late 2000, the Internet police were introduced with two cartoon figures wearing police uniforms online. Since then, the figures have been adapted by websites of various departments such as traffic control, banking security, guarding against telecommunication fraud, etc. The online police in the media create a sense that the authority is watching you, thus eliciting self-censorship, which means that all Internet portals must take responsibility for censoring the content they carry (Xu 2015). This may also account for the reason why censorship has rarely been on the agenda of media translation studies; it is something subsumed into the daily practice of translation already. Compliance with the self-censorship policy is also reflected in the translated Chinese news carried on the FTC. For example, in the news concerning Kinmen Island in Taiwan carried on 22 October 2013, the ST on the FT frames the relation across the Straits as 'closeness between the two countries'. It is substituted with 'closeness across the straits' on the FTC. 'The Chinese holidaymakers' is replaced by 'holidaymakers from the mainland'. This substitution indicates that the newspaper is aware of the Chinese government's stance on the issue of Taiwan's sovereignty, which reiterates on various occasions that Taiwan is an inseparable part of China. Wordings such as 'two countries' in reports related to Taiwan are zero tolerated. If the media steps over the red line, it will either be notified to make an appointment to meet the authorities or will run the risk of its contents being blocked (Liu 2015). In fact, sticking to the political standpoint of the Party was held as one of the criteria of news translation in the early days when news translation started in China. In translating the visits by Nixon to some Asian countries including the Philippines, Vietnam, Taiwan, Thailand, etc., in 1956, the fact that Taiwan was listed under the umbrella of 'countries'

was counted as a political mistake by Liu (1986), who critically pointed out that the translator or editor had lost their political standpoint on the ground that they intentionally or unintentionally neglected the proclamation of the government that Taiwan is a province of China.

Han (2014), a scholar in media studies from Chongqing University, looks into news translation from the perspective of filtering and gatekeeping or what he calls *baguan* (把关 'guarding gate') in Chinese. The mode of gatekeeping is bi-directional, i.e., both from English into Chinese and vice versa for serving the purpose of either filtering out 'harmful' messages or enhancing China's positive image in the international community. The gatekeeping translation involves changes on lexical, syntactical and paragraph levels. For example, the translation of 'Obama and Xi should talk tech, not trade' into 白宫用心安排习近平美国行 ('The White House makes careful arrangements for Xi's US visit') by the RN shows the gatekeeping effort of presenting a positive story of Xi's visit to the US in 2012. Gatekeeping constitutes one of the instruments of the huge system of censorship in China. Compared to 'hard censorship' such as judicial, administrative and the Internet firewall, which blocks the domestic audience from direct access to content that the authorities do not want them to see, translation gatekeeping is a 'soft censorship' that transfers information from abroad to the addressee through rewriting or filtering. The essence of the soft censorship is to shield the domestic culture and ideology while upholding the stance and principles of the institution by making the harmful information 'hazard-free'.

However, Han (2014) also points out the fact that with the acceleration of globalisation, gatekeeping translation is not free from challenges. On the one hand, some international media can provide news in Chinese; on the other hand, more and more people can read English or other languages and have the skill of using the Internet, sometimes by using software that can 'climb over' the firewall, i.e., using proxy to circumvent the block. Gatekeeping translation is also taking measures to brace itself for the challenges. One strategy is to balance negativity and positivity in the translated news coverage by giving the readers a coin with two sides, which may enhance their 'vaccination' with the facticity of events. Another is to leverage the translation of reports on facts and opinions. Opinions can be charged with more hostile or provocative information; therefore news translated can focus more on facts, which will leave more space for readers to judge by themselves. The other strategy is diluting political news coverage by increasing news stories concerning the economy, culture and technology, which are more concerned with facts. Because news on current affairs is by and large more related to ideology with high sensitivity, translation of news with more varied topics can divert the attention of the audience. One last resort for the gatekeeping translation is that authoritative news media such as the RN and the GT need to take control of the power of speech by exploring the mobile market such as Weibo (the Chinese version of Twitter), WeChat (another popular social media on mobile devices) and other mobile applications other than the Internet. Therefore, censorship being an indispensable part of the Chinese media is experiencing modes of adaptation and diversification against the backdrop of the new era with the facilitation of modern technology.

12.2.4 Linguistic approaches

Interestingly, although media translation is undeniably a meaning transfer between languages, not many studies have investigated the subject through linguistic perspectives. Some scholars look into the translation of reported discourse within the framework of CDA in the Chinese context, where ideological manipulation is at play (Huang 2008; Xu and Jia 2007). Reported discourse is the discourse that news tends to adopt in the form of direct or indirect quotations in order to authenticate its facticity or trustworthiness. Being an essential component of news,

it serves to make a story more objective and persuasive. In reality, reported discourse may not just be who said what, but can embody selections with various purposes underpinned by ideology (Xu and Jia 2007). For example, by selecting to translate the reported discourse by some political figures or celebrities while obscuring the sources, the RN decontextualises the stories from *The New York Times* concerning the bidding of the Olympic Games by Beijing in order to accommodate the target ideology. Neither the ST nor the TT is random in choosing its reported discourse in telling a story. Resorting to certain quotations serves to orient or disorient the readers towards its goal of effects (Huang 2008).

Zhao and Jia (2014) look into media translation from the perspective of appraisal theory (AT) in SFL put forward by Martin and White (2005), in which the appraisal encompasses the attitude, stance and emotions of the writer or speaker. Therefore the deviated versions of translated news under the same institution such as the FTC are explained through the understanding of Eastern and Western ideologies, national interests and translator's stances. Pan (2015) also researches into news translation through institutional practices in the framework of AT by investigating the translation concerning the issue of human rights in China on the RN. Examining details of the news translated from some main Anglophone news agencies such as the Associated Press and *The Washington Post* among others, she has validated various deviations in the evaluative resources, including identifying news actors, presenting news events as well as dissimulating representations in the process of ideological repositioning within another social context. These resources are redeployed through the interpretation of translated news.

Also resorting to the AT, Zhang (2012) studies the translation of news headlines as paratexts, which are considered as the threshold of interpretation of news reports in light of stance and mediation. Her analysis on some Chinese leading news sources translated from English sources shows that global news headlines involve working with discourse that is heavily mediated and recontextualised. In this process, the transeditors put their own knowledge and values into the transedited texts. She argues that when value loaded discourse is an indication of stance adopted, an absence of such discourse in news headlines, or even an absence of reporting on a particular event, may also be an indication of the stance adopted by a news agency. In the translation process of news headlines, transeditors resort to the evaluative resources of language by adopting particular value positions or stances in their negotiation of these stances with either actual or potential respondents. Also resorting to SFL, Tang (2007) compares the themes and rhemes between English and Chinese news discourse by studying the thematic progression of the two languages and its implication for news translation. Her findings show that if appropriate cohesion and coherence are to be achieved in the TT, adjustment of sentence structure is inevitable due to difference in thematic progression between English and Chinese.

Methodologically, most research works resort to descriptive textual analysis in terms of comparing STs with TTs in the examination of deviations. Section 12.2.5 will take the translation of the case concerning the US whistleblower Snowden by the RN as an example to illustrate the translation approaches involved in the above sections.

12.2.5 Translation the case of Snowden by the RN

News about Edward Snowden, who worked for the US CIA Security and who disclosed the National Security Agency's top-secret Prism Program, caught headlines in the media in 2013 and 2014. Related news was also translated into Chinese by the RN. In framing the issue of Snowden's case, effects in the Western media were either orientated towards 'national security' or 'individual liberty'. In the translation, however, the effects vary. Example 1 was the headline carried on Reuters on 13 July 2013, which was translated on 15 July by the RN.

Example 1

Snowden documents could be 'worst nightmare' for US.

外电:斯诺登手中文件或成美国"最可怕噩梦" (Foreign media: Snowden's documents could be 'worst nightmare' for the US).

In the news lead, the ST framing was leaning towards the government in terms of national security with the wording of 'fugitive' that negatively frames Snowden as a criminal escaping from justice and avoiding being caught by police. The TT echoed this effect by adopting a faithful translation. Example 2 was a long story of 4,369 words, which was an interview of Edward Snowden by *The Washington Post*, carried on 24 December 2013. It gave an account of the interview concerning various aspects of Snowden's thoughts and life in Moscow; however, the TT on the RN reorganised it into a short story of 705 words under a different heading as the following on 24 December.

Example 2

Edward Snowden, after months of NSA revelations, says his mission's accomplished.

斯诺登把美国安局比作英殖民当局　批其不受限制 (Snowden compared the US National Security Agency to British colonial regime, criticising its unchecked limits).

The lengthy interview was summarised into a very short story focusing solely on Snowden's criticism of the NSA. As reflected by the above examples, the standing ideological and political conflict between China and the US finds its expression here in the translated news. By sticking to negative coverage when it comes to its opponents, the cultural tradition of cataloguing events as good or bad in Chinese journalism still persists (see Sorby 2006).

Example 3 was a story in *The Guardian* on 16 June 2013. It was translated into a story with the stance from China added on 18 June.

Example 3

Edward Snowden is a 'traitor' and possible spy for China.

"棱镜门"揭秘者继续爆料　中方驳斥"间谍"说 (The 'Prism Gate' whistleblower continues to expose, China revokes the 'spy' allegation).

Summary of the ST goes like this:

> Former vice-president tells Fox he is 'suspicious because he went to China' as senior figures discuss surveillance leaks.

In the TT, the summary was replaced by a long account of the background, the allegation and refutation from China. While the first part of the story was mostly a translation from the ST, the second part was an addition of the Chinese stance that refuted the allegation that Snowden was a spy for China. It gave an account from the Chinese spokeswoman Hua Chunying calling it 'sheer fabrication', and also provided verification from the executive of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region Leung Chun-ying in a concerted effort to confute the accusation.

Example 4 was a story from the BBC on 10 June 2013. It was translated in a hedged manner as follows on 11 June by the RN.

Example 4

US leaker Edward Snowden 'defending liberty'
英报称美"监视门"泄密者藏身香港有玄机 (British newspaper claims that the reason for the US 'surveillance gate' whistleblower to hide in Hong Kong is complex).

The ST story was 848 words long, which elaborated more on the idea of defending liberty. The summary went as follows:

> An ex-CIA employee has said he acted to 'protect basic liberties for people around the world' in leaking details of US phone and Internet surveillance.

The TT summary was substituted as follows while condensing the news into a short story of 488 characters.

> 核心提示:斯诺登选择香港不仅是因为香港本地相对自由的公民社会文化,也是看中了中国可以抗衡美国的大国地位。(Summary: Snowden choosing Hong Kong is not just because of its 'strong tradition of free speech', but more because of China's power to counterbalance the US.)

Therefore, the shorter story served the effect of reinforcing the power of China. In the body of the story, addition was also very obvious.

> ST: He said he had gone to Hong Kong because of its 'strong tradition of free speech.'
> TT: 选择藏身香港是因为香港人对言论自由的支持以及对政治异见权利的维护。他同时表示,自己这样做也是出于对中国人权状况的信任。(He said he had gone to Hong Kong because of its strong tradition of free speech, and its protection of the rights of opposing political ideas. As the same time, he said that choosing Hong Kong was also out of his trust on the human rights situation in China.)

By these additions to the translated news, the story served the interest of the government by not just telling the story of Snowden but also defending its record of human rights and free speech in Hong Kong as well as in the bigger China.

Example 5 was a story carried on 10 June 2013 in *The Washington Post*, which was translated into the story as below on 12 June by the RN.

> **Example 5**
>
> A Hero's Welcome for Snowden on Chinese Internet.
> 美报:美"监视门"泄密人受中国网民追捧" (American newspaper: US 'Surveillance Gate' leaker hailed by the Chinese netizens).

The frames in both the ST and the TT headlines were more or less the same, although the degree was slightly different because the Chinese word 追捧 (literally 'chase and flatter') here means 'enjoys popularity' usually with a sense of disapproval. The body of the translated news also experienced much modification.

The topic paragraph of the ST went as follows:

> Chinese Internet users, some of the world's most experienced victims of state surveillance, hailed the man responsible for exposing U.S. government data-gathering programs as a hero, but were less sure how to respond to news that he was camping out on their doorstep.

In the TT, it was substituted into the following summary:

> 核心提示:网民写道:"这是英雄主义的定义。这样做证明他真正关心美国和美国公民。所有的国家都需要这样的人。" (Summary: One user of microblog wrote, 'This is the definition of heroism. Doing this proves he genuinely cares about the US and about its citizens. All countries need someone like him.')

This was actually a paragraph taken from the ST; using it as summary had made it more conspicuous. Another paragraph was added towards the end of the story by echoing the summary.

> 报道指出,眼下,揭发在中国是一个火热话题。实际上,这个话题太过火热,就连国有的中央电视台最近都给予网络揭发者像《时代》周刊"年度人物"一样的称号。有越来越多的人在社交媒体上揭露地方政府腐败的做法,评选反映出在中国不断扩大的一种共识,普通人必须挺身而出。(According to the news, at present, disclosure is a hot topic in China. In fact, the topic is so hot that the China Central Television (CCTV) has given whistleblowers on the Internet the title 'Figure of the Year' similar to what *The Times Magazine* does. There are more and more people who have exposed corruption of their local government on social media. The figure selection reflects a common understanding in the general public that it is time for them to speak out boldly.)

With this addition, the story has been recontextualised in consistency with the Chinese context, where exposition of corruption is immensely welcomed by the general public. Therefore, addition to the translation serves to construct consonance with the connection to the context in China. The case of translation of issues related to Snowden shows that media translation is quite institutionalised in China, where translation is used as a conduit to serve the interest of the authorities by cascading its framing of events to the audience.

12.3 Conclusion and future directions

Looking into the landscape of media translation studies in the past decade or so in China, it is concluded that it has developed to a multidisciplinary stage by shifting from the traditional translational approach in terms of comparing solely the ST and the TT. Scholars have taken note of the fact that media translation is related to various factors within society, which accounts for the reason why a functionalist approach, and cultural and sociological perspectives on top of linguistic aspects are widely explored. In the modern era of globalisation, the Chinese media exhibits more diversification and vitality in its competition in the marketplace although the party-state still maintains control over the publication and distribution of information to a large extent (Shirk 2010). In this regard, media translation has a role to play in contributing to this diversity although gatekeeping or filtering is inevitable. Practicing in such a diversified field of translation calls for multicultural and multidisciplinary awareness on top of language proficiency so that various demands related to institutions and contexts can be fulfilled.

To date, although most works approach the topic by integrating theories into practice by tackling practical issues as a starting point, the academic enquiry is still mostly product-oriented where second-hand materials are used. In this sense, media translation study calls for more insider involvement from the media because they are the people who can shed more light on the study. The article from the deputy editor-in-chief of the RN (Fan 2004), for example, provides the readers with more stories behind the scenes. The 'vision' of deciding the right news for disseminating its own frames is something that the newspaper prides itself on. Its vision is in line with the Chinese Communist Party's assertion in upholding the banner of 'correctness' in judging everything from domestic affairs to issues of global concern. This coincides with the remarks by Lu Wei, director of the China Internet Information Centre, at a press conference before the 2nd World Internet Conference in Wuzhen in December 2015. He compares the Internet to a family's house, in which the family members are entitled to select their visitors. This kind of selection may answer the question regarding why various deviations from the source texts are validated in Chinese media translation. All in all, looking into the scholarship, the problems identified by Huang (2007) in his overview on Chinese news translation studies still persist, i.e., superficial in the description of translation examples, lacking in the rigour of theoretical approach and a clearly defined methodology.

In the meantime, China as a country experiencing fundamental changes on various fronts calls for more research works to keep pace with it. Newly risen issues such as the narrative concerning Hong Kong in news coverage and translation and the new initiative of 'one belt and one road' of the Chinese government may provide more avenues for researchers to explore. Besides, the new trend of incorporating English news into broadcasting on TV or radio or newspapers is still under-represented in research works. With the development of the Internet and mobile connection, media translation also plays an active role in personal view distribution across social networks. More work is also called for in this regard in the examination of features of media itself such as journalism or mobile studies so that the burgeoning research will be enriched.

The recent dispute between China and the Philippines concerning territorial sovereignty and maritime delimitation in the South China Sea further demonstrates the importance of media translation studies. Most of the Western media such as the BBC, Reuters and the FT reported the story under the headline 'UN Ruling…' (Reuters on 3 June 2016) or 'UN-backed Tribunal…' (BBC on 14 July 2016) by signalling that this ruling represents international law and that China's non-acceptance of this award is in violation of UN law. In fact, this tribunal

at The Hague called the Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA) is an ad hoc body initiated unilaterally by the Philippines with no jurisdiction over the subject matter. According to its official website, 'the PCA is not a court in the traditional sense, but a permanent framework for arbitral tribunals constituted to resolve specific disputes' (PCA's homepage). It is neither affiliated to the UN as the Western media indicates nor an 'arbitral court' as it is translated in the Chinese media. In this sense, it can be said that the effect of media translation is more far-reaching than it seems.

Further reading

Pan, Li (2015) Ideological positioning in news translation: a case study of evaluative resources in reports on China. *Target* 27(2): 215–37.
This article investigates Chinese translations of English news reports on China's human rights issue carried in the RN by examining the deviations.

Shirk, Susan L. (2010) *Changing Media, Changing China.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
This book is a collection of essays on Chinese media written by American and Chinese journalists and scholars. It can shed more light on media translation for those who want to explore further the Chinese media.

Huang, Qin 黄勤 (2007) '我国的新闻翻译研究: 现状与展望' (A survey and prospect of China's news translation studies). 上海翻译 (Shanghai Journal of Translators) 3: 23–7.
This paper makes a critical review of research works on news translation published in Chinese scholarly journals between 1979 and 2006.

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